

Intercontinental Press

Africa

Asia

Europe

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the Americas

Vol. 12, No. 37

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October 21, 1974

50c

Police Go on Rampage in Key Industrial City



"Isabel": Calls for "dialogue" while cops shoot up union headquarters, right-wing gangs assassinate worker militants.

Argentine Rightists 'Mop Up' Cordoba

Racists Terrorize Boston Black Community

Cuba Calls for Unity Behind Oil Producers

India's Forgotten Political Prisoners

Protest U.S. A-Arms in Japanese Ports

A retired U.S. officer, Rear Admiral Gene Robert LaRocque, testified before a congressional subcommittee September 10 that U.S. warships carrying nuclear weapons do not unload them before entering Japanese ports.

The disclosure, widely publicized in the Japanese press October 7, sparked a wave of public protest. According to the October 13 *Washington Post*, three opposition parties, major trade unions, and other organizations have called for mass demonstrations on October 21, international antiwar day. Protests have also been planned to oppose President Ford's visit to Japan, which is scheduled for November 18.

In Okinawa, the prefectural assembly passed a resolution calling for Japanese government surveys of U.S. bases to check for nuclear weapons. The mayor of Tokyo and the mayors of four cities in Kanagawa prefecture, the site of the large U.S. naval base at Yokosuka, called on Tokyo to prohibit visits at Japanese ports by any U.S. warships capable of carrying nuclear weapons.

The Japanese government feigned surprise at the disclosure, and Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka asked Washington for an "explanation." Washington's reply carefully avoided denying that U.S. nuclear weapons had entered Japanese ports.

The U.S. statement also avoided mentioning the secret "transit agreement" with Tokyo that allows U.S. ships to call at Japanese ports while armed with nuclear warheads. The existence of the secret arrangement was first revealed April 24, 1971, by *New York Times* correspondent Richard Halloran, who reported that the transit pact had been signed with Tokyo in 1960, along with the U.S.-Japanese Mutual Security Treaty. At the time of the report, both Washington and Tokyo denied that any secret deal had been made.

Under the 1960 treaty, Washington may also store nuclear weapons in Japan with Tokyo's approval. While no such approval has been made public, a U.S. sailor testified at his court-martial several months ago that the USS *Midway*, which is permanently stationed at Yokosuka, carries nuclear weapons. According to the October 13 *Washington Post*, he was immediately silenced before he could say more. □

Selassie Charged With Tax Evasion

Deposed Ethiopian Emperor Haile Selassie owes about \$700,000 in back taxes, according to an October 6 statement by the provisional military council.

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Published in New York each Monday except last in December and first in January; not published in August.

Intercontinental Press specializes in political analysis and interpretation of events of particular interest to the labor, socialist, colonial independence, Black, and women's liberation movements.

Signed articles represent the views of the authors,

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Subscription correspondence should be addressed to Intercontinental Press, P.O. Box 116, Village Station, New York, N.Y. 10014. Because of the continuing deterioration of the U.S. postal system, please allow five weeks for change of address. Include your old address as well as your new address, and, if possible, an address label from a recent issue.

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Rightists Attack Key Córdoba Union

By Gerry Foley

"Accompanied by various kettle-drums, they chanted the slogans: 'It's clear, it's clear they've kicked Tosco and René in the rear,' and 'Lacabanne, Lacabanne, one by one he's driving out all the vermin.'"

About 1,500 delegates to a conference of the "normalized" SMATA (Sindicato de Mecánicos y Afines del Transporte Automotor—Union of Automotive Machinists and Allied Trades) in Buenos Aires were greeting the rightist interventor of Córdoba province, Brigadier General Raúl O. Lacabanne.

The general, who was appointed after Perón's death to replace the moderate interventor Duilio Brunello, had just launched an attack on the last stronghold of the class-struggle tendency in the Córdoba unions.

"In the airport," the Buenos Aires daily *Clarín* reported in its October 11 issue, "Lacabanne made reference to the events . . . [of October 10] in

his province and to the subsequent warrants for the arrest of Agustín Tosco and René Salamanca, as well as of the members of the former executive committee of the Córdoba district council of SMATA. The interventor stressed that 'we are not punishing ideas,' adding: 'These gentlemen are subversion incarnate and their cases fall under the Ley de Seguridad.'" The general was referring to the repressive new security law passed on September 30.

Agustín Tosco is the country's most prominent independent militant trade-union leader. He was invited in August by the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers party, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International) to head an independent working-class ticket. However, he chose not to oppose Perón in the elections.

René Salamanca supported Perón in the September 1973 elections. He was

not a Peronist; he identified with an explicitly socialist tendency. He is, however, a representative of a broad current that radicalized under the military dictatorship and accepted Perón to a certain extent as a symbol and rallying point of a national liberation struggle against imperialism.

The class-struggle tendency Salamanca headed in the automobile workers union was one of the leading forces in the upsurge of struggles that forced the military dictatorship to turn over office to a civilian government. Thus, the Peronist regime owes its position as much, perhaps, to him as to any other figure. However, it was specifically to get rid of such leaders as Salamanca "by other means" that the Peronists were invited back by the generals.

Salamanca's tendency was decisively defeated at the end of September when it proved unable to resist a government take-over of the Córdoba council of the union. Apparently the right wanted to destroy him completely or make an example of him.

In the campaign to crush the militant tendencies in the unions, the rightist Peronist bureaucrats have proved for the time being far more effective than the dictatorship.

In the October 10 SMATA conference, Lacabanne expressed his appreciation for the enthusiastic reception he received: "Without the help of the CGT [Confederación General del Trabajo—General Confederation of Labor], it would not have been possible to do anything."

The general secretary of SMATA, José Rodríguez, had complimented the brigadier general with evident enthusiasm: "Lacabanne has destroyed the image of a Marxist Córdoba." At the same time, the rightist bureaucrat launched a strong attack on the moderate wing of the Peronist administration. "This interventor is following our political line, not like the former one, who betrayed us."

The previous interventor, Brunello, was appointed after a coup at the end of February, when the local po-

Police, Right-Wing Gangs Attack PST

Police in the Argentine city of Córdoba smashed in the door of the headquarters of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers party, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International) on October 10 and seized all fifteen persons who were inside. The Communist party headquarters in the city were raided at approximately the same time.

The persons arrested at the PST offices were badly beaten and kept in jail for forty-eight hours. They were then released without being charged with any offense.

Over the weekend of October 11-13, two members of the PST were kidnapped by a rightist gang in Buenos Aires and tortured for several hours before being released. In the city of Mendoza, the PST headquarters was destroyed by a bomb.

In Córdoba, the police raiders

completely wrecked the PST offices. Damage was estimated at four million old pesos (approximately US \$2,200). Painted all over the walls were the slogans "Viva la Policía!" and "Viva las Tres A!" (Alianza Anticomunista Argentina—Argentine Anticommunist Alliance). The rightist murder gang hailed in this way by the police has already taken responsibility for the assassination of a number of well-known figures on the left.

The PST has demanded a halt to police complicity with the rightist gangs and has initiated a legal suit against the government, calling for redress for the attacks on its members and headquarters.

Protests against the official and unofficial rightist terror in Argentina can be sent to María Estela de Perón, Casa de Gobierno, Buenos Aires, Argentina. □

lice and the goon squads of the reactionary union bureaucrats removed the elected liberal Peronist governor and deputy governor of the province. The take-over had been prompted by the failure of the provincial government to crush a bus drivers' strike that had driven the first major breach into the wage-freeze provisions of Perón's Social Pact. In particular, the right objected to the deputy governor, Atilio López, the veteran leader of the striking union.

Perón sanctioned the coup by forcing the resignation of the elected government and putting the province under direct rule by the national executive. However, he tried to cushion the shock caused by the miniature "gorilla" putsch with the nomination of Brunello, a centrist, as interventor.

Nonetheless, after the decisive defeat of the left Peronists in Córdoba in February and March, the rightists continued to step up their pressure. Their aim was to break the militancy of the workers who had given the Peronists the chance to return to office by driving the military dictatorship into retreat with the insurrectionary general strikes of 1969 and 1971.

Atilio López had been one of the most prominent leaders of the clandestine Peronist union leadership that braved a severe persecution to keep the labor movement loyal to "el líder" during the dictatorship of the generals who overthrew Perón's first regime in 1955. He was a representative of the best of the labor leaders who allied themselves with the nationalist and reformist movement of Perón, a symbol of its contradictions.

Six months after he accepted "el líder's" ultimatum to resign, submitting he said, "as a loyal soldier of Perón," Atilio López was assassinated by the rightist murder gang that calls itself the Alianza Anticomunista Argentina (Argentine Anticomunist Alliance), which the Peronist government has allowed to operate with impunity. At the time of his death in mid-September, López was probably the last orthodox Peronist labor leader who retained any respect among the ranks.

The government take-over of Salamanca's union was another step in the rightist offensive.

On October 10, the rightists in Córdoba, who now had one of their own as the federal interventor, apparently decided to launch a new attack on

the class-struggle tendency in the unions, specifically on the Light and Power Workers Union, headed by Agustín Tosco.

This is the story the police chief who commanded the operations, Héctor García, told the press, as summarized by the *Clarín* published in the evening of October 10.

"At about 2 p.m. a patrol noted the presence in April 27 Street of a green Citroën with four men inside. These individuals aroused the suspicion of the occupants of the police car. Three of those in the Citroën allowed themselves to be arrested without putting up any resistance. However, a third made it onto the highway, while shots were fired at the police from an apartment in No. 568 of the same street.

"Immediately numerous reinforcements rushed to the scene.

"The police maintained a heavy barrage of gunfire against snipers who were positioned on the roof of the Light and Power Union building. The exchange of shots lasted for an hour and then the police force, without encountering any resistance, entered the headquarters of the union, where they seized arms of various calibers, leaflets, explosives, and bombs."

Tosco, the police claimed, had escaped over the back wall, using a ship's rope. There was no indication of any specific charges being lodged against him. Nor was there any indication of what connection Salamanca had with the alleged incidents at the Light and Power headquarters.

The reports suggested that both Tosco and Salamanca had gone into hiding, as they did after the February coup when they were hunted by mutinous police and rightist gangs. The Córdoba police reported that they had sealed off all roads leading out of the city.

It seemed strange, moreover, since snipers had allegedly opened fire on the "forces of order" from the Light and Power building, that the police had been able to enter the premises, as they themselves admitted, "without encountering resistance." Nor was it explained why the police had seized leaflets.

The claim that weapons had been found in the headquarters was immediately exploited by certain elements in the trade-union bureaucracy. At the October 10 SMATA conference in Buenos Aires, General Secretary Rodríguez said that the events in Córdoba

had shown that "the struggle SMATA took up [against Salamanca] was not a fight between leaders or bureaucrats but a struggle by a Peronist union to expell from its midst individuals in the pay of alien interests, enemies of the workers and allies of imperialism."

Rodríguez said that Salamanca and Tosco "had arms in their union headquarters in order to hand them over to the subversives who have no fatherland for use against the government of the people." (*La Razón*, October 11.)

Even if there were some weapons in the Light and Power Union headquarters, there would have been nothing strange about it. After a long series of murders of militant trade-unionists, murders the police have done nothing to stop, it would be understandable if the union leaders felt they had to defend themselves.

But the political and repressive nature of the police attack was made absolutely clear by the raids that followed the same day on the headquarters of the Communist party and the PST.

"Later the offices of the Communist party were raided," the October 10 *Clarín* reported, "and the police seized propaganda materials and arrested several persons." What connection could there be between the "suspicious individuals" in the green Citroën on April 27 Street and "propaganda materials" in the CP headquarters, which are hardly a sensational discovery in the offices of a political party?

In the PST headquarters, the police raiders wrote slogans hailing a rightist murder gang that has assassinated elected officials. They were the same police force that rose up in February against the legal government, joining openly with rightist gangs to impose a regime of reactionary terror on the entire city for a period of several days. There was no purge of the police forces after the mutiny ended.

A general attack on the left resembling the February coup had obviously been launched. If it was on a smaller scale, it was also true that there were no longer so many targets. The interventor Lacabanne said in Buenos Aires October 10: "We are mopping up what little is left."

As it did in the case of the earlier coup, the national government endorsed the results of the police rampage. The Ministry of Labor put the Light and Power Union in trustee-

ship, appointing an interventor to "normalize" the organization. He was "authorized to call on the public peace-keeping forces for the purpose of carrying out his mission."

It is not yet clear, however, whether the new attack heralds a new sharp turn to the right by the national government. The second police rampage in the provincial industrial city came immediately after the October 8 "Multisectoral" conference on eliminating violence, which was attended by all the legal parties. This conference was interpreted by many observers as a victory for the moderate wing of the bourgeois political forces, a victory that might have provoked the right to make a new show of force.

The rapid release of those arrested in the PST headquarters also could indicate a difference between what remains of the bourgeois-democratic provincial government and the police.

At the Multisectoral conference, the leader of the second-largest bourgeois party gave what was apparently a warning to the government. Ricardo Balbín of the Unión Cívica Radical (UCR—Radical Civic Union) said, in referring to the wave of assassinations in the country, "there can be no sectors with special protection." He went on to say: "I am looking for those who are responsible (the ones who direct the finger on the trigger). And when I find them, I will put their names on the desk of the president."

The representative of the CGE (Confederación General Económica—General Confederation of Business, the employers association) condemned "irresponsible attacks" against officials and representatives of "organizations committed to the national process," which he said were often made with the help of the "public publicity apparatus." He cautioned against "the growing use of the term 'Marxist' for all innovative initiatives or policies of change." He also scored "a tiny group of ranchers," who, he said, "are using verbal heavy artillery to attack the government."

As for "el líder's" heir, María Estela Martínez de Perón, her performance had a virtuoso's range. The press tended to stress statements pointing in a moderate direction, toward respect for the normal parliamentary niceties. For example, she said: "Over and above the ideological diversity and pluralism required by our way of life, we must consider the advisa-

bility of broadening this open and comprehensive spirit, of broadening our programmatic agreement, as was done under the leadership of Perón in the historic meeting of political and social forces held before the 1973 elections."

María Estela de Perón did condemn the violence in general terms a number of times, suggesting she might suppress the rightist gangs. For example, she said: "The government holds in its hands the power to totally eradicate violence in the country." But whenever she mentioned forces linked to violence, her target was always the left.

"I want to express my solidarity with the gallant Argentine army, which in these moments is being subjected to the treacherous attacks of enemies in the pay of foreigners."

At another point, she said: "Make no mistake, these acts of violence are directed against the state itself, against the country and every one of its citizens. What they want is to get the armed forces to come onto the street. And while I am president of the Argentines, I will not permit this."

At the same time, she tried to maintain the government's democratic image: "The causes for rebellion among the people that existed in our country have ceased to have any force since the establishment of constitutional rights. The government has been elected by a large majority of the people. It is working in harmony with all currents of opinion in the country."

A few sentences later, La Perón said: "There is harmony between the workers and employers, except in those sectors where the forces of disorder are operating with freedom and impunity."

After her speech, the press noted, the president singled out the leaders of the parliamentary democratic opposition—Balbín, Arturo Frondizi, and Américo Ghioldi—for special embraces. The role of these figures will obviously be diminished to the extent that the Peronist government rules by whipping up demagogic hysteria and naked gangsterism. At the same time, the support of such forces is important to the government, since it does not have the firm support of any sector of the bourgeoisie.

New overtures to these personalities could mean that the Bonapartist regime is swinging toward the center again and will hold the right in check to some extent, as it did after the first

Córdoba coup. But in any case, the new equilibrium will almost certainly be established well to the right of where the center stood after the February putsch.

How far the demagogic regime can push the pendulum to the right depends on the strength of the illusions still held by important sectors of the masses about the government's "constitutional" and "progressive" character. The right has succeeded to the extent it has essentially because of the illusions that much of the left and the class-struggle tendencies in the unions held about Peronism.

The PST representative in the Multisectoral, Juan Carlos Coral, used this platform to reiterate that what democratic freedoms the country enjoys are the result of the workers' struggles since 1969, in particular of the struggles by militant Córdoba workers who have been subjected to escalating repression by the Peronist government and the rightist Peronist gangs. He also took the occasion to denounce "the more general, almost institutionalized violence in our country constituted by coups d'état."

After the second police rampage in Córdoba, Coral called on those who had participated in the Multisectoral to show their dedication to "peace" and "constitutional" government by taking a stand against the illegal repression and intimidation of left political activists and trade-union militants in the key provincial center. He also demanded a meeting with the minister of the interior to press for the release of the arrested PST members and the removal of the cops from the PST headquarters. □

Imperial Retirement

The United States government is paying almost \$2 million a year for personnel serving former President Richard Nixon, according to Senator Joseph Montoya. That is for salaries alone. It does not include general operating expenses nor the costs of special jet flights carrying "national security briefing papers" from Washington to Nixon's San Clemente villa. Nor does it include a special "transitional allowance" pending before the Senate, currently expected to total \$200,000.

The \$2 million represents salaries for sixty-four government employees at San Clemente, totaling \$841,800; secret service protection at San Clemente, costing \$622,000; and secret service and other government personnel at Nixon's Key Biscayne villa, costing more than \$500,000 a year.

Peronist Regime Clamps Lid on Workers' Rights

By Juan Carlos Coral

[The following article appeared in the September 28 issue of *Avanzada Socialista*, weekly newspaper of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers party, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International in Argentina). Juan Carlos Coral was the presidential candidate of the PST in the March and September 1973 elections; he is a prominent lawyer who has defended and advised labor activists in a number of cases. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Taking the revival of guerrilla actions as a pretext, the Peronist government has just imposed a repressive, antilabor law on the country. This law makes it a punishable offense to hold certain political opinions and does away with the right to strike.

It is typical of the "state security" laws that oligarchic and repressive governments have issued time and again since the beginning of the century in an attempt to hold back the organization of the labor movement and prevent the spread of socialist ideas.

Argentina became acquainted with such laws when the landholding oligarchy was at the height of its political power: In 1902 the oligarchs had to resort to the residency law in order to deport the immigrant activists who had played a decisive role in organizing the first workers parties, trade unions, strikes, and demonstrations.

Later, during the infamous decade,¹ the traitor government of the conservatives, which held office through fraud, imposed similar legislation.

And in the most recent period, the

dictatorship of the commanders in chief² used them in broadened and perfected form to counteract the rise of the workers movement.

The law that the Peronist government has just passed combines the most repressive features of all the prior laws, adds some new ones, and in general increases all the penalties, making it beyond doubt the most reactionary and antilabor of all the "security" laws the country has seen.

An old English politician confessed a long time ago that the bourgeoisie prefers "to count heads in elections so as to avoid the bother of breaking them." It was precisely by following that prudent tactic that the Argentine bourgeoisie tried to spare itself the trouble of breaking our heads—by means of the simple device of counting seven million Peronist heads.³

Now, however, less than a year after General Perón came to office, it would seem that such broad popular support—the famous plebiscite—is no longer enough to enable the bourgeoisie to run the government by peaceful methods. The Peronist government has had to resort to the same legal instruments used by all dictatorships and oligarchies in the attempt to legitimize repression. Now they will have to take the trouble to "legally" break the same heads that they counted by the millions last September 23.

Law 4144, passed in 1902, was the first of a long series of repressive measures leading up to the present State Security Law. The government of that period, a typical representative of landholding and cattle interests, had become alarmed by a series of strikes and labor conflicts over the demand for one day off a week and an

eight-hour day. That was subversion! And since a considerable number of the activists and leaders of those mobilizations were socialist and anarchist workers who had immigrated from Europe, Law 4144—the so-called residency law—authorized the government to deport these "outside agitators" who were trying to change the Argentine "way of doing things." They were deported without any trial or right to defend themselves.

This "way of doing things" consisted of working seven days a week for an unlimited number of hours, with no labor laws, and for whatever wages the boss was willing to pay. The provisions of this law (which has since been repealed and was once declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court) have now been revived in Article 10 of the new Peronist law.

Then came the 1910 law for the "defense of social order" that followed the terrorist attack against President Figueroa Alcorta.

In 1934, the notorious "thought-control" bill proposed by conservative Senator Matías Sánchez Sorondo was passed, making it a punishable crime merely to hold certain ideas.

Then we can list as direct precedents—Decree 2985 of April 13, 1961, signed by Arturo Frondizi; Decree 4214 of May 24, 1963, passed under the de facto government of Guido; and finally, Law 17401 imposed by Onganía and extended by Law 18234 in 1969, which was the government's repressive response to the May mobilizations in Córdoba.

The law now in force in our country sets a stiff penalty of three to eight years in prison for a new crime that is defined in the following way: "Any attempt or recommendation, by whatever means, to alter or destroy the institutional order and social peace of the nation by means not sanctioned in the national constitution for the purpose of achieving one's ideological aims." This confused, ambiguous, and dangerous provision has been passed by the same legislators who tolerated

1. The infamous decade, from 1930 to 1940, was a period of surrender to British imperialism by the conservatives, who were put in power by a military coup and kept there by proscription of the main opposition party and by electoral fraud.

2. The dictatorship of the commanders in chief began in 1966 with the military coup that brought Onganía to power. It continued until the 1973 elections.

3. The Peronists received seven million votes in the elections of September 1973.

and endorsed the "means used" by Colonel Navarro to "destroy the institutional order" in Córdoba, by "means not sanctioned in the national constitution."⁴

This provision makes it a crime to hold certain opinions. It not only violates the national constitution, which guarantees the right of all who live in the country to publish their ideas in the press without prior censorship (Article 14), and which forbids the national congress from issuing laws that restrict the freedom of publication (Article 32). It also violates an elementary principle of criminal law that requires a precise definition of punishable acts. Furthermore, it violates the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which maintains:

"Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive, and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers."

As with the previous "security" laws, ideas are considered subversive acts coming within the scope of the penal code. A thought is punished as if it were an accomplished deed, when in reality the only things that can be punished are acts—never ideas, because in holding certain opinions a person assumes responsibility for their logic and coherence, not for the way they are viewed in the penal code. To establish any other criterion would mean a return to medieval law, incorporating the crime of heresy into the penal codes.

This is made even worse by the increased penalties. The reactionary Sánchez Sorondo bill in the 1930s set penalties of six months to five years. But, at the same time as broadening the definition of the "crime," the Peronist law calls for "three to eight years."

The antilabor essence of the new law appears most clearly in Article 5, which deals with the crime of going out on strike: "After a competent authority has ruled a strike illegal in the case of a labor dispute, anyone who incites persons to fail to comply with the obligations conferred by such a decision will be subject to a

prison term of one to three years." Since strikes are invariably declared "illegal" by the union bureaucracy through the intermediary of the Ministry of Labor, the legislators and the Peronist government are trying to make the printers, the teachers, and all other workers who urge strikes into criminals who should be serving sentences of one to three years.

This provision is also unconstitutional. The right to strike is incorporated in Article 14a of the current constitution. And in a debate on the adoption of this document on October 24, 1957, one of the delegates to the constitutional convention gave the following interpretation of this right:

"The right to strike cannot be limited by saying it is a trade-union right. It is a natural right. And more than a right, it is an action that can occur independent of the unions. Strikers naturally can only be punished when they commit a common crime. The penal code deals with this. We cannot limit the right to strike. No distinction can be made between legal and illegal strikes, because this certainly would produce disturbance and unrest in the country."

Nonetheless, Dr. [Jesús] Porto, reporter for the Peronist bill, has put forward the curious theory that the constitution of 1957 has no validity because it was passed when the Peronist movement was proscribed. We think that the convocation of a sovereign and legitimate constituent assembly is urgent. But we do not understand this challenging of a constitution that Dr. Porto accepted when it was a question of the election that put him in parliament.

In short, with this law the government that boasts of having abolished ideological frontiers in the international arena has now erected this kind of wall on the national scene. The penalties and crimes envisaged in the celebrated security law are not directed at fighting the guerrillas. Without any need for changes in the laws, the government is already applying the death penalty in practice against them. "Exterminate the enemies of the fatherland," the commander in chief has just trumpeted.

Nor, of course, is this law directed against the fascist bands like the AAA,⁵ which act with the same im-

punity as the Legión Cívica [Civic Legion], the ALN,⁶ Tacuara, and FAEDA⁷ acted in the past.

This law is specifically directed at slowing down the progress of the labor movement, at interfering with the spread of socialist ideas, and at creating a general climate of uncertainty and intimidation, which the country is already experiencing with growing anxiety. □

been responsible for the killings of several leftists and liberals in recent months and has published a list of others it plans to assassinate. No one has been arrested for any of the crimes for which the AAA takes credit.

6. Alianza Libertadora Nacional (Alliance for National Liberation).

7. FAEDA was an arm of the Argentine political police under the dictatorship of the commanders in chief. Dissolved by the Peronists when they took office, it had functioned to root out "subversives."

'Latin American Perspectives'

A new theoretical journal, called *Latin American Perspectives*, has begun publication in the United States. Its second issue, dated summer 1974, contains ten articles under the general theme "Chile: Blood on the Peaceful Road," and a review of literature on Chile that has been published since the September 1973 military coup.

The editors of the magazine state that its purpose is "to encourage wider and greater theoretical analysis of Latin American reality of the sort which is essential to the formation of viable political strategies. The objective is not merely to draw a clearer picture of the socioeconomic structure, but rather to help find the means by which Latin Americans can transform that structure."

The journal is soliciting manuscripts from political groups, individuals, and established scholars. The editors state that "top priority will be given to articles which strike directly at the heart of the most important theoretical issues of the present period in Latin America. . . ."

The editorial board includes Frank Bonilla, James Cockcroft, Michael Lowy, Jose Nun, James O'Connor, James Petras, and Anibal Quijano.

Latin American Perspectives is published three times a year. Subscriptions for individuals cost \$10 and can be ordered from P. O. Box 792, Riverside, California 92502. □

4. The February 1974 coup led by the Córdoba chief of police that ousted the elected Córdoba provincial governor.

5. The Alianza Anticomunista Argentina (Argentine Anticommunist Alliance) has

Racists Terrorize Boston Black Community



Racist mob in lynch attempt against Haitian immigrant Jean-Louis Yvon.

After weeks of racist violence that has built up into a lynch-mob atmosphere, leaders of the Black community in Boston, Massachusetts, have demanded that federal troops be brought in to protect Black students from white mobs seeking to halt school desegregation.

The white racists have been mobilizing ever since the opening of school September 12. They are trying to prevent Black students from entering the predominantly white schools, which were ordered desegregated by a federal court June 21.

The racists are trying to defend their special privileges and to deny Black children the right to a better education. The stakes in the struggle are enormous, not only for Boston but for the entire country. This is the first time in years that white racists have tried to prevent court-ordered school desegregation through mob violence. If they are successful in Boston, a supposedly liberal Northern city, it will encourage attacks against Blacks in other parts of the country.

The buildup of racist passions has been reflected in the mounting size

and confidence of the white mobs; in their taunts of "Niggers, go home"; in the rocks they hurl at buses carrying Black schoolchildren; in the appearance of roving banks of whites searching out lone Blacks to attack; in the rifle shots fired by white terrorists into a Black housing development; and in the friendly reception given to Ku Klux Klan leaders who hurried to Boston at the smell of racist terror.

It was on October 7 that a genuine lynch mob was formed and a Black man nearly lost his life. Jean-Louis Yvon, a Black immigrant from Haiti, was driving to meet his wife at work when he encountered a racist mob.

"There's one, get him!" someone shouted. "Get the nigger!" "Offer him up!" Yvon locked the car doors, but the mob smashed the windows, dragged him out, and began beating him. Only the firing of warning shots by a policeman pulled the crowd back. "He was going to be dead if I didn't [fire]," the cop said afterward.

Yvon's ordeal, while the most serious up to that time, was not the only such incident. On several occasions Black taxi drivers and bus drivers

have been attacked by white bands. In the Jamaica Plain section of Boston, buses carrying Black students have been stoned and a bullet was fired through the front entrance of the high school. White mobs have also stoned buses in the Dorchester, Forest Hills, and Roslindale sections of Boston.

Mayor Kevin White has capitulated to the racists' violence. "The Boston police can no longer contain the situation in South Boston," he told a delegation of Black parents October 9. He advised the Black parents to keep their children home.

The racists were given further encouragement that same day when President Ford denounced the federal court ruling ordering busing to end segregation in Boston's schools.

On the local level, the racist mobilizations have been organized with the open collusion of the Boston city government and leading figures in the state Democratic party. The Boston school committee, composed entirely of white members of the Democratic party, has helped build some of the massive "antibusing" demonstrations by urging white students to take leaflets home with them and by announcing that students would be excused from school to participate in the anti-Black marches.

The city council, also composed entirely of white Democrats, has permitted the council chambers to be used for weekly meetings of the city-wide "antibusing" coordinating committee. And when 10,000 racist demonstrators took to the streets October 4, the entire city council, most of the school committee, and several prominent Democratic state legislators marched in the front ranks.

The response from trade-union officials so far has been either to say nothing or to support the racist attempts to block desegregation. A contingent of iron and construction workers marched in the October 4 "antibusing" demonstration, and officials of the Boston Teachers Union have threatened a work stoppage until "order is restored," rather than coming

out resolutely against the racist violence.

While the extreme right wing of the Democratic party has been providing the leadership for the racist mobilizations, prominent liberals in both the Democratic and Republican parties have been providing a respectable cover for their colleagues.

The capitalist politician with the greatest authority in the state, Senator Edward Kennedy, has been conspicuously silent about the racist offensive, expressing only mild "dismay" at Ford's backhanded endorsement of the campaign against desegregation of the schools.

In the face of the government's unwillingness to provide protection for Black students, prominent Black leaders, Black community organizations, and the Black Caucus in the state legislature have called for a march against the racist offensive, scheduled for October 13. Although Mayor White has issued an order banning all demonstrations, leaders of the Black Caucus have declared that the march will take place whether or not a permit is issued.

At the same time, there is a widespread feeling in the Black community that federal troops are needed to protect the rights and safety of Black students. This conviction was reflected in the demand for 8,000 to 10,000 federal troops issued October 8 by members of the Black Caucus. If the troops are sent, this would be the first use of federal troops to enforce court-ordered desegregation in a northern U. S. city.

So far, Mayor White has limited requests for federal assistance to a mere call for 125 U. S. marshals. When the request was denied by the same judge who had issued the desegregation ruling, the governor of the state made 400 state and district police available, a force obviously insufficient to protect the lives of Black students.

In a statement issued in Boston October 9, the Socialist Workers party candidates for state office in Massachusetts stated their full support for the demand that federal troops be sent in and for "any steps taken by the Black community to organize its own self-defense." The socialist candidates declared:

"We completely support the demands made by leaders of the Black community that federal troops be sent to

Boston immediately to protect Black students from the escalating racist violence. . . .

"In this atmosphere, federal troops must be sent in immediately to uphold the desegregation order and to pro-

tect the Black students who are implementing it. All necessary force must be used to smash the racist offensive and guarantee the safety and constitutional rights of Black people in this city." □

Scottish, Welsh Nationalists Gain

Labour Wins Narrow Majority in Election

In Britain's general election October 10, the Labour government was re-elected with a narrow three-seat majority in the 635-seat House of Commons.

Final returns gave the Labour party 319 seats, with 39.3 percent of the total vote, up 2.1 percent from the previous election last February. The Conservatives held 276 seats, a drop of twenty, with 35.8 percent of the vote, their lowest standing in modern electoral history. The Liberals held thirteen seats, a loss of two. Their vote dropped slightly to 18.3 percent.

The popular vote totals of all three parties declined below their levels in the election eight months ago. A considerably smaller proportion of the electorate went to the polls—72 percent, compared with 79 percent in February.

A significant feature of the October 10 election results was the increased vote for nationalist candidates in Scotland and Wales. The Scottish Nationalist party, campaigning for the political independence of Scotland, went from seven to eleven seats, their most ever; and the Welsh Nationalists gained one for a total of three.

In Northern Ireland, the Protestant Unionists took ten seats.

The Conservatives had campaigned with a promise to form a "stop-Labour" coalition government with other forces, in the first place the Liberals. Labour Prime Minister Harold Wilson, campaigning for a solid Labour majority, dismissed this as "a desperate attempt by desperate men to get back into power by any means."

The Labour victory indicates that the British voters did not want a return to the Conservatives, defeated last February when Prime Minister Edward Heath called an election to back his hard-line stance toward striking coal miners.

But the slimness of the Labour majority—much smaller than last-minute polls had predicted—and the size of the vote for the Scottish and Welsh nationalists, showed that many workers do not feel that Labour offers a solution to their problems. Those problems include an inflation rate now running at 17 percent annually, and an unemployment figure of close to 700,000—much of it concentrated in underdeveloped areas like Scotland and Wales.

Wilson's program was summed up in the theme of his election-night victory speech: the need for "national unity" to confront the economic crisis, based on appeals to Labour's working-class constituency to make "sacrifices" in wages and living standards. Many workers evidently thought that since they would be called on to sacrifice no matter who won the election, Conservatives or Labour, they would rather have a government somewhat more sensitive to pressure from the trade unions.

The trade-union bureaucrats went along with Wilson's strategy, agreeing to his "social contract"—a promise of "voluntary" restraints in wage bargaining and increased efforts to avoid using the strike weapon—in hopes that this concession would encourage conservative-minded voters to turn to Labour.

Speculation immediately after the election centered on the extent to which Wilson would invoke his narrow parliamentary majority as justification for retreating still further from the hopes and demands of the labor rank and file.

The London *Financial Times's* political editor thought the election verdict would "not immediately affect the issue very much one way or the other." "Everyone" in the Labour government, he wrote October 11, "will

say that it is an approval of the social contract and will start talking about national unity as if they were Conservatives. In practice, however, external events and pressures seem far more likely to dictate Government policy."

Those "external pressures" include the course of the class struggle in Britain and the deepening trend toward a world recession—which would have a catastrophic effect on British capitalism.

The Labour government's attitude

toward the coming class conflicts was illustrated just before the election, when Shirley Williams, secretary of state for prices and consumer protection, charged that "rogue" employers were granting unjustified wage increases in an "irresponsible fashion." □

Refugees Flee 'Kurdistan's Guernica'

Sakharov Demands Halt to Iraqi Terror Bombing

Dissident Soviet physicist Andrei Sakharov has appealed for international support to help protect the Kurdish minority from the "cruel war" unleashed upon it by the Baghdad government.

According to the October 4 *Christian Science Monitor*, Sakharov's appeal was addressed to United Nations Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim as well as to Soviet Communist party leader Leonid Brezhnev. He called for a Security Council resolution demanding Iraq end its military action against the Kurds. He also called on those governments helping Iraq to withdraw their pilots and military advisers—a demand clearly aimed at Moscow's support to the Iraqi regime's efforts to crush the Kurds.

Since the renewal of fighting in March this year, tens of thousands of Kurdish refugees have fled across the border into Iran.

According to the September 5 *Washington Post*, twelve refugee camps set up in Iran already housed 80,000 Kurds, with another 20,000 refugees seeking shelter elsewhere. The Iranian Red Cross organization, the Red Lion and Sun Society, reported that the flow of refugees crossing the border had risen to 7,000 a day.

"... some estimates suggest," the September 22 *New York Times* reported, "that if the present level of battle is maintained the number may approach half-a-million by the end of the year."

"Qal'a Dizeh is Kurdistan's Guernica," wrote Smith Hempstone in the September 2 *Washington Star-News*, describing the massacre Iraqi bombers carried out in this Kurdish town of 25,000. It is only one of many instances in which Kurdish civilians have been deliberately bombed, but

it illustrates clearly the cause of the massive exodus.

Hempstone visited Kurdistan in August and wrote a series of six articles from behind the lines. From eyewitness reports, he pieced together the story of the attack on Qal'a Dizeh.

On the morning of April 24, two Russian-built Sukhoi-7 bombers came in at rooftop level and unloaded their bombs. They scored direct hits on a primary school and the marketplace, and a near-miss on the university. The planes turned and came in for a second run, strafing the town with high-explosive rockets.

The toll was 131 killed and more than 300 wounded, including seven university students and one professor. Most of the other casualties were women and children, since the majority of the men were at the front.

"On the day after the bombing," Hempstone wrote, "the students and their professors voted not to reopen the university until the war was won, and marched off to join the Pesh Merga [the Kurdish guerrilla forces]."

"'Qal'a Dizeh,' says Majib Yussif, a senior majoring in physics at the University of Sulaimaniya, 'opened my eyes as nothing else could have to the nature of this struggle: Either the Kurds will win their freedom or the Baathists will exterminate us; there is no middle way.'"

Iraqi forces have since captured most of the important cities and towns in Kurdish Iraq and threaten to cut the Kurdish-held area in two. Hundreds of villages and hamlets have been destroyed or heavily damaged. Columns of refugees have been strafed and crops napalmed, and at times when no better targets were found, the Iraqi planes have even attacked flocks of sheep and herds of cattle.

"Since Qal'a Dizeh," Hempstone reported, "the Kurds know what to expect and are a little better prepared. Whole villages have moved into the caves that honeycomb these rugged mountains, an estimated 250,000 people having been made homeless by the war. . . . The peasants carry on their lives as best they can, coming down into the plains to harvest their crops by the light of full moons."

The Iraqi objective, Hempstone wrote, is clear. Baghdad intends "to make a wasteland out of Kurdistan, to terrorize civilians, to turn them against [Kurdish Democratic party leader Mustafa] Barzani's leadership, to threaten them with starvation this winter when the passes from Iran are blocked with snow and there is nothing to replace the burned crops and the slaughtered animals.

"'If this is not genocide,' says Idriss Barzani, the nationalist leader's son and chief-of-staff, 'it will do until a better example comes along.'"

Moroz's Life in Jeopardy

Valentyn Moroz, the Ukrainian dissident historian who has been on a hunger strike for more than three months in Vladimir prison, is suffering from an inflamed gall bladder. Prison physicians stated that this ailment, compounded by his weakened physical state, constitutes a serious threat to his life.

At the same time, agents of the KGB, the Soviet secret police, have intensified their terrorization of Moroz's wife, Raissa. She has been told to stop concerning herself with her husband's fate. She has also been threatened with losing her job and with being evicted from her apartment. Recently, Raissa Moroz was reported to have been struck on the head by one of the rocks hurled through her windows by "unknown" assailants.

Bhutto Launches Military Offensive in Baluchistan

By Sharad Jhaveri

Jamnagar

More than 15,000 Pakistani troops are reported to have been deployed in Baluchistan to crush the struggle of the Baluchis for greater national autonomy.

A Pakistani Defence Ministry spokesman refused to confirm the report, commenting only that Prime Minister Bhutto's amnesty offer to the rebels would expire October 15. Bhutto has already threatened to crush the guerrillas still fighting in the mountains north and east of Quetta, the provincial capital, after the deadline runs out.

Radio Kabul in Afghanistan reported September 25 that Pakistani fighter planes have recently bombed Baluchis belonging to the Marri tribe, inflicting heavy casualties. As many as 400 persons were reported to have been killed or wounded in the bombings.

On August 7, the Bhutto regime cracked down on supporters of the National Awami party (NAP), arresting more than 100 persons associated with the "defunct Pakhtoon Zalma" (the guerrilla forces linked to the NAP) on charges of alleged subversive activities in the North West Frontier Province. The arrests came in the wake of Bhutto's visit to the province, where he made a virulent attack on the NAP of Khan Abdul Wali Khan for its past support to the Pakhtoon Zalma.

Baluchis form the largest nationality living in arid and mountainous Baluchistan. Pakhtoons comprise the second largest nationality in Baluchistan as a whole but form a majority in the North West Frontier Province. Both groups also spill over into neighboring Afghanistan and Iran. The two nationalities are composed mainly of rugged tribes with a long tradition of opposition to rule from the central government.

The National Awami party won majorities in the provincial legislatures in the December 1970 general elections. It is also the main bourgeois

opposition to Bhutto's Pakistan People's party. The NAP's leaders are mainly tribal chiefs and landowners, and they are generally conservative. Although the underlying conflict in Pakistan stems from the domination of the relatively advanced Punjab and



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Sindh region over the less developed and perennially exploited Baluchistan and North West Frontier Province, the NAP does not demand self-determination with the right of secession for the Baluchis and Pakhtoons. It calls only for greater regional or provincial autonomy within the framework of a federal state.

The NAP's main strategy for achieving this goal has always been parliamentary bargaining—not mass struggle. In fact, Khan Abdul Wali Khan has often asserted that while his party has never been secessionist, Bhutto's intransigence might drive the Baluchis to separate, bringing about Pakistan's disintegration.

Significantly, the demands of the

NAP are limited to the release of political prisoners, restoration of normal relations, and the granting of a greater degree of regional autonomy. In view of the NAP's history, its program, and the class composition of its leadership, it is likely that it will spare no pains to curb and ultimately betray the mass movement of Baluchis and Pakhtoons. The example of the Mujibur Rahman leadership in Bangladesh is instructive in this regard.

Neither Moscow nor Peking has shown any interest in the plight of the Baluchis and Pakhtoons. The narrowly conceived national interests of both bureaucracies has led them to pledge support to the integrity of the Pakistani state.

It is obvious that what is involved here is the right of Baluchis and Pakhtoons to self-determination. The logic of the situation, comparable with that of Bangladesh, points toward the possibility of this struggle developing into a struggle for socialist revolution. The movement has the potential to escape the control of both Bhutto and the NAP.

The recent deployment of troops on a massive scale suggests that Bhutto may opt for a military solution instead of trying to appease the demands of the NAP. After all, Baluchistan is not as far from the central seat of Bhutto's rule as Bangladesh was.

Nor is it likely that New Delhi will come to the aid of the Baluchis, since it is not directly affected as it was in the case of neighboring Bangladesh. In addition, Bhutto can count on the shah of Iran as an ally, since Baluchistan occupies a strategic place along the Gulf of Oman, an area regarded as a "security zone" by the Iranian regime.

Whatever the calculations prompting Bhutto to attempt a military solution, his latest move is bound to deepen further the Baluchi and Pakhtoon struggle for self-determination. □

Cuba Calls For Unity Behind Oil Producers

Cuba has replied to Washington's threats of economic war against the oil-producing countries with a call for anti-imperialist unity of Latin American and "Third World" countries. The Castro government's appeal stands in contrast to the failure of the Kremlin and the governments of most other workers states to challenge the U. S. attack on the oil producers.

The Cuban initiative was spelled out in a major policy speech by Fidel Castro September 28, at a mass rally in Havana held to mark the fourteenth anniversary of the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution. The full text of the Cuban premier's remarks was published in the October 6 issue of the English-language weekly edition of *Granma*, the organ of the Cuban Communist party.

Castro said, "U. S. strategy is very clear: to group the developed capitalist countries tightly under its control, to divide the nations of the Third World and isolate the oil-producing nations with the objective of imposing its conditions on them. To this end, it threatens [them] not only with reprisals of food supplies, but also with war."

The Cuban premier reviewed the long record of U. S. aggression in Latin America, and denounced what he described as Ford's recent proclamation of the United States' "right to intervene by any means—however illicit, dirty or criminal—in the internal affairs of the peoples of this hemisphere, as long as the reactionary and mean interests of that country deem it advisable."

He added: "What then is so strange, that with this elemental lack of respect and consideration toward our peoples, the United States today confesses and justifies the intervention in Chile, at the same time that it threatens Venezuela and Ecuador—among other oil-producing countries—with reprisals of hunger and even worse, if they do not give in to its demands to reduce the price of oil?"

The Cuban leader spoke scathingly of the failure of the Organization of American States (OAS) to reply to the White House threats. Describing

it as "the shameful OAS, the discredited OAS, the prostituted OAS," he asked: "Can anyone imagine that there remains even an ounce of decency or moral authority or reason for this ridiculous and wretched institution to exist?"

In place of the OAS, an "instrument of the worst form of neocolonialism," Castro called for a new hemispheric organization that would exclude imperialist countries.

"The United States is already a large community; the peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean have before them the historic task of forming theirs, as a necessary condition for liberty, development and survival. And that can never be achieved in unworthy promiscuity and by mixing with the United States. (APPLAUSE) Together, our peoples will have the force sufficient to provide us with the security and guarantee that no ITMA [Interamerican Treaty of Mutual Assistance] and no OAS have ever offered us in the face of the domination, the aggressions and the interferences of the United States."

The Cuban premier delivered a point-by-point rebuttal of Washington's claims that the oil-producing countries are responsible for the current world inflationary spiral and the international monetary crisis. "The responsibility for such problems falls basically on the United States itself," he said.

"They imposed on the community of nations the monetary system that gave the dollar a privileged position over all other currencies; they inundated the world and the central banking reserves of almost all countries with U. S. bills that greatly exceeded their gold backing; they blockaded and isolated the socialist community from international commerce; they began the Cold War; they unleashed the arms race; they and their allies in military pacts invested thousands of millions each year in armaments over a quarter of a century; they promoted the Vietnam war, that cost more than 150,000 million dollars. The war budget of the United States surpasses the figure of 80,000 million dollars

a year, and the CIA alone spends thousands of millions a year. In this dismal imperialist policy lie the roots of inflation and the monetary crisis that arose considerably before the increase in oil prices. Finally, they imposed the consumer society and the unlimited waste of the peoples' natural resources. The increase in oil prices, at most, sharpened a situation of crisis already unleashed by the imperialist society itself."

At the same time, Castro warned of the divisions among semicolonial countries that could result from the imperialists' increases in the prices of equipment, technology, and industrial products "way above what the cost of energy added to production cost."

". . . there are many countries in the world that are not industrialized and do not have oil, and whose agricultural products or raw materials do not compensate in price for the tremendous increase in industrial products and energy.

"That is why imperialist strategy takes into account that the demand to reduce oil prices may find acceptance in many poor countries. This could result in tremendous division among the countries of the Third World and, therefore, a defeat for the oil exporters; a defeat which, in the long run, would be that of all producers of raw materials and would signify a worsening in the unequal exchange that imperialism has imposed on our peoples."

This poses a special responsibility on the regimes grouped in the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries, he said. "If all the underdeveloped countries are to make the battle of petroleum theirs, it is imperative that the oil-producing countries make the battle of the underdeveloped world theirs. (APPLAUSE) It is not by investing the income from oil in the industrialized capitalist countries or in the international financial organizations controlled by imperialism that the support of the underdeveloped world can be won. These resources must be invested essentially in the Third World, in the struggle against underdevelopment, so that the petro-

leum battle really becomes a banner and a hope for all marginal peoples of the world."

The Cuban leader's implied criticism of the oil producers' investment practices was coupled with criticism of the failure of many Latin American governments to back Venezuela. Referring to President Andrés Pérez's "Open Letter" to Ford, Castro stated that "the Government of Venezuela has replied with energy and dignity to the speech by the President of the United States."

But he warned that "when Venezuela nationalizes its iron and oil in the near future—as its government has proclaimed—imperialist policy toward Venezuela will probably harden. This is the historic hour in which Venezuela needs the support of the peoples of Latin America, and Latin America needs Venezuela! (APPLAUSE) We must see in her battle a battle of all our peoples!"

With its "extraordinary financial resources," Venezuela "could do as much for the union, integration, development and independence of the peoples of Latin America as did the soldiers of Simón Bolívar in the last century," Castro said. He expressed the hope that the Venezuelans would "profit from the example of the Cuban Revolution," which had triumphed over imperialist opposition to emerge "victorious and unvanquished, as an irreversible factor on this continent."

Castro's speech was given scant news coverage in the United States, despite the fact that twenty-eight U.S. journalists were in Cuba at the time, accompanying the visit of two U.S. senators, Jacob Javits and Claiborne Pell. Yet the speech was described by the Cuban press as one "of vast historic importance," an assessment underscored by the presence of the major government and party leaders on the platform as Castro spoke.

Havana's call for unity against Washington's offensive has not been taken up by most other workers states (Peking, seeking to cultivate a special relationship with the governments of many semicolonial countries, is a partial exception). If anything, the Stalinist bureaucrats in the Kremlin and in the East European capitals have escalated the rhetoric of "peaceful co-existence" in recent weeks, striving to demonstrate their desire to continue the "détente" with the new administration in Washington.

Their attitude was conveyed during

the recent visit to Washington of Polish Communist party leader Edward Gierek, the first leader of the Soviet bloc to meet with the new U.S. president.

Gierek, who was reportedly briefed for more than four days in Warsaw by Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko just before his U.S. visit, devoted his speeches to praise of "the Soviet-American dialogue," as he put it in an October 10 UN speech that hailed "a general improvement in in-

ternational relations."

The *Daily World*, organ of the U.S. Communist party, obediently fell into line. It carried an article October 11 that tried to portray what it called the "oil crisis" as largely "a creation of the *New York Times*." The crisis had been sparked by a *Times* editorial September 22, the Stalinist paper said—conveniently forgetting that Ford himself had initiated the U.S. threats of economic war in a UN speech September 18. □

Cops Charge CP, ETA-V in Madrid Bombing

Witch-Hunt of Basque Militants Continues

Widespread skepticism has met attempts by the Spanish police to blame both the Communist party and ETA-V (Euzkadi ta Azkatasuna—Basque Nation and Freedom [V]), a Basque nationalist organization, for the September 13 bombing of a Madrid cafe. Eleven persons were killed and more than seventy were wounded in the explosion.

At a news conference in Madrid September 23, the head of the police special-inquiries brigade claimed that the bombing "was conceived and prepared by the military front of ETA, and carried out by a commando squad of the ETA-Fifth Assembly."

The police named eight persons they had arrested and charged with both complicity in the bombing and membership in the Communist party. They said that one of those jailed, psychoanalyst Genoveva Forest Tarrat, was ETA-V's most important representative in Madrid, and that she had been a member of the Spanish CP since 1962.

Others arrested included Eliseo Bayo, a journalist; Lidia Falco, a lawyer and a leader of the women's liberation movement in Spain; Vicente Sainz, a theater director; Maria-Paz Ballesteros Giobert, a television actress; and Antonio Duran Velasco, an alleged member of the Comisiones Obreras (Workers Commissions, or illegal unions).

The playwright Alfonso Sastre, husband of Forest Tarrat, was arrested later together with other persons.

The police claim that "subversive" material was discovered in the apartments of some of those arrested. This included a manuscript of the book *Operación Ogro*, recently published in France, which is the purported account by ETA-V militants of how they carried out the assassination of Spanish Premier Carrero Blanco last December. The cops claimed that the manuscript had been edited in Forest Tarrat's own handwriting.

On September 27, Santiago Carrillo, general secretary of the Spanish CP, issued a statement denying CP involvement in the Madrid bombing. None of those arrested, he said, belonged to the CP, which has always "unequivocally" declared "its disagreement with terrorism." Carrillo described the bombing as "a typically fascist act," and said that this "crime . . . has nothing in common with the known activities of ETA up to now."

Many observers both in and outside Spain have pointed to the absurdity of the police charge that those arrested belonged to both the CP and ETA-V, two organizations whose political differences are well known. Some have suggested that by trying to implicate the CP in the bombing, the Franco regime is trying to discredit the Democratic Junta, an opposition formation the CP has initiated with a broad range of other forces, including monarchists. In addition, the arrest of so many prominent intellectuals may be designed to intimidate all such opponents of the Franco dictatorship. □

Chilean Popular Front Re-formed in Underground

In an interview published in the September 17 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde*, Jaime Gazmuri, a leader of Chile's MAPU-OC (Movimiento de Acción Popular Unitaria-Obrero y Campesino—Workers and Peasants Movement for United People's Action), outlined the political tasks and perspectives facing his party and the Unidad Popular (UP—Popular Unity) coalition in Chile today.

The interview was conducted in secret somewhere in Chile.

Gazmuri was a founder of the MAPU, which originated in 1969 in a split from the ruling Christian Democratic party. As part of the Unidad Popular coalition, the organization went through several crises and splits. In March 1973 the right wing split to form the MAPU-OC.

Gazmuri told Jean-Pierre Clerc of *Le Monde* that the Unidad Popular had been reconstituted since the military coup. Its political line is substantially the same as it was under Allende's leadership—that is, the line of class collaborationism that disarmed the masses and paved the way for the bloody armed forces coup.

"Our aim," Gazmuri said, "is to establish a broad antifascist front, with the Unidad Popular serving as its backbone but extending far beyond the UP. The front should eventually include the middle classes as well as the democratic sectors of the armed forces."

Since the fundamental political division in Chile, the UP holds, is between the totalitarian junta and the supporters of democracy, the latter can be united around a common program and strategy to replace the junta.

Isn't this similar to the perspective held by the Christian Democratic party? Gazmuri was asked. The difference, he replied, is that the Christian Democratic leadership rejects unity with the left whereas the MAPU-OC holds this to be central to a successful struggle.

"... although the Christian Democrats have also come under attack from the dictatorship, they reject any common antifascist action with the left. They hope in this way to capitalize

on the growing discontent of the people and of a section of the armed forces. They could undoubtedly improve the governmental image. But the very foundation of the government's policies, and the main beneficiaries of those policies, would not be changed."

Today, he said, "the junta is becoming increasingly isolated politically. The problem as we see it is to convert that isolation into a massive mobilization against the junta."

Gazmuri held that the Catholic church hierarchy, which has spoken out against the repression, should be included among the democratic antifascist forces. "Of course, it does not want to carry out a formal break with the junta. But its official 'ideology' of 'national reconciliation' is clearly antifascist. . . ."

Another potential ally is to be found among the armed forces themselves, he said.

Here the MAPU-OC leader had a "self-criticism" to make of the Popular Unity government's approach. ". . . we had an incorrect analysis of the concrete forms the class struggle was going to take. To put it bluntly, we misunderstood the problem of the armed forces.

"There were democratic and progressive sectors in the army. The government was either unable or unwilling to use them to suppress the fascist elements, most of whom were fairly well known to us. The official policy of the Unidad Popular was to isolate the armed forces from the political process the country was going through, by insisting on their 'professional' aspect."

Gazmuri went on to say that "a certain number of generals" should have been purged from the army.

Another error committed by the UP coalition, he thought, was that it had unnecessarily "frightened" some sections of the army.

"We think that Unidad Popular correctly posed the real problems with respect to the program of the alliance, and the [state] institutions. But during the three years it was in power, it was incapable of establishing a united, co-

herent leadership. In our opinion, this incapacity resulted from the weight within the UP of the conceptions and practices of petty-bourgeois 'leftist' revolutionaries. Thus a certain revolutionary phrase-mongering frightened those sections of the army that were least likely to be spontaneously alienated from us. . . ."

Asked what kind of state he envisaged after the overthrow of the junta, Gazmuri replied:

"We want to establish a democratic state that respects individual and collective rights, and a multiplicity of views—except fascism. But it will be a new type of state, expressing the leadership of the antifascist alliance that we are seeking. It will therefore not be a dictatorship of the proletariat. It will be, let us say, a democracy based on renovated armed forces purged of their fascist elements, and on a new legal and institutional apparatus. Its task will be to destroy the national and foreign monopolies and the big landholdings."

As to strategy, the MAPU-OC leader maintained that "it is still too early" to resolve such problems as what forces can be drawn into the resistance, and what the armed forces will do. "But we do not think that the dictatorship will fall by itself, like a ripe fruit, as a result of its isolation. The final stage of the struggle will probably be insurrectional."

The first phase of the resistance, according to Gazmuri, was the reconstruction of the outlawed parties under clandestine conditions. This has been achieved "by all the parties." The second stage was to reconstitute "the principal leading force of the people's movement, the Unidad Popular." This, too, has been accomplished.

"We now have a common political line; it was expressed in a document that began to be circulated inside the country last May Day. A new joint declaration published on September 11 [the anniversary of the coup] specified the fundamental tasks now before us. In addition, we have successfully laid the basis for collective functioning of the parties of the UP."

The third stage—"the development

of the mass struggle against the dictatorship"—has now begun, he said. He explained that in recent weeks the Unidad Popular parties had publicized their program and analysis in factories, universities, and districts where

workers live, by throwing leaflets from buildings, or by lightning distributions of leaflets at bus stops during rush hours. Underground newspapers are also now being circulated, he added. □

at the City Square later in the afternoon. About 100 people took part, closely watched by a large contingent of police. After several speeches and a leaflet handout, the demonstration ended with no further incidents.

Over 200 uniformed and plainclothes police were involved overall in what was the biggest security arrangement in Melbourne's history. That most significant and ominous aspect was the fact, which was reported in *The Sun* of September 25, that police sharpshooters with telescopic sights were positioned on the roofs of buildings across the road.

This is the first time that the use of police riflemen has become public in this way. Rumors of armed cops waiting in reserve during the anti-Vietnam war Moratoriums had never been generally confirmed. The fact that people might have been killed to protect a tyrant like the shah is a disturbing development and one that should be protested as vigorously as possible.

Finally, in Canberra, on September 25, demonstrators protested the shah's visit as he arrived at the Lakeside Hotel for an official banquet at which Prime Minister Whitlam was present.

In all, the various pickets and demonstrations, which were widely covered by the media, did break through the official wall of silence about the shah's regime. This campaign has provided an initial basis for further activity to defend political prisoners in Iran and to protest the shah's imperialist adventures. □

Shah Put On the Spot

During a news conference in Canberra, the shah was confronted with some embarrassing questions about repression in Iran. Even the government-controlled Iranian press felt compelled to publish some of the exchanges with reporters. According to the September 26 issue of the Tehran daily *Etefaat*, one journalist asked: "Can you tell us how many political prisoners there are in Iran?"

The shah replied: "What is a political prisoner? We could have a discussion about this." In Iran, he said, "political prisoner" and "terrorist" mean the same thing.

When asked if the subject of political prisoners had come up in his discussions with Australian officials, the shah said: "I don't imagine that it is customary for statesmen to discuss each other's internal situation."

Expose Repression in Iran

Protests Greet Shah on Australian Tour

By Max Wechsler

[On September 18, the shah of Iran began a seventeen-day tour of the Far East, with stopovers scheduled in Singapore, Australia, New Zealand, Indonesia, and India. Although the announced purpose of the tour was to formalize previously agreed-upon economic arrangements, its larger aim was to build up the shah's image as a modern, progressive ruler.

[As part of its bid to obtain a steady flow of Iranian oil, the Australian Labor government organized a royal welcome for the shah and his entourage, conveniently overlooking the 40,000 political prisoners known to be held in Iran and the shah's introduction of 1,500 Iranian troops into Oman to prop up the reactionary Qabus regime. Protest demonstrations greeting the shah's public appearances in several Australian cities helped bring these facts before the public.

[The following article appeared in the October 4 issue of *Direct Action*, a revolutionary-socialist fortnightly published in Sydney.]

* * *

While official Australia went through all the motions of a royal tour during the shah of Iran's visit, a more hostile reception awaited him on several important occasions. And it was then that the truth about the shah's regime began to filter through the media screen to Australians at large.

In Sydney on September 23, about 50 demonstrators picketed the State Office block in Macquarie Street as the shah arrived for an official reception. Placards at the picket included: "Shah Out of Oman," and "Free the Political Prisoners." A banner in Arabic called for support for the Arab

liberation struggle in Oman. The protestors chanted "Go home butcher," and "Hands off Oman."

Later that evening a number of the demonstrators held up placards and chanted, as the shah, surrounded by security men, entered the Opera House for a special performance.

It was in Melbourne that the shah faced the strongest protests. These were organized by the broadly sponsored Committee in Opposition to the Shah's Visit. More than 150 demonstrators with megaphones, banners, and placards carrying the slogans "Free All Political Prisoners," "Stop the Torture in Iran," and "No Ties with the Shah" assembled outside the Town Hall to protest the shah's visit. The demonstrators chanted: "No ties with the shah."

Speakers used megaphones to explain to the crowd the nature of the shah's regime, the extent of repression in Iran, and the purpose of the shah's visit to Australia.

When the official convoy arrived for the civic welcome, the shah was noticeably disturbed by this noisy unofficial reception. Radio reports claimed that he refused, at first, to leave his car because of the demonstration.

Then, quite unprovoked, police moved in and attacked the demonstrators. They tore up placards and knocked individual protestors to the ground. Police horses were used but still the lines of the demonstration held. More police attacks followed. One man and two women were arrested, and another woman had her nose broken when she was thrown against a light pole. She had to go to hospital for treatment.

Another demonstration took place

Park and Tanaka Patch Up Quarrel

By Peter Green

Seoul and Tokyo have worked out a deal at the expense of South Korean exiles in Japan. After weeks of anti-Japanese demonstrations in South Korea and speculation that President Park Chung Hee might break diplomatic relations with Japan, Japanese special envoy Etsusaburo Shiina flew to Seoul September 19. He brought expressions of regret over the August 15 attempted assassination of Park by a Korean resident of Japan. Park's wife was killed in the shooting.

Park considered the written apology from Japanese Premier Kakuei Tanaka insufficient, so Shiina supplemented it with an oral statement. He also visited Park's wife's grave to pay his respects.

Park finally accepted the effusive apologies—but not without receiving something more substantial than mere words.

Park had accused North Korea of masterminding the assassination attempt and blamed Tokyo for allowing it to take place. The would-be assassin, Mun Se Kwang, had entered South Korea on a false Japanese passport, with a gun stolen from a Japanese police station.

But these weren't the real points at issue. Park's security service had been uncharacteristically lax itself. At the invitation-only ceremony at the National Theater, where the attempt took place, Mun somehow eluded 297 police and security agents outside and 251 inside. According to the September 3 *Washington Post* he even had to climb over a plainclothes policeman sitting next to him before running down the aisle to shoot.

What really enraged Park was the fact that Tokyo has not been able to suppress the activities of the influential General Association of Korean Residents in Japan, the Chosen Soren. The majority of the 625,000 Koreans living in Japan are opposed to Park's regime, and many are sympathetic to North Korea. Park has repeatedly pressed Tokyo to crack down on them. Mun was a member of a youth league

associated with Chosen Soren.

Park was further incensed at statements made during the crisis by Japanese Foreign Minister Toshio Kimura. Kimura stated in the Jap-



PARK

anese Diet August 29 that he believed there was no North Korean military threat to South Korea. On September 5 he challenged the Republic of Korea's claim to "sole legitimacy" in representing the entire Korean peninsula.

Park presented five demands to the Japanese Embassy in an official note delivered September 2 by Foreign Minister Kim Dong Jo. The key demand, according to a report in the September 3 issue of the Tokyo *Daily Yomiuri*, was for Japan to bring under control the "criminal" and "subversive" activities of Chosen Soren and other anti-Park organizations in Japan.

Park also demanded an official apology for the assassination attempt; the extradition to Seoul of three alleged accomplices of the assassin; full cooperation in investigating the "plot"; and correction of alleged prejudiced

and unfair reports unfavorable to South Korea's national interest in the Japanese press.

To back up these demands, daily demonstrations were held outside the Japanese Embassy in Seoul. Thousands of demonstrators tried to storm the embassy, and on September 6 about 200 succeeded in breaking in. They tore down the Japanese flag on top of the five-story building, ransacked offices, set an embassy car afire, and shattered all the windows on the first floor. The embassy staff barricaded themselves in the basement and on the fourth and fifth floors.

One of the men who tore down the flag tried to commit hara-kiri. At a demonstration September 9, thirty-two demonstrators cut off their little fingers with kitchen knives.

Demonstrations were also held in other South Korean cities. Korean police claimed that more than 700,000 had demonstrated in Seoul alone.

It soon became apparent to everyone that the demonstrations were not spontaneous affairs but had been carefully organized by the Park regime.

"According to the police," the September 13 *New York Times* reported, "the demonstrations are planned a day or two ahead and the script worked out between the demonstrators and the police protecting the embassy. Television coverage is coordinated, so that the cameras can get the best shot of the action."

The Tokyo daily *Yomiuri Shimbun* reported September 14 that demonstrators had been recruited by the government, with fines of 500 won (US\$1.25) levied on those who refused to go. As one Korean living in Japan told a New Asia News correspondent, "South Korean people don't have the freedom *not* to go to demonstrations."

Apart from the staged demonstrations, Park exerted pressure in other ways. The September 11 Tokyo *Mainichi Daily News* reported that "labor disputes" were affecting thirty-three of 167 Japanese-owned firms in South Korea. Strikes are normally illegal in Park's Korea.

Undoubtedly there is much genuine resentment of Japan. The memory of more than three decades of direct colonial rule by Japan from 1910 to 1945 has not been erased, and Japanese imperialism today has control over a sizable chunk of the Korean economy. But the demonstrations were orches-

trated by Park for different reasons, and the limits were strictly set. The September 23 *New York Times*, for example, reported that students were not permitted to join the demonstrations "because of fear that they would turn against the Government."

The background of Japanese special envoy Shiina shows that Park has no basic conflict with Japanese imperialism. "As Assistant Secretary in the War Ministry," *New Asia News* reported, "Shiina helped draft the plan to conscript more than one million Koreans to work in Japanese industry during World War II. Moreover it was Shiina who after the war wrote that 'if Japan's control over Korea is to be called imperialism, it is a glorious imperialism.'"

Park would have faced many problems if he had carried through his threatened diplomatic break with Japan. The September 15 *New York Times* reported that between 1965 and the end of 1973, Japan provided 26 percent of all the foreign funds going into South Korea, second only to the United States' 37.8 percent. Japan also took 33.4 percent of South Korean exports in the first six months of 1974 — almost as much as the 34.7 percent taken by the United States.

Washington was concerned at the falling out of its two Asian allies and apparently played a part in working out the final deal. U. S. diplomats had a number of secret meetings with representatives of the South Korean government. In addition, State Department officials reported September 3 that President Ford was sending a letter to Park, urging him to use "self-restraint" in his treatment of dissidents and expressing concern over the deterioration of relations between Japan and South Korea.

The September 15 *New York Times* reported that the White House also pressured Park with threats of economic reprisals and possible troop withdrawals. U. S. officials pointed out, according to the *Times*, that Seoul's position in the coming United Nations debate on the UN Command in South Korea was "already difficult and that the absence of Japanese support would do major damage."

The agreement reached between Seoul and Tokyo has been touted as a "compromise," but the result is likely to be something fully desired by both governments — an attempt to suppress

the political activities of Koreans in Japan.

The Japanese statement delivered to Park apologized for the fact that the assassination attempt was prepared in Japan and promised to make "every effort" to prevent its happening again.

As Repression Continues in South Korea

Protests in Seoul, Tokyo, Condemn Park

While Japanese special envoy Etsu-saboro Shiina delivered his "apologies" to Park Chung Hee in Seoul September 19 for the attempt on the dictator's life by a Korean resident of Japan, 30,000 persons rallied in Tokyo to protest the strengthening of the anticommunist alliance between the governments of Japan and South Korea.

Speakers at the rally included novelist Makoto Oda, Japanese Socialist party Chairman Tomomi Narita, Japanese Communist party Chairman Kenji Miyamoto, Komeito (Clean Government party) Vice-chairman Shoji Tada, and Sohyo (General Council of Japanese Trade Unions) Chairman Makoto Ichikawa.

According to *New Asia News*, this was the first time that representatives of the opposition parties and citizens groups had united in a joint action. They appealed for radical change in Japanese government policy toward South Korea; for the release of political prisoners held by Park; and for an end to the repression of Chosen Soren, the General Association of Korean Residents in Japan. The rally was followed by a two-mile march through Tokyo.

The repression in South Korea itself has not eased. On September 4 a military court in Seoul sentenced lawyer Kang Shin Ok to ten years in prison for violating Park's "emergency" decrees by defending his clients in court. Among his clients was dissident poet Kim Chi Ha, who was accused of taking part in an alleged antigovernment plot.

The September 5 *Japan Times* reported that Kang had "likened the semisecret trial to one under the German Nazis." Three other persons were sentenced the same day to prison terms

It also pledged to crack down on "criminal acts aiming at the overthrow of the government of the Republic of Korea." Such pledges can only be implemented by following Park's lead and stepping up repression of Koreans living in Japan. □

of from three to seven years under the same decrees.

A September 7 court-martial upheld the death sentences of eight persons convicted of "conspiring to overthrow the government," and commuted one other to life imprisonment.

After the assassination attempt on his life August 15, Park lifted two of his four emergency decrees, apparently believing the anti-Japanese and anti-communist witch-hunt he had whipped up would help silence oppositionists.

It hasn't worked out that way. At a protest mass in Seoul in mid-September, attended by 2,500 Catholics, a letter from imprisoned bishop Daniel Chi Hak Soun was read.

Then on September 22, Catholic and Protestant leaders announced the formation of a Council on the Realization of Social Justice. "After a two-hour prayer meeting, dedicated to 'those imprisoned for the sake of justice and restoration of democracy,' they also called on the Government to free all political dissidents, including 13 church leaders," the *New York Times* reported September 24.

The first street demonstration in Seoul since Park enacted the emergency decrees early this year was held September 26. A thousand Catholics carrying candles marched a short distance through the shopping district of Myungdong before being blocked by riot police.

Students have also started to mobilize again. In their first public action since last October, 4,000 students attended a prayer meeting September 23 at Ewha, South Korea's largest university for women in Seoul. The students demanded the release of all student political prisoners and collected signatures after the meeting. □

Wide Support for New Zealand Abortion Clinic

By George Fyson

Wellington

The controversy over New Zealand's restrictive abortion laws has come to a head in recent weeks, with attacks on the country's first private abortion clinic, in Auckland.

On August 30, a private member's bill—the Hospitals Amendment Bill—was introduced into parliament, seeking to restrict the performance of abortions to public hospitals. The measure was introduced by government MP Dr Gerard Wall, who is a Catholic and a member of the Society for the Protection of the Unborn Child (SPUC).

Then on September 16, the police raided the clinic, seizing its files on the 500 women who had been patients there since it opened in May. Both measures provoked a major public outcry.

At present abortions are carried out in both public and private hospitals, although it is generally acknowledged that the operation is easier to obtain in private institutions. There is a cumbersome procedure for obtaining abortions in public hospitals, and a high proportion of requests are turned down.

The disadvantage with private hospitals is the high fee charged—often as much as \$300 or \$400 [NZ\$1 equals approximately US\$1.31]. In contrast with this, the Auckland abortion clinic was operating on a non-profit basis and providing abortions for only \$80. As a result, it was flooded with requests and was operating at full capacity.

The low cost and relatively easy availability of abortions at the clinic infuriated SPUC, which alleged that the clinic was breaking the law. The law allows abortions only in cases where the life or health of the woman is endangered, and specifies jail terms of up to fourteen years for anyone performing illegal abortions.

Several organisations spoke out against the Hospitals Amendment Bill. An indication of the breadth of the reaction can be seen from the

speakers' list at a public protest meeting of 500 persons in Wellington, September 6. Among those represented were the Methodist and Presbyterian churches, the General Practitioner Society, the Council for Civil Liberties, the Student Teachers Association, Pol-Link (a liberal grouping in the National party), Values party, Young Socialists, Women's National Abortion Action Campaign, Abortion Law Reform Association, Gay Liberation, and three local feminist groups. Messages of support were read from three members of parliament.

The College of Psychiatrists and the conservative Medical Association of New Zealand also publicly opposed the bill. Medical organisations were particularly irate because Dr Wall tried to pretend that the reason for the bill was the need for adequate backup facilities in case of an accident during the operation. Doctors pointed out that private hospitals performed far more dangerous operations than abortion, and that in any case the clinic itself is situated only a few doors away from a major public hospital, where full emergency facilities are available.

When the bill was introduced, it was declared that there would be a free vote of MPs on it, so that all could exercise their "individual conscience." This made it plain that medical safety had nothing whatever to do with the measure.

Dr Wall also tried to portray the move as a step away from profit-making private hospitals. However, as many of the clinic's supporters replied, to legislate private medical services out of existence while public facilities are inadequate and overcrowded does nothing to solve the problem of exploitation by private medicine.

Similar protest meetings to the one in Wellington were held in other major cities, as well as a demonstration of 420 persons in Wellington on September 13. A petition against the bill had more than 4,000 names on it within a week.

But the strongest response was prompted by the September 16 police raid on the clinic's records, which caused it to temporarily close down. Even some of the leading antiabortion doctors spoke out against the seizure of medical files, and public pressure was such that Minister of Justice Finlay stated he was "deeply disappointed" that the clinic was compelled or felt it had to close.

The prime minister, Bill Rowling, acknowledged at a news conference that such police actions were "repugnant to many people." He said of the Labour caucus meeting that discussed the police raid: "a number of caucus members were not entirely enthusiastic about the way things appeared to have happened. . . ."

Organisations representing the medical profession, social workers, psychologists, psychiatrists, nurses, and students protested the raid. Pickets and marches were held in a number of centres, including a demonstration of 300 outside the Auckland police headquarters, and a march of 500 in Christchurch on September 20.

In Wellington, while a deputation met with the minister of police to question him on the police raid, a crowd of about 120 supporters of the clinic stood outside parliament. They heard a series of speakers, including the deputy prime minister's wife, Cath Tizard, who said it was time for people to stand up and be counted on this issue.

It remains to be seen what the government's next move will be. Clearly, the breadth of the response to the attack on the clinic has caused government officials to pause a little, but on the other hand, the antiabortion lobby, spurred on by the Catholic church hierarchy is mounting strong pressure on them. On September 20 in Wellington, SPUC organised a 5,000-strong "rally for life" in support of the Hospitals Amendment Bill. However, the number of people mobilised by SPUC is not a reflection of general public opinion on the abortion issue. Opin-

ion polls have consistently shown that a majority favours either total repeal of the laws or at least some liberalisation.

The prime minister has announced that no further action will be taken on the Hospitals Amendment Bill until

any court actions arising from the police raid on the clinic are settled. If the police do proceed with prosecutions against the clinic, it is likely that this will provoke further protests and ever-widening support for the abortion clinic. □

should not resort to oppressive measures to stifle the beliefs of these prisoners, the court nevertheless pleaded helplessness in alleviating the wretched prison conditions under the existing legal system.

Commenting on this verdict, an editorial in the September 15 *Times of India* admitted that it was common knowledge that jailers—particularly in West Bengal, Bihar, and Andhra Pradesh—have more or less a free hand in dealing with prisoners. The same editorial noted the huge gap between the facilities prisoners are legally entitled to and those actually available.

The jail authorities serve prisoners substandard food and make a sizable profit on purchases of provisions. Irregularities are committed in the delivery of mail and books. It has been reported that in some Calcutta prisons, Hemingway's *A Farewell to Arms* and Tolstoy's *War and Peace* are banned on the pretext that they are subversive.

An editorial in the September 18 *Times* said that the government should have issued a categorical statement about the number of political prisoners and the conditions of their detention when a nonpartisan body like Amnesty International inquired about them. The *Times* editors reminded the government of its duty to explain to its own people why it is keeping a large number of young people in jail without trial and called for an early trial of all political prisoners who have been detained under DIR (Defence of India Rules) or MISA (Maintenance of Internal Security Act).

It is deplorable that the organised left movement has failed to respond adequately to the challenge posed by the abominable prison conditions of India.

A program in defence of the democratic rights of political prisoners in India should be adopted and fought for by the left movement. □

Same as Other Countries, Says Gandhi

India's Forgotten Political Prisoners

By Sharad Jhaveri

Jamnagar

A report issued by Amnesty International September 17 states that 15,000 to 20,000 political prisoners, most of them alleged supporters of the Communist party of India (Marxist-Leninist), commonly known as "Naxalites," have been detained without trial in West Bengal since 1971. Some of them have been kept in chains for periods of up to two years.

The report lists a number of acts of torture that have been charged against warders and police. These include severe beatings, electrical shocks, and the insertion of pins and nails into the most sensitive parts of the body. In addition, some prisoners who have been tried and found not guilty have been immediately rearrested and detained on other charges without trial.

The Gandhi government has failed to respond to several inquiries made by Amnesty International. Martin Ennals, secretary-general of Amnesty International, reports that during the last year and a half, he has frequently raised the issue of political prisoners with authorities in Delhi and Calcutta.

When forty-six prisoners went on a hunger strike last May, Amnesty International's research department prepared a report on conditions in West Bengal jails. The report was submitted on June 14 to Prime Minister Gandhi and S. S. Ray, chief minister of West Bengal, but neither has replied. Amnesty International then decided to update and publish the current report.

Amnesty International does not consider Naxalites prisoners of conscience and therefore does not mobilize aid for them. It has, however, called for immediate steps to ensure that the prisoners receive a fair trial at an

early date or be immediately released on bail.

Recommendations of the report include the following:

- That the government prosecute only those who have committed offences punishable under the Indian Penal Code.

- That the government conform to United Nations minimum regulations in its treatment of prisoners.

- That the government investigate all charges of torture and ban further use of torture.

- That all deaths of prisoners be investigated and that steps be taken to prevent additional deaths.

- That prisoners be permitted to apply for legal aid and to confer in private with their legal advisers.

The Gandhi regime reacted sharply to the report, describing it as "totally baseless" and charging that its figures are highly inflated. According to the government, the number of Naxalite detainees is 592 and the number of convicts and under-trials (those charged with specific criminal offences) is 1,017, making a total of 1,609.

The government admits that 18,119 Naxalites had been arrested between March 1970 and 1974, but claims that the number of those in detention at any one time never exceeded 3,000. Overcrowding in jails was conceded, but the government concluded with irony: "Jail conditions in India can be compared with those in any other country."

In mid-September, the Supreme Court issued an important ruling on prison conditions in India and the rights of convicts. While upholding the fundamental rights of convicts and suggesting to the government that it

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AROUND THE WORLD



Ethiopian Military Moves Against Army Dissidents, Eritreans

Ethiopia's provisional military council sent in armored personnel carriers mounted with machine-guns to take over the army engineering corps depot in Addis Ababa on October 7. According to an Associated Press dispatch of that day, several persons were killed or wounded in the shootout that followed. The council later issued a statement saying only that an "incident" had occurred and that an unspecified number of army aviation and engineering corps officers had been arrested.

The military council has also proclaimed a dusk-to-dawn curfew in Asmara, the provincial capital of Eritrea. Although no official explanation was given, diplomatic sources say it was imposed because of a meeting being held near Asmara by two rival factions of the Eritrean Liberation Front—the General Command and the People's Liberation Forces—in an attempt to unify their forces in the struggle for Eritrean independence.

Bolivian Regime Shuts Down Schools

In response to a two-week strike of public-school teachers in La Paz, the Bolivian Ministry of Education ended the school year October 3, a month before its normal closing date. The teachers were demanding more democracy in their union, but Education Minister Waldo Bernal claimed this was just a cover for seeking "to create an atmosphere conducive to subverting public order."

Guyana Blocks Bauxite Exports After U.S. Firm Refuses to Pay Tax

The government of Guyana has blocked the export of two boatloads of bauxite by Reynolds Metals Company, and has threatened a public auction of the Reynolds' property to recover the tax the company has refused to pay.

Recently Guyana raised its levy on the 930,000 tons of bauxite that Reynolds expected to mine there this year from \$1.5 million to \$8.5 million. The new bauxite legislation includes provisions

for prison terms from two to four years and for fines of up to \$150,000 for individuals involved in nonpayment and other violations of the law.

On October 5, Reynolds refused to pay the first \$3.5 million installment, claiming that it was "expropriatory." The company confirmed that it had pulled out its four top officials from Guyana "for consultations." Their families also were withdrawn, the company said, because of "unsettled conditions."

Moscow Finds Scapegoat for Art Show Debacle

The Soviet Communist party has sacked B. N. Chaplin, the Moscow party official in charge of the district where an unofficial art show was broken up on September 15. According to Soviet sources cited by the October 10 *New York Times* the dismissed official was being made the scapegoat for the bungling bulldozer attack on the exhibition, which provoked an international outcry. It was highly doubtful, the sources said, that he had been the official ultimately responsible for the suppression of the art show.

5,000 Catholics Demonstrate Against Park's Repression

Five thousand Roman Catholics marched through Seoul October 9 to protest the repressive regime of Park Chung Hee. The demonstration followed an outdoor protest mass attended by 15,000 persons at the Holy Spirit Catholic Seminary.

Plainclothes policemen and riot policemen tried to stop the march soon after it left the seminary. Several U.S. and Irish missionaries taking part in the demonstration were clubbed by the police.

During a two-hour standoff, the demonstrators chanted slogans demanding the release of Park's political prisoners. Then priests and seminarians managed to force a narrow path through the police ranks. Hundreds of nuns and thousands of others filed through, many singing a traditional hymn that has become to the antigovernment movement in South Korea what "We Shall Overcome" was to

the U. S. civil rights movement.

Through the sermon at the protest mass—delivered by Bishop Kim Chae Duk—and with their banners, placards, and pamphlets, the Catholics demanded that Park revise the constitution, eliminate corruption, and raise the standard of living.

Groups of Korean university students have also begun sit-in fasts to dramatize their opposition to the government.

The protesters believe that the scheduled visit of U. S. President Ford to South Korea November 22 has acted as a shield. They feel that Park's fear of worsening his regime's public image in the United States has temporarily prevented him from cracking down heavily on dissent.

Australian Unions Win Higher Wages for Crews of Visiting Ships

Action by Australia's maritime unions against flag-of-convenience ships entering Australian ports is forcing shipowners to pay International Transport Federation (ITF) wages to the Asian, African, Arab, and Pacific island crews of these vessels. The campaign by the Waterside Workers' Federation, supported by the seven seagoing unions and backed by the Australian Council of Trade Unions, has secured ITF agreements with sixty-nine vessels since April 1972.

This campaign has resulted in more than US\$373,000 for current wages being sent to the ITF, and an estimated \$447,000 in back pay going to the crews of thirty-five ships.

South African Student Leader Granted Asylum in Australia

The Australian government has granted Neville Curtis, former president of the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS), temporary permission to stay in Australia. Curtis was one of several student leaders "banned" after a South African parliamentary commission stated that the anti-apartheid activities of NUSAS were a "threat to the security of the State." Curtis escaped from South Africa using a borrowed passport after being charged with having broken his banning orders (which make a meeting

with more than one other person illegal). He and another NUSAS leader had attended a game of bridge.

Curtis has been granted an entry permit for a month, with a possible extension "to allow the fullest consideration of his case," according to Minister for Labor and Immigration Clyde Cameron. Curtis faces severe persecution if he is returned to South Africa.

Saigon Police Attack U.S. Reporters

Several demonstrators and three U.S. reporters were attacked by plainclothes policemen during a protest against Thieu's press censorship in Saigon October 10. One of the reporters, CBS correspondent Haney Howell, was hospitalized with possibly serious internal injuries. One Buddhist nun was knocked unconscious.

The demonstration, attended by about 300 journalists and 1,000 others, gained support along the march route from crowds on the sidewalks. Many joined the protest, causing a traffic jam in downtown Saigon.

Thousands March in New Delhi Inflation Protest

A demonstration estimated at more than 15,000 persons was held in New Delhi October 6 to protest rising prices and the shortage of food. The protesters attempted to march to Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's home, but were halted by police.

Fanfani Asked to Form New Italian Government

President Giovanni Leone has called on Amintore Fanfani, general secretary of the Christian Democratic party, to form a new cabinet, following the collapse of Italy's coalition government October 3. The government, headed by Premier Mariano Rumor, was the country's thirty-sixth since the second world war.

The government's resignation came only 105 days after Rumor had patched together his cabinet in the wake of a similar crisis last spring.

The Rumor coalition included Christian Democrats, Socialists, and Social Democrats, and was supported in parliament by the small Republican party.

Fanfani has outspokenly rejected offers by the Communist party, which has the biggest membership of any party in the country and 179 seats in the 630-seat Chamber of Deputies, to enter the bourgeois government in a "historic compromise."

The political crisis has come at a particularly bad time for the Italian bourgeoisie. Italy is running the largest balance-of-payments deficit in Europe—expected to hit well over \$10,000 million this year. Its inflation rate is about 20 percent.

The day after the cabinet collapsed, Fiat, the largest automobile manufacturer in Europe, announced that it was reducing production by 200,000 vehicles a year and putting 65,000 workers on short days.

Swiss Cabinet Drafts New Abortion Bill

The Swiss cabinet has drafted a compromise abortion bill that would remove some restrictions on the right to abortion. Under the new bill, a woman would be able to obtain an abortion if the birth of the child would create a situation of "grave distress," if she had been raped, or if the child might be born deformed. In all cases, the abortion would have to be approved by a state-appointed official.

Legislation currently on the books bans all abortions except those certified medically necessary to prevent endangering a woman's life.

The Swiss Union for the Decriminalization of Abortions has denounced the new bill as "hypocritical" and is demanding that women be allowed to decide for themselves whether to have an abortion.

Majority Against Nixon Pardon

Sixty percent of U.S. citizens think that President Ford's full pardon of Richard Nixon was wrong, according to a recent Harris poll.

Fifty-two percent of the 1,544 adults polled said they would have felt better if Nixon had made a full confession, and 56 percent would have felt better if Nixon had been tried.

The results also showed that 74 percent thought that Nixon was guilty of Watergate crimes.

New Constitution Voted in Thailand

Thailand's National Assembly approved a new constitution October 5, and two days later King Phumiphol Aduldet signed it. The constitution provides for elections to the lower house, which are tentatively scheduled for February 1, and the appointment of an upper house by the king.

The National Student Center of Thailand, which played a major role in the mass demonstrations that overthrew the military dictatorship in October 1973,



staged a three-day protest in Bangkok September 18-21, demanding a number of amendments to the proposed draft of the constitution.

The students called for lowering the minimum voting age from twenty to eighteen, lowering the minimum age for candidates from twenty-five to twenty-three, requiring prior approval from the National Assembly before allowing the entry of foreign troops or the use of Thai troops abroad, and abolishing the upper house of the National Assembly. All of their demands were rejected.

Profiteers Divert Food Supplies Sent to Aid Chad Drought Victims

Large quantities of food donated by international relief groups to feed the estimated two million Chadians affected by drought has been delayed or diverted by profiteers, according to relief representatives in Njamena, the capital of Chad. Much of the backlog of relief supplies has been caused by the Cooperative of Chadian Transporters, a trucking monopoly with close ties to many government officials.

New Issues of Ukrainian Herald

Issues Number 7 and 8 of the *Ukrainian Herald*, the samvydav (self-published) journal, are now circulating in Ukraine. The *Ukrainian Herald* was one of the key targets of the secret-police crackdown launched in January 1972 to stop the circulation of underground writings. The last issue to appear was dated March 1972. Issues Number 7 and 8, in one volume, are dated spring 1974.

'Chile's Days of Terror'

Reviewed by Ernest Harsch

The eyewitness accounts collected in *Chile's Days of Terror* record the impressions and observations of the September 11, 1973, military coup in Chile by some of its survivors. Most of the testimonies in this anthology were given to the U. S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) in Mexico City in October 1973, shortly after the first group of refugees from Chile arrived there.

The seventeen survivors interviewed included several Chileans, a number of other Latin Americans who were

Chile's Days of Terror, edited by Judy White. New York: Pathfinder Press, 1974. 124pp. \$1.75.

living in exile in Chile at the time of the coup, and one person from the United States. Most had followed closely the political events that led to the coup, and several were able to offer an assessment of the reasons for the defeat of the Unidad Popular (Popular Unity) government. But the main value of the accounts lies in the immediacy and detail with which they describe the brutal repression unleashed by the junta.

As novelist José Yglesias noted in his introduction to the book, "An anxious concern for the thousands now in jail in Chile compels the people in this book to speak urgently to us. . . . The ferocity with which they themselves were hunted down and the brutality with which they were treated when caught urge us to find ways to rescue the others."

Jim Ritter, a U. S. physicist who taught at the Catholic University in Santiago, described some of the events leading up to the coup: the lockouts by employers, the strikes by doctors and lawyers opposed to the Allende regime, the antigovernment marches

by wealthy women who came from the suburbs to the center of Santiago in their Mercedes-Benzes, the activities of the fascist Patria y Libertad (Fatherland and Freedom) group, the June



EXECUTIONER PINOCHET: Survivors tell of bloodbath that followed coup.

29 attempted coup. "In the two and a half months between that attempted coup and the coup of September 11," he said, "everyone knew the situation had reached the breaking point."

Although the danger of a coup had been in the air for a while, when it came it still shocked the Chilean masses. Hugo Blanco, the Peruvian Trotskyist leader, noted this immediate impact of the coup: "The atmosphere on the street was one of total chaos, like I had seen in the streets of Cuzco, Peru, after the 1950 earthquake. That is the only possible com-

parison for what I saw in Chile, such shock on people's faces on account of what was happening."

José, a member of the Chilean Communist party for fifteen years and a worker at the Indugas factory in the Cordón O'Higgins in Santiago, described the confusion and helplessness of the workers in the face of the coup. After hearing that the coup had begun, the factory intervenor (a government-appointed administrator) called a meeting of the workers.

"No one knew what to do, we all felt crushed," José said. "The intervenor said that it just couldn't happen to Chile, and asked what we could do. . . . We decided that we should go to our homes. We could do nothing in the factory since we didn't really know where we stood, nor were we in contact with any other people. . . . We were all grief-stricken, especially those of us who had always stood on the side of Allende. We left bitter at our impotence, our inability to act to help our government. We were totally defenseless."

In some factories, there was sporadic, unorganized resistance. Juarez Ferraz de Maia, a Brazilian exile, told of the bombing of Technical University and the attack against his factory:

"The cannons and .30-caliber machine guns later took up positions in front of our factory and opened fire. The workers resisted, not for the mere sake of resisting, but in defense of the rights they had won. . . . Many *compañeros* were taken prisoner and shot on the spot, without trial, without anything."

The observers told of the mass arrests; the summary executions; the bombing of *poblaciones* (shantytowns); the burning of books; the attacks against Blacks; the dragnets set up to catch political activists, union-



ists, and foreigners; the conditions of the prisoners at the National Stadium; the torture.

Some of those interviewed had themselves been arrested. Jim Ritter was beaten, and Jurandir Antônio Xavier and Osni Geraldo Gomes, two Brazilians, were tortured.

Gomes described those involved in his torture: "When they were through with all the others, they came to get me—the Chilean officer and the Brazilian in charge of the tortures, who was later identified by one of my *compañeros* as being José Alfredo Posck, an officer of the Centro de Informação de Marina (CENIMAR), which

is connected with the CIA."

One of the Chileans told Posck, "Now we want to see the techniques you people employ and how efficient they really are." Gomes was then hung from a pole and given electrical shocks for two hours.

These seventeen observers were fortunate enough to escape the junta's terror with their lives. But as Judy White wrote in her forward to the book, many others were not so lucky. Between 18,000 and 20,000 persons were killed and more than 65,000 have been jailed since the coup. More than 350,000 workers have been fired from their jobs for political reasons.

Ten to twelve thousand persons are still held in the junta's prisons and concentration camps. It is for the coup's thousands of victims that the contributors to this book speak.

Juarez Ferraz de Maia concluded his account by stating: "The American people must be made to know what is going on in Chile. . . . I think that the workers, students, progressives, and democrats from the States have the most effective means to stop the summary executions that are going on in Chile. They must wage such a campaign that they force the U.S. government to come out against the repression." □

La Policía Argentina a la Caza de Activistas Sindicales

Derechistas Atacan Sindicato Clave de Córdoba

Por Gerry Foley

[La siguiente es una traducción del artículo "Rightists Attack Key Córdoba Union", que aparece en este mismo número de *Intercontinental Press*].

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"Acompañados con varios bombos, se cantaron los estribillos: "Ya lo vé, ya lo vé; se acabó la j . . . a Tosco y René" y "Lacabanne, Lacabanne, despacito, despacito, va volteando los bichitos."

Cerca de 1,500 delegados que asistían a una conferencia del SMATA [Sindicato de Mecánicos y Afines del Transporte Automotor] "normalizado" que se celebró en Buenos Aires, saludaban de esta manera al interventor derechista de la provincia de Córdoba, Brigadier Mayor Raúl O. Lacabanne.

El Brigadier, que fue designado después de la muerte de Perón para reemplazar al interventor moderado Duilio Brunello, acababa de lanzar un ataque contra el último bastión de la tendencia clasista en los sindicatos cordobeses.

"En el aeropuerto", informó el diario bonaerense *Clarín* el 11 de octubre, "Lacabanne se refirió a los sucesos . . . [del 10 de octubre] en su provincia y al posterior pedido de

captura de Agustín Tosco y René Salamanca, y de los integrantes de la ex comisión directiva de SMATA, regional. El interventor enfatizó que 'nosotros no perseguimos ideas políticas' y agregó: 'Estos señores son la subversión y están incurso en la Ley de Seguridad.'" El Brigadier se refería a la nueva represiva Ley de Seguridad que fue aprobada el 30 de septiembre.

Agustín Tosco es el dirigente sindical independiente más conocido en todo el país. El Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—una organización simpatizante de la Cuarta Internacional) lo invitó en agosto a que encabezara una lista electoral clasista. Sin embargo, él prefirió no oponerse a Perón en las elecciones.

René Salamanca apoyó a Perón en las elecciones de septiembre de 1973. El no es peronista; se identifica con una corriente abiertamente socialista. Representa a una amplia vanguardia que se radicalizó durante la dictadura militar y aceptó hasta cierto grado a Perón como un símbolo y como punto de convergencia de la lucha de liberación nacional contra el imperialismo.

La tendencia clasista que encabezaba Salamanca en el sindicato de automotores fue una de las fuerzas di-

rigentes durante el ascenso de las luchas que obligaron a la dictadura militar a dejar el puesto a un gobierno civil. Por lo tanto, Salamanca es una de las principales figuras a las que el gobierno peronista debe el estar en el poder. Sin embargo, era precisamente para deshacerse "por otros medios" de dirigentes como Salamanca, que los generales hicieron regresar a los peronistas.

La tendencia de Salamanca fue derrotada finalmente a finales de septiembre, cuando demostró que era incapaz de resistir un ataque del gobierno contra la dirección cordobesa del sindicato. Al parecer, la derecha quería acabar con él o utilizarlo para mostrar lo que sucedería a quienes se le opusieran.

En la campaña para aplastar a las tendencias militantes dentro de los sindicatos, los burócratas peronistas de derecha han demostrado ser hasta ahora mucho más efectivos que la dictadura militar.

En la conferencia de SMATA que se celebró el 10 de octubre, Lacabanne agradeció la recepción entusiasta que se le brindó: "Sin el apoyo de la CGT [Confederación General del Trabajo] regional en Córdoba no se hubiera podido hacer nada."

El Secretario General de SMATA,

José Rodríguez, había alabado al brigadier mayor con evidente alegría: "Lacabanne había terminado con la imagen de una Córdoba marxista." Al mismo tiempo, el burócrata derechista lanzó un duro ataque contra el ala moderada del gobierno peronista. "Este interventor se juega por nuestra línea política, no como el anterior que nos traicionaba."

El interventor anterior, Brunello, había sido designado después del golpe de fines de febrero, en el que la policía local y las bandas de matones de los burócratas sindicales reaccionarios derrocaron al gobernador liberal peronista que había sido electo y al vicegobernador. El golpe fue propiciado por la incapacidad del gobierno provincial para aplastar una huelga de choferes de autobuses, que había abierto la primera gran brecha en el acuerdo de congelamiento de salarios previsto por el Pacto Social de Perón. La derecha estaba en contra, especialmente, de Atilio López, el viejo dirigente del sindicato huelguista.

Perón dió su visto bueno al golpe obligando al gobernador electo a renunciar y poniendo la provincia bajo el control directo del ejecutivo nacional. No obstante, trató de aminorar el impacto causado por el golpe "gorila" en miniatura nombrando a Brunello, un centrista, como interventor.

Pero aún después de que los pero-

nistas de izquierda habían sido derrotados decisivamente en Córdoba en febrero y marzo, los derechistas siguieron presionando cada vez más. Su objetivo era romper la combatividad de los trabajadores que habían dado a los peronistas la oportunidad de regresar al gobierno, forzando a los militares a retirarse con las huelgas generales insurreccionales de 1969 y 1971.

Atilio López había sido uno de los dirigentes más destacados de la dirección sindical peronista en la clandestinidad, que soportó una persecución terrible para mantener la lealtad del movimiento obrero al "líder" durante la dictadura de los generales que derrocaron a Perón en 1955. Representaba a lo mejor de los dirigentes obreros que se aliaron con el movimiento nacionalista y reformista de Perón. Esto es un símbolo de sus contradicciones.

Seis meses después de que había acatado el ultimátum de renuncia que le planteó el "líder"—al dimitir dijo: "como soldado de Perón"—Atilio López fue asesinado a mediados de septiembre por una banda de asesinos derechistas que se autodenomina Alianza Anticomunista Argentina, a la que el movimiento peronista ha permitido funcionar impunemente. Cuando murió, López era probablemente el último dirigente obrero peronista orto-

doxó que conservaba algún respeto de las bases.

El ataque del gobierno contra el sindicato de Salamanca fue otro paso en la ofensiva derechista.

El 10 de octubre, la derecha de Córdoba, que ahora tiene a uno de los suyos en el cargo de interventor federal, aparentemente decidió lanzar un nuevo ataque contra la tendencia clasista dentro de los sindicatos, especialmente contra el Sindicato de Trabajadores de Luz y Fuerza, dirigido por Agustín Tosco.

Esta es la historia que dió a la prensa el jefe de policía que dirigió las operaciones, tal como aparece resumida en la edición vespertina de *Clarín* del 10 de octubre.

". . . aproximadamente a las 14 un patrullero advirtió en la calle 27 de Abril la presencia de un Citroen verde con cuatro hombres en su interior, quienes despertaron sospechas a los ocupantes del coche policial. Tres de quienes estaban en el Citroen fueron detenidos sin que pusieran resistencia, pero el cuatro logró entrar a la carrera—mientras efectuaba disparos contra la policía—en la finca ubicada en el número 568 de esa calle.

"Inmediatamente concurrieron al lugar numerosos refuerzos.

"Los policías mantuvieron un nutrido tiroteo contra francotiradores que estaban apostados en los techos del

Policía y Bandas Derechistas Atacan al PST

[La siguiente es una traducción del artículo "Police, Right-Wing Gangs Attack PST", que aparece en este mismo número de *Intercontinental Press*].

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El 10 de octubre la policía de la ciudad de Córdoba, Argentina, allanó el local del Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—una organización simpatizante de la Cuarta Internacional) y detuvo a las quince personas que allí se encontraban. Los locales del Partido Comunista en la misma ciudad fueron atacados casi al mismo tiempo.

Las personas arrestadas en las oficinas del PST fueron duramente

golpeadas y detentadas durante cuarenta y ocho horas. Posteriormente fueron liberadas sin que se les hiciera cargo alguno.

Durante el fin de semana del 11 al 13 de octubre, una banda derechista secuestró a dos miembros del PST en Buenos Aires y los torturó por varias horas antes de liberarlos. En la ciudad de Mendoza, el local del PST fue destruido por una bomba.

En Córdoba, las oficinas del PST fueron completamente destruidas por los ataques policiales. Las pérdidas se calculan en cuatro millones de pesos viejos (aproximadamente 2,200 dólares). En las paredes aparecieron pintadas las consignas "¡Viva la policía!" y "¡Vi-

va las Tres A!" (Alianza Anticomunista Argentina). La banda de asesinos derechistas a la que la policía aclamaba de esta manera, se ha hecho responsable del asesinato de varias figuras conocidas de la izquierda.

El PST ha exigido que cese la complicidad de la policía con las bandas derechistas y ha iniciado un juicio contra el gobierno, pidiendo indemnización por los ataques sufridos por sus miembros y sus locales.

Las protestas contra el terror derechista oficial y no oficial en la Argentina pueden ser dirigidas a María Estela de Perón, Casa de Gobierno, Buenos Aires, Argentina. □

sindicato de Luz y Fuerza y de dos fincas vecinas. El intercambio de disparos se prolongó por espacio de una hora, y posteriormente las fuerzas policiales—sin encontrar resistencia—penetraron en la sede del sindicato donde llevaron a cabo una requisa que duró más de una hora.

"En el interior de la sede gremial se secuestraron armas de diferentes calibres, panfletos, explosivos y bombas."

Tosco, dice la policía, escapó por los fondos del edificio utilizando una sogá marinera. No se señalaron cargos específicos en su contra. Tampoco se dijo cuál era la conexión de Salamanca con los sucesos ocurridos en la sede del sindicato de Luz y Fuerza.

Los informes sugieren que tanto Tosco como Salamanca estaban en la clandestinidad, igual que después del golpe de febrero, cuando eran buscados por la policía antimotines y las bandas derechistas. La policía de Córdoba informó que tenía vigilados todos los caminos que salen de la ciudad.

Resultaba extraño—ya que se suponía que francotiradores habían disparado contra las "fuerzas del orden" desde el edificio de Luz y Fuerza—que la policía haya podido entrar en el local, como ellos mismos admitieron, "sin encontrar resistencia." Tampoco se explicó porqué la policía había requisado los panfletos.

La pretensión de que se habían encontrado armas en el local fue explotada inmediatamente por algunos elementos de la burocracia sindical. En la conferencia de SMATA del 10 de octubre en Buenos Aires, el Secretario General Rodríguez, dijo que los acontecimientos de Córdoba demuestran que "la lucha que emprendió el SMATA no fue una pelea entre dirigentes o burócratas, sino la lucha de un gremio peronista para expulsar de su seno a personajes mercenarios, enemigos de los trabajadores y aliados al imperialismo extranjero."

Rodríguez dijo que Salamanca y Tosco "poseían armas en sus sedes sindicales para entregarlas a la subversión apátrida contra el gobierno del pueblo."

Aunque fuera cierto que había algunas armas en el local del sindicato de Luz y Fuerza, esto no tendría nada de extraño. Después de una larga serie de asesinatos de activistas sindicales—asesinatos que la policía no ha hecho nada por detener—, sería

comprensible que los dirigentes sindicales sintieran que tenían que auto-defenderse.

Pero la naturaleza política y represiva del ataque de la policía se vió absolutamente clara en los ataques



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que siguieron ese mismo día contra los locales del Partido Comunista y del PST.

"Posteriormente se allanó la sede del Partido Comunista", informaba *Clarín* el 10 de octubre, "donde se secuestró material de propaganda y se detuvo a varias personas." ¿Qué conexión podía haber entre las "personas sospechosas" que estaban en el Citroen verde en la calle 27 de Abril y el "material de propaganda" secuestrado en el local del Partido Comunista, que difícilmente puede ser considerado un hallazgo sensacional en la oficina de un partido político?

En el local del PST, los asaltantes policiales pintaron consignas alabando a la banda de asesinos que ha matado a funcionarios electos. Fue la misma fuerza policíaca que se levantó contra el gobierno en febrero, uniéndose abiertamente a las bandas derechistas para imponer durante varios días un régimen de terror reaccionario en toda la ciudad. No hubo ninguna purga dentro de la policía después de que se terminó el motín.

Obviamente se ha lanzado un ataque contra la izquierda parecido al golpe de febrero. Si bien éste fue menor, también es cierto que ya no tenía tantos objetivos contra los que tirar.

El interventor Lacabanne dijo en Buenos Aires el 10 de octubre: "Estamos barriendo lo poco que queda."

Igual que hizo en el caso del golpe anterior, el gobierno nacional apoyó los resultados de la embestida policíaca. El Ministerio de Trabajo intervino el sindicato de Luz y Fuerza, nombrando un interventor para que "normalizara" la organización, "autorizándolo a requerir el auxilio de la fuerza pública para cumplir con su cometido."

Todavía no está claro, sin embargo, si este nuevo ataque anuncia un gran giro a la derecha por parte del gobierno nacional. La segunda embestida policíaca en esa ciudad provincial industrial, se produjo inmediatamente después de la conferencia "multisectorial", celebrada el 8 de octubre, sobre la eliminación de la violencia, a la que asistieron todos los partidos legales. Muchos observadores interpretaron esta conferencia como un triunfo del ala moderada de las fuerzas políticas burguesas, victoria que pudo haber provocado que la derecha hiciera una demostración de fuerza.

La rapidez con que fueron liberados quienes fueron arrestados en el local del PST, podría indicar también la existencia de diferencias entre lo que queda del gobierno provincial democrático burgués y la policía.

En la conferencia multisectorial, el dirigente del segundo partido burgués en importancia hizo lo que se interpretó como una advertencia al gobierno. Ricardo Balbín de la Unión Cívica Radical (UCR) dijo, refiriéndose a la ola de asesinatos que ha tenido lugar en el país: "Acá no puede haber sectores protegidos." Siguió diciendo: "Estoy en la búsqueda de esos responsables (los que hacen apretar el gatillo). El día que los tenga los pondré sobre el despacho de la señora presidente."

El representante de la CGE (Confederación General Económica) condenó los "ataques irresponsables" contra funcionarios y representantes de "organizaciones comprometidas con el proceso nacional", que frecuentemente se cometían con "apoyo publicitario oficial." Previno contra la "creciente asiduidad al uso del calificativo de marxismo respecto de todas las iniciativas o políticas de cambio." También criticó duramente a "un minúsculo grupo de terratenientes", que, dijo, "usa una gruesa artillería verbal para atacar la política del gobierno."

En cuanto a la heredera de "el líder", María Estela Martínez de Perón, hizo una representación magnífica. La prensa tendió a enfatizar las declaraciones que apuntaban en una dirección moderada, hacia el respeto a lo agradable de la normalidad parlamentaria. Por ejemplo, ella dijo: "Por encima de las necesarias diversidades de la pluralidad ideológica que exige nuestro estilo de vida, debemos reflexionar sobre la conveniencia de ampliar el espíritu abierto y comprensivo; nuestras coincidencias programáticas, tal como se lo hiciera bajo el liderazgo de Perón en la histórica reunión de las fuerzas políticas y sociales celebrada antes de las elecciones de 1973."

María Estela de Perón condenó la violencia en términos generales varias veces, sugiriendo que quizás reprima a las bandas derechistas. Por ejemplo, dijo: "... el gobierno tiene en sus manos el poder de erradicar totalmente la violencia del país." Pero siempre que mencionó fuerzas relacionadas con la violencia, su blanco fue la izquierda.

"Deseo hacer llegar mi solidaridad para con ese bizarro ejército argentino, que soporta en estos instantes el traidor ataque del mercenario enemigo."

En otro punto dijo: "No nos engañemos, todas estas cosas que se hacen a través de la violencia, están dirigidas contra el Estado mismo, contra el país y contra cada uno de los ciudadanos argentinos; y lo que buscan es sacar a las Fuerzas Armadas a la calle. Y mientras yo sea presidente de los argentinos no lo voy a permitir."

Al mismo tiempo, trató de mantener la imagen democrática del gobierno: "Las causas de la rebeldía que dentro del seno popular existían en nuestro territorio, han dejado de tener vigencia desde la instauración del ejercicio de los derechos constitucionales. El gobierno ha sido elegido libremente por su pueblo en su gran mayoría. Se trabaja abiertamente en armonía con todos los sectores y con todas las corrientes de opinión del país."

Un poco después, la presidente dijo: "Hay armonía entre obreros y empresarios, salvo en aquellos sectores en que las fuerzas del desorden actúan con libertad e impunidad."

Después de su discurso, hizo notar

la prensa, la presidente abrazó con especial efusividad a los dirigentes de la oposición parlamentaria democrática: Balbín, Arturo Frondizi y Américo Ghioldi. Evidentemente, el papel de estas figuras disminuirá en la medida en que el gobierno peronista gobierne con creciente histeria demagógica y vil gangsterismo. Al mismo tiempo, el sostén de estas fuerzas es importante para el gobierno, ya que no cuenta con el apoyo firme de ningún sector de la burguesía.

Nuevas aperturas hacia estas personalidades significarían que el régimen bonapartista está girando nuevamente hacia el centro y mantendrá la derecha a raya hasta cierto punto, como hizo antes del primer golpe de Córdoba.

Pero en cualquier caso, el nuevo equilibrio se establecerá casi seguramente bastante más a la derecha que después del golpe de febrero.

Hasta dónde puede llegar el gobierno en su orientación derechista, depende de la fuerza de la ilusión que todavía tienen grandes sectores de las masas en el carácter "constitucional" y "progresista" del gobierno. La derecha ha tenido tanto éxito debido a las ilusiones en el peronismo que tienen gran parte de la izquier-

da y de las tendencias sindicales claudistas.

El representante del PST en la multisectorial, Juan Carlos Coral, utilizó esta plataforma para reiterar que las libertades democráticas de que goza el país son resultado de las luchas obreras que han tenido lugar desde 1969, en particular de las luchas de los combativos obreros cordobeses que han sufrido una escalada represiva por parte del gobierno peronista y las bandas peronistas de derecha. También aprovechó la oportunidad para denunciar "esa forma de violencia un poco más general y casi institucionalizada en nuestro país que es el golpe de estado."

Después de la segunda embestida de la policía en Córdoba, Coral llamó a los participantes de la multisectorial a demostrar su compromiso con la "paz" y el gobierno "constitucional" tomando una posición contra la represión e intimidación ilegales de que son víctima los activistas sindicales y de izquierda en ese importante centro provincial. También exigió una reunión con el Ministro del Interior para que liberara a los miembros del PST que habían sido arrestados y retirara a los policías del local del PST. □

La Bomba del Bar Rolando: ¿Quién Es Responsable?

[El 13 de septiembre explotó una bomba en el Bar Rolando, en Madrid, matando a once personas e hiriendo a más de setenta. El 22 de septiembre el Buró Político de la Liga Comunista (una organización simpatizante de la Cuarta Internacional en España) publicó la siguiente declaración sobre ese acontecimiento].

* * *

1. El gobierno acusa a ETA [Euzkadi ta Azkatasuna] de ser la causante de la bomba de la calle del Correo. ETA no se ha hecho responsable del hecho. No faltan sospechas de que el atentado pueda ser debido a la extrema derecha.

Ultimamente, el gobierno ha llevado más a fondo ese juego dejando ver

más claramente sus intenciones. En el colmo del confucionismo, se multiplican declaraciones en la prensa procedentes de "medios bien informados" sobre las "investigaciones policiales." Así aparecen acusaciones imprecisas sin la menor prueba, insinuaciones, etc., intentando complicar no sólo a ETA, sino a "grupos comunistas de células radicadas en Madrid", a la LCR-ETA VI [Liga Comunista Revolucionaria-ETA VI, una organización simpatizante de la Cuarta Internacional en España] y al "comunismo español" en general, como colaboradores de ETA.

2. La extrema derecha está utilizando el atentado para incrementar su agitación en favor de "soluciones duras."

El gobierno aprovecha el atentado

para presentarse como "neutral" y "democratizador", cubriendo con esta demagogia sus ataques contra las masas trabajadoras y la población oprimida en todos los terrenos. En concreto, utiliza la campaña para aglutinar a todas las fuerzas burguesas, acusar al movimiento obrero y lanzar una nueva oleada represiva en el País Vasco, en Madrid y en todo el Estado.

Las alas más "aperturistas" del régimen, la Iglesia, los partidos burgueses de "oposición democrática" y otras personalidades o entidades supuestamente liberales, lejos de desenmascarar la campaña del gobierno, aprovechan la ocasión para cerrar filas con él frente al proletariado y las masas oprimidas. Unos—los "superaperturistas"—"apoyando la voluntad democratizadora de Arias frente a la extrema derecha." Otros—la "oposición democrática"—instando a que no se detenga el "proceso democratizador" o llamando de otras formas a la unidad de la burguesía frente a la extrema derecha. Esto no es sino una forma solapada de apoyar al gobierno. En realidad, todas estas posturas significaban, con sus "condenas a la violencia" hipócritas, un apoyo con diversas excusas al "orden" (franquista), a la represión y demás agresiones del gobierno contra el proletariado y el pueblo.

3. Los comunistas negamos a cualquier fuerza o personalidad burguesa todo derecho a "condenar la violencia." Es el gran capital el que para defender su dominación prodiga genocidios, matanzas masivas en todo el mundo: Chile, Vietnam, Israel, las bandas fascistas en Italia y en diversos países de Europa, sin excluir el Estado Español. Esos democristianos que aquí defienden la democratización de Arias, en Chile fueron coautores del golpe de estado. El gran capital mantiene en el Estado Español, desde hace treinta y cinco años, la más sangrienta de las dictaduras, apoyada directa y abiertamente por esos personajes y partidos que hoy se las dan de "democráticos" para engañar a las masas trabajadoras.

Esta dictadura infame ampara y fomenta bandas fascistas que asaltan librerías y son perfectamente capaces de actos como el del Bar Rolando. Bandas hermanas de las que en Italia volaron hace poco un tren expreso.

Sólo el proletariado y los oprimidos tienen auténtico interés en terminar con la violencia de los explota-

dores, barriendo el sistema que la causa.

En lugar de desenmascarar la hipocresía de las declaraciones burguesas pacifistas, hay dentro del movimiento obrero quienes prefieren responder al terrorismo capitalista en todas sus formas (tribunales o bandas) haciendo frente común con esas alas "liberales" de la burguesía. Tal ha sido repetidamente la actitud del PCE [Partido Comunista de España]. Es la misma actitud que ha llevado siempre al proletariado a sucumbir frente al fascismo, ante la violencia de los explotadores.

4. La única respuesta al terrorismo capitalista es desarrollar la acción revolucionaria de las masas en defensa de sus intereses. Las guerras particulares de grupos anarquistas o nacionalistas con el estado son respuestas erróneas que hacen el juego a la burguesía y al reformismo, ayudándoles a retrasar la lucha de masas contra el capitalismo y su dictadura.

Pero los trotskistas, al tiempo que nos oponemos irreconciliablemente al terrorismo pequeño burgués y a quienes dentro del movimiento obrero pretenden apoyarlo, defendemos con la misma intrasigencia a los militantes de ETA y de cualquier organización terrorista pequeña burguesa frente a la represión de la dictadura, del gobierno francés y de cualquier régimen burgués. Esta es la actitud bolchevique, mantenida en todo momento por la Cuarta Internacional.

5. Ante la campaña anticomunista y antiobrera del gobierno, coreada de una u otra forma por las fuerzas de la burguesía, los comunistas subrayamos que esta campaña no es sino un apoyo para la ofensiva que el gobierno desarrolla desde hace tiempo contra las masas trabajadoras para imponerles el peso de la crisis económica y la sucesión juancarlista. La represión desencadenada por el gobierno tomando como pretexto esa bomba, el confucionismo pretendido de sus acusaciones para encubrir la represión, son inseparables de los despidos en cadena de luchadores en las empresas, de la negativa de todas las libertades en los proyectos de la "apertura", del alza de precios y el paro masivo, de la selectividad y el deterioro de las condiciones de vida.

El gobierno y la clase que recurren a tales subterfugios para envolver sus agresiones contra el proletariado y el pueblo, reflejan de ese mo-

do el miedo que sienten ante la contraofensiva de masas que los amenaza, en el momento en que mayor es la división en las filas burguesas y en que le amenaza la próxima desaparición de Franco.

Más que nunca, el proletariado, la juventud, los asalariados, los explotados todos de la ciudad y del campo, todos los oprimidos, deben desarrollar las luchas actuales avanzando hacia una contraofensiva generalizada del proletariado y de todo el pueblo oprimido.

Esto sólo es posible mediante los métodos proletarios de acción directa de masas, tan opuestos a la subordinación a las leyes franquistas (convenios, CNS [Central Nacional Sindicalista—el sindicato falangista], Juntas y Claustros) como al terrorismo pequeño burgués.

Los partidos que se apoyan en la clase obrera, las organizaciones de lucha del proletariado y otras capas, sólo podrán impulsar eficazmente esa contraofensiva si rompen con los agentes "democráticos" del gran capital que ante el atentado del Bar Rolando han mostrado una vez más en qué bando se alinean. La ruptura con la Junta "Democrática" y las asambleas del mismo nombre, es condición fundamental para impulsar con las manos libres la acción de masas hoy, en un momento muy decisivo.

- Contra el alza del costo de la vida, el deterioro de los servicios sociales. ¡Abajo la Ley de Educación y sus desarrollos!

- Contra la represión y toda opresión.

- *Ni Franco ni Juan Carlos.* ¡Abajo la dictadura!

- Por una Asamblea Constituyente elegida sobre la base de las libertades políticas y sindicales plenas, la disolución de la Policía Armada, BPS [Brigada Político Social—la policía política española] y Guardia Civil, la disolución del TOP [Tribunal del Orden Público] y supresión de los juicios militares.

- Por el fin de la inflación y el paro mediante una economía planificada racionalmente con el control de los trabajadores.

- *Por un gobierno de los trabajadores*, sin ni un ministro burgués, formado por las CC.OO. [Comisiones Obreras] y organismos unitarios de otras capas, por los Comités elegidos en las fábricas y otros sectores de la población oprimida.

Es el único gobierno capaz de satisfacer esas necesidades imponiendo el control obrero de la producción,

la expropiación sin indemnización de los grandes capitalistas y terratenientes, el monopolio estatal del comercio

exterior y el armamento masivo del proletariado y sus aliados.

Septiembre 22 de 1974 □

Promete No 'Asustar' a los Generales Chilenos la Próxima Vez

Reconstruyen Frente Popular en la Clandestinidad

[La siguiente es una traducción del artículo "Chilean Popular Front Reformed in Underground", que aparece en este mismo número de *Intercontinental Press*].

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En una entrevista que apareció en el diario parisino *Le Monde* el 17 de septiembre, Jaime Gazmuri, dirigente del MAPU-OC (Movimiento de Acción Popular Unitaria-Obrero y Campesino), delineó las tareas y perspectivas políticas a que se enfrenta actualmente su partido y la coalición de la Unidad Popular (UP) en Chile.

La entrevista fue realizada en la clandestinidad en alguna parte de Chile.

Gazmuri es uno de los fundadores del MAPU, que se originó en 1969 de una escisión del Partido Demócrata-cristiano. Como parte de la coalición de la Unidad Popular, la organización sufrió varias crisis y escisiones. En marzo de 1973 se escindió el ala derecha para formar el MAPU-OC.

Gazmuri dijo a Jean-Pierre Clerc, reportero de *Le Monde*, que la Unidad Popular ha sido reconstruida después del golpe militar. Su línea política es esencialmente la misma que cuando estaba bajo la dirección de Allende; esto es, la línea de colaboración de clases que desarmó a las masas y abrió el camino para el sangriento golpe de las fuerzas armadas.

"Nuestro objetivo", dijo Gazmuri, "es construir un amplio frente antifascista, con la Unidad Popular como columna vertebral, pero que será mucho más amplio. El frente deberá incluir, eventualmente, a las clases medias y también a los sectores democráticos de las fuerzas armadas."

Esto obedece a que la división política fundamental en Chile, sostiene la UP, se da entre la Junta totalitaria y quienes apoyan la democracia. Estos últimos se pueden unir en torno a un programa y una estrategia comunes para quitar a la Junta.

Jean-Pierre Clerc preguntó si no es éste el mismo objetivo que persigue el Partido Demócrata-cristiano. Gazmuri contestó que la diferencia es que la dirección de ese partido rechaza la unidad con la izquierda, mientras que el MAPU-OC sostiene que éste es un punto esencial para el triunfo de la lucha.

"... aunque la dictadura ha golpeado también a la democracia cristiana, ésta rechaza toda acción antifascista común con la izquierda. De esta manera espera capitalizar en beneficio propio el creciente descontento de la población y de una parte de las fuerzas armadas. Indudablemente, podría mejorar la imagen del gobierno. Pero el mismo fundamento de la política gubernamental, así como a quienes beneficia, no se podrán cambiar."

Actualmente, dice, "la Junta se encuentra cada vez más aislada políticamente. Desde nuestro punto de vista, el problema consiste en convertir este aislamiento en una movilización masiva contra ella."

Gazmuri considera que la alta jerarquía de la Iglesia católica, que se ha pronunciado en contra de la represión, debe ser incluida entre las fuerzas democráticas y antifascistas.

"Desde luego, no está dispuesta a romper formalmente con la Junta. Pero su 'ideología' oficial, que es la de 'reconciliación nacional', es claramente antifascista. . ."

Otro aliado potencial, dijo, se puede encontrar dentro de las mismas fuerzas armadas.

Sobre este punto, el dirigente del MAPU-OC tenía una "autocrítica" que hace al enfoque del gobierno de la Unidad Popular. "... analizamos incorrectamente las formas concretas que había tomado la lucha de clases. Para decirlo claramente, no evaluamos correctamente el problema de las fuerzas armadas."

En el ejército había sectores democráticos y progresistas. El gobierno no pudo, o no quiso, utilizarlos para

reprimir a los elementos fascistas, a los que conocíamos muy bien en general. La política oficial de la Unidad Popular consistió en aislar a las fuerzas armadas del proceso político que vivía el país, insistiendo en su aspecto 'profesional.'"

Gazmuri siguió diciendo que "varios generales" debieron haber sido purgados del ejército.

Otro error que cometió la coalición de la UP, pensaba él, era que había "asustado" innecesariamente a algunos sectores del ejército.

"Consideramos que la Unidad Popular planteó correctamente los verdaderos problemas: el del programa de la alianza, de las instituciones. Pero fue incapaz, durante los tres años que estuvo en el poder, de crear una dirección única coherente. La razón de esta incapacidad fue, según nosotros, el peso que tenían dentro de la UP las concepciones y la práctica de los revolucionarios izquierdistas pequeño burgueses. De esta forma, un cierto verbalismo revolucionario asustó a los sectores del ejército que estaban menos dispuestos a alejarse espontáneamente de nosotros. . ."

Cuando el enviado de *Le Monde* le preguntó qué clase de gobierno plantean para después de que se derroque a la Junta, Gazmuri contestó: "Queremos establecer un gobierno democrático que respete los derechos individuales y colectivos, que respete el pluralismo de opiniones, con excepción del fascismo. Será un estado de nuevo tipo, que expresará la hegemonía de la alianza antifascista que estamos buscando. No será, por tanto, una dictadura del proletariado. Será, digamos, una democracia apoyada por un ejército renovado, libre de los elementos fascistas, y por un nuevo aparato jurídico e institucional. Tendrá la tarea de destruir los monopolios nacionales y extranjeros y los grandes latifundios."

En cuanto a su estrategia, el dirigente del MAPU-OC sostuvo que "es todavía demasiado pronto" para re-

solver problemas como qué fuerzas participarán en la resistencia, y qué harán las fuerzas armadas. "Pero no creemos que la dictadura va a caer por sí sola, como un fruto maduro, a causa de su aislamiento. La última etapa de la lucha será probablemente insurreccional."

La primera etapa de la resistencia, según Gazmuri, era la reconstrucción de los partidos bajo las condiciones de clandestinidad, lo que ya han logrado "todos los partidos." La segunda etapa era la reconstitución "de la principal fuerza dirigente del movi-

miento popular, que era la Unidad Popular." También ya se ha logrado esto.

"Tenemos una línea política común, que está expresada en un documento que comenzó a circular dentro del país el 1 de Mayo pasado; y una nueva declaración común, que fue publicada el 11 de septiembre [aniversario del golpe], en la que se precisan las tareas fundamentales que tiene el movimiento. Además, ya se han sentado las bases para un funcionamiento colectivo de los partidos de la UP."

Ahora, dijo, ha comenzado la tercera etapa: "El desarrollo de la lucha de masas contra la dictadura." Explicó que en las últimas semanas los partidos de la Unidad Popular han propagandizado su programa y sus análisis en las fábricas, las universidades y en los barrios donde viven los obreros, arrojando volantes desde los edificios, o con brigadas relámpago que distribuyen volantes en las paradas de autobuses durante las horas de mayor tráfico. Añadió que también están circulando periódicos clandestinos. □

¿Qué Hay Detrás del Llamado a Huelga General?

Los Trabajadores Mexicanos Necesitan Más Salario

Por Eugenia Aranda

[La siguiente es una traducción del artículo "Mexican Workers Find They Need a Wage Hike", que apareció en *Intercontinental Press* el 14 de octubre].

* * *

México, D. F.

A principios de agosto, el Congreso del Trabajo* lanzó un emplazamiento a huelga general si los patrones no concedían un 35 por ciento de aumento en los salarios a los trabajadores sindicalizados. Esto hubiera significado, de realizarse la huelga, que suspenderían sus labores 8 millones de trabajadores, repartidos en alrededor de 200 mil fábricas y negocios.

Al principio los patrones se negaron incluso a discutir con los sindicatos, calificaron la exigencia del aumento como "absurda y exagerada", y dieron soluciones clasistas al problema del alza de precios: "... un clima de tranquilidad; terminar con el problema de los emplazamientos a huelga del sector laboral; y hacer comprender

a todos los mexicanos que debemos trabajar más y gastar menos, además de producir más e incrementar la productividad", dijo Jesús Vidales Aparicio, presidente de la Confederación de Cámaras Nacionales de Comercio (CONCANACO), según informa *Excelsior* el 7 de septiembre.

Ni qué decir que esta solución tiene sus bemoles, uno de los principales es que no "todos los mexicanos" pueden "trabajar más y gastar menos": "No he comido carne desde hace tres meses, porque el dinero no me alcanza para eso", dijo Marcelina Jiménez de Sánchez, que es empleada doméstica "...", según un despacho de *Associated Press*, que apareció en el *Christian Science Monitor* el 13 de agosto.

Tampoco ha de ser fácil explicarle esa tesis al 60 por ciento de los campesinos del Estado de Morelos, que cultivan parcelas de 500 metros, que les producen 80 dólares al año, para mantener a una familia promedio de nueve personas.

El Presidente Luis Echeverría se solidarizó inmediatamente con el Congreso del Trabajo. Esto se entiende fácilmente si tomamos en cuenta que uno de los principales pilares en los que descansa el régimen mexicano es el control de los sindicatos a través de una burocracia a la que se conceden grandes privilegios.

Sin embargo, el país permanecía tranquilo, la vida seguía su curso

normal y nadie se preocupaba por la "inminente huelga general revolucionaria", como dió en llamarla Fidel Velázquez, jerarca máximo de la CTM.

La razón de esta paz es que casi todo el mundo sabía que ni el Congreso del Trabajo, ni la CTM, ni ningún "charro" se atrevería a llegar a la huelga general. No en vano se ha pasado ya por varias experiencias similares, dos de las cuales todavía están frescas:

El emplazamiento a huelga por parte del Congreso del Trabajo en septiembre de 1973 si no se daba un aumento del 33.3 por ciento en los salarios, y el arreglo final del 22 por ciento que ni siquiera benefició a todos los obreros sindicalizados.

La otra experiencia fue la del llamado de Fidel Velázquez, en febrero de 1973, a "realizar una revolución obrera dentro de la Revolución Mexicana" si los patrones no concedían la semana de 40 horas con pago de 56. Esta demanda ha sido echada al olvido.

Los mismos funcionarios de la Junta de Conciliación y Arbitraje reconocieron que todo estaba listo para que se realizara el arreglo. El presidente de ese tribunal declaró el 5 de septiembre que "es propósito de la presidencia de la junta terminar con todas las audiencias para el próximo día 13 y que del 14 al 20 quede una fecha abierta para los arreglos con-

* Este es un organismo que está constituido por representantes de todas las centrales sindicales reconocidas oficialmente. Aglutina a todos los grandes sindicatos de México, entre los que destaca la Confederación de Trabajadores de México (CTM), que es la mayor central sindical del país.

ciliatorios o desistimientos de emplazamientos por convenios . . ."

Pero si bien la burocracia sindical no iba a luchar por el 35 por ciento, *si tenía la necesidad de obtener una mejora en los salarios*. Esta era la forma cómo trataba de recuperar algo del terreno que ha perdido en el control de los trabajadores, que cada vez en mayor número se han enfrentado con la verdad de que no se acabarán los salarios de hambre y las malas condiciones de trabajo mientras los sindicatos estén controlados por burócratas ligados al gobierno. Han visto que salarios y mejores condiciones quieren decir democracia sindical.

Este descontento tiene motivos bastante poderosos. Durante varias décadas la burguesía mexicana había podido mantener estable el nivel de vida de los principales sectores del proletariado e, incluso, darle concesiones de cierta importancia, como el Seguro Social. Los "charros", a su vez, podían presentarse cada dos años que se revisaban los Contratos Colectivos de Trabajo con nuevas prestaciones, lo que los ayudaba a mantenerse firmemente encaramados en los sindicatos.

Ahora, en cambio, la lista oficial de precios registra un aumento del 22 por ciento en los últimos doce meses; pero el precio de muchos alimentos básicos, como el frijol, el maíz y el aceite de cocina, han aumentado

casi un 100 por ciento en ese mismo período, según el propio gobierno.

Por otro lado, noventa y cuatro compañías que están registradas en la Bolsa de Valores de la Ciudad de México, tuvieron un aumento del 23.3 por ciento en sus ventas y del 113.8 por ciento en sus ganancias.

Esto es lo que explica que se haya comenzado a ver en México un renacimiento de la lucha de la clase obrera; lucha que se ha manifestado ya en acciones importantes, muchas de las cuales se han dado contra la voluntad de los "charros" y teniendo que arrancarles la dirección de los sindicatos.

Durante los últimos meses se han producido en México más huelgas que durante los últimos diez años. Entre estos combates obreros destacan la huelga de las industrias metalúrgicas Compañía Industrial del Norte, S. A., y Compañía Industrial Fundidora del Norte, S. A., en la que se movilizaron 6,500 trabajadores de la ciudad norteña de Saltillo, por reivindicaciones económicas y por el derecho a escoger sus propios representantes, contra los burócratas designados que negociaron el Contrato de Trabajo a espaldas de la base; la de la Sección 67 del Sindicato de Mineros, en Monterrey, también en el norte del país, en la que igualmente se planteó el problema de la democracia sindical.

En el centro del país podemos men-

cionar la huelga de los trabajadores que están construyendo la refinería de Tula, Hidalgo, que se enfrentaron a la poderosa y asesina burocracia del sindicato de petroleros y en torno a la cual se nucleó un movimiento de solidaridad en el que destacó la presencia de los estudiantes de la Ciudad de México; y la huelga salvaje de los 3,000 trabajadores de la General Electric, situada a muy poca distancia de la capital, que comenzó cuando los burócratas comunicaron a los trabajadores que "ya habían firmado el Contrato".

Estas movilizaciones son las que obligaron al Congreso del Trabajo a lanzar la consigna del aumento de salario. No es sólo demagogia; se está jugando el pellejo.

La Liga Socialista, una organización simpatizante de la Cuarta Internacional en México, tomó la siguiente posición en el número de septiembre de su órgano, *El Socialista*: "La actitud que debemos adoptar los socialistas hacia esta demanda es de apoyarla, sin tener la más mínima confianza en que las direcciones sindicales la van a llevar adelante consecuentemente".

Plantea, así mismo, la necesidad de la lucha por la democracia sindical y por una escala móvil de salarios, como puntos en torno a los cuales se puede comenzar a organizar la lucha del proletariado por recuperar la dirección de los sindicatos. □

DOCUMENTS

The Bar Rolando Bombing—Whose Responsibility?

[On September 13, a bomb exploded in the Bar Rolando in Madrid, killing eleven persons and wounding more than seventy. The following statement on the incident was issued September 22 by the Political Bureau of the Liga Comunista (Communist League), a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International in Spain.]

* * *

1. The government accuses ETA [Euzkadi ta Azkatasuna — Basque Nation and Freedom] of being respon-

sible for the bomb placed in Calle del Correo. ETA has not accepted responsibility for the act. Some suspect that the attack may have been committed by the extreme right wing.

Recently, the government has carried this game even further, revealing its intentions more clearly. In a furious campaign to sow confusion, an increasing number of statements from "well-informed sources" about the "police investigation" are showing up in the press. In this way, vague and completely unsupported accusations, insinuations, and the like are being

aired. The intent is to implicate not only ETA but "communist groups with cells located in Madrid," the LCR/ETA-VI [Liga Comunista Revolucionaria/ETA-VI, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International], and "Spanish communists" in general — as collaborators of ETA.

2. The extreme right wing is using the bombing to increase its agitation for "hard-line solutions."

The government is taking advantage of the bombing to present itself as "neutral" and "prodemocratic," using this demagoguery to cover up its

attacks on all levels against the working masses and the oppressed. Concretely, it is using this campaign to unite all bourgeois forces, to put the labor movement on the defensive, and to launch a new wave of repression in the Basque country, in Madrid, and in all parts of the country.

Far from exposing the government's campaign, the most "liberalizing" sectors of the regime, the church, the bourgeois parties of the "democratic opposition," and other supposedly liberal figures and bodies are taking the occasion to close ranks with the regime against the proletariat and the oppressed masses. Some of them—the "super-liberalizers"—have done so under the pretext of "supporting [Premier] Arias's desire for democratization against the extreme right wing." Others—the "democratic opposition"—have done so by way of urging that the "democratization process" not be halted, or calling in other ways for unity of the bourgeoisie against the extreme right wing. This is only a veiled way of supporting the government.

In reality, all these postures with their hypocritical "condemnations of violence" have meant support—with various rationales—for the (Francoist) "order," repression, and other attacks by the government against the proletariat and the people.

3. We communists deny that any bourgeois force or personality whatsoever has a right to "condemn violence." In order to defend its domination, big capital has perpetrated a long series of genocides and massacres throughout the world. Chile, Vietnam, and Palestine are some examples, along with the activities of fascist gangs in Italy and various countries of Europe, including in the Spanish state. The Christian Democrats here defend Arias's democratization; in Chile their counterparts backed the military coup jointly with the "gorillas." In Spain for thirty-five years big capital has kept in power the most brutal kind of dictatorship. And this regime was supported directly and openly by the same persons and parties that today pose as "democratic" in order to deceive the working masses. This infamous dictatorship encourages and supports fascist gangs that assault bookstores and are perfectly capable of acts such as the one at the Bar Rolando, gangs of the

same ilk as those in Italy that blew up an express train not long ago.

Only the proletariat and the oppressed strata have a real interest in ending the violence of the exploiters by sweeping away the system that generates it.

There are some in the workers movement who instead of exposing the hypocrisy of the bourgeois pacifist declarations prefer to respond to capitalist terror in all its forms (tribunals or gangs) by making a common front with the "liberal" wings of the bourgeoisie. This is the position taken again and again by the PCE [Partido Comunista de España—Spanish Communist party]. It is the same position that has always led the proletariat to defeat when faced with fascism or the violence of the exploiters.

4. The only answer to capitalist terrorism is to promote revolutionary action by the masses in defense of their interests. The private wars of anarchist or nationalist groups against the state are an incorrect response. This type of activity plays into the hands of the bourgeoisie and the reformists, helping them to set back the struggle of the masses against capital and its dictatorship.

However, while we Trotskyists are irreconcilably opposed to petty-bourgeois terrorism and to those within the workers movement who try to defend it, we defend just as determinedly the militants of ETA and of any petty-bourgeois terrorist organization against repression by the dictatorship, the French government, or any bourgeois regime. This is the Bolshevik position always maintained by the Fourth International.

5. Facing the anticommunist, anti-labor campaign of the government, which is being echoed in one or another form by all the bourgeois forces, we communists emphasize that this campaign is intended solely to bolster the offensive that the government has been waging for some time against the working masses. Its purpose is to force them to bear the brunt of the economic crisis and to accept Juan Carlos [the right-wing claimant to the Spanish throne] as Franco's successor.

The repression the government has launched using this bombing as a pretext, and the smoke screen of accusations that it has thrown up to camouflage this crackdown, have

gone hand in hand with a series of firings of factory militants, a denial of all the liberties contained in the "liberalizing plans," price increases, a massive lockout, restricted access to higher education, and a deterioration of the standard of living.

The government and the class that resort to such subterfuges to cover up their attacks on the proletariat and the people reveal the fear that they feel facing the threat of a counterattack by the masses, a threat that looms at a time when bourgeois ranks are increasingly divided and Franco's demise is imminent.

More than ever, the proletariat, the youth, the wage workers, the exploited of the city and the countryside—all the oppressed—must carry forward the struggles they are waging now, moving toward a general counteroffensive by the proletariat and all the oppressed strata.

The only way this can be done is by proletarian methods of direct mass action. These methods stand in clear opposition to, and are incompatible with, any subordination to the Francoist laws, the official contracts, the CNS [Central Nacional Sindicalista—National Federation of Syndicates, the fascist vertical union body], any "Juntas" [a kind of body proposed in Arias's "liberalization" scheme], or the university councils. They are equally incompatible with petty-bourgeois terrorism.

Only if they break with the "democratic" agents of big capital can the parties supported by the workers and the fighting organizations of the class promote such an offensive effectively. In the case of the Bar Rolando bombing, these "democratic" lieutenants have shown once again which side they are on. Breaking with the "Democratic" Junta and the "Democratic" Assemblies is the essential first step to get a free hand to give impetus to mass action today and particularly in the present crucial moment.

● Stop the attack on wages and working conditions. End the lockout.

● Fight the rising cost of living and deterioration in social services. Down with the Education Law and its extensions.

● Fight repression and all forms of oppression.

● *Neither Franco nor Juan Carlos.* Down with the dictatorship!

● Toward a constituent assembly elected under conditions of full rights

for political and trade-union activity. Dissolve the armed police forces, the BPS [Brigada Politico Social, the political police], and the Guardia Civil. Abolish the TOP [Tribunal del Orden Público—Public Order Tribunal], and end military trials.

● End inflation and lockouts by establishing a rationally planned econ-

omy under workers control.

● *Toward a workers government* without a single bourgeois minister, a government made up of representatives of the Workers Commissions and the united-front organizations of other strata, of committees elected by the workers in the factories as well as by other sections of the oppressed popu-

lation.

Only such a government can meet the needs we have mentioned by imposing workers control of production, expropriating the big capitalists and landowners without compensation, establishing a state monopoly of foreign trade, and arming the masses of workers and their allies. □

Outlined by Theodoros Theodoropoulos

Twenty Proposed Changes in Greek Labor Laws

[One of the lawyers who defended the Greek Trotskyist Giannis Felekis, the editor of the weekly paper *Ergatike Pale*, when he was tried August 29 on frame-up charges of "assaulting police officers," was the well-known expert on labor law, Theodoros Theodoropoulos. After Felekis's acquittal, the staff of *Ergatike Pale* asked Theodoropoulos what changes he would propose in the labor code now that the reactionary junta has fallen and the workers again have a certain freedom to press for better wages and conditions. His answer, published in the September 7 issue of *Ergatike Pale*, is reprinted below. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

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Ever since 1965, for almost ten years, I have argued in articles and in lectures given here in Athens that the labor code in force in our country should be changed.

The main lines of my proposals have been as follows:

1. Women should be guaranteed equal wages with men, and there should be effective protection for working mothers.

2. The distinction between blue- and white-collar workers should be abolished. Manual workers should get the same vacation and, when they are laid off, they should receive the same compensation as clerical workers.

3. There should be more protection for workers called into the army, both during their time of service and after they are discharged.

4. All the benefits of the labor code should be extended to maritime, agricultural, and foreign workers, to professional athletes, to non-civil-service

workers in public employment, and to domestic help, all of whom today are without any real legal protection.

5. Severe penalties should be imposed on employers who fail to pay their workers on time and who do not take the necessary safety measures to guard against accidents.

6. When they do the same jobs as adults, minors should receive equal pay for equal work; persons under the age of eighteen should work two hours a day less than those above that age, with no cut in pay.

7. There should be compulsory employment plans such as the ones that exist today for the benefit of those soldiers whose job rights are protected by the law. The Ministry of Labor should have the power to place persons in jobs whether the employer wants to hire them or not. This should be done in the case of persons who need to work but cannot find jobs for one reason or another. There should also be a scale of preferences for those who have a large family, persons who are studying, returned emigrants who want to remain in the country, elderly persons not drawing a pension, those handicapped by lack of experience, those whose trade has been eliminated by technological progress, and seasonal workers. Unemployment should be abolished by law.

8. Employers should be forbidden to fire workers in retaliation for engaging in trade-union activity, for demanding their rights, or for expressing their political views.

9. Employers should be obliged to treat equally all those who do the same work, that is, they should not be permitted to give higher wages to their favorites.

10. There should be thoroughgoing

protective legislation to cover all workers whose jobs are far from their homes.

11. There should be wage bonuses for night and Sunday work based not on the legal minimum but on the going wage rate.

12. There should be protective legislation to cover workers who, because of the nature of their jobs, have more than one employer.

13. Contract disputes should be arbitrated by a regular labor court, and the system of contracts should be changed fundamentally.

14. Not only paid trade-union functionaries but also shop stewards should be thoroughly protected against victimization.

15. The present system of settling individual grievances of workers against employers should be abolished and replaced by a system of quick and cost-free appeals.

16. Workers organizations should be allowed to function freely and not be subjected to pressure from government officials or anyone else. They should be permitted to elect their leaders and functionaries by proportional representation.

17. A five-day workweek should be established for all workers.

18. Employers should be prohibited from ordering any bodily searches of workers as well as from taking any other action that affronts a worker's personal dignity.

19. Good Friday should be made a paid holiday.

20. The pension law should be changed radically, starting with establishment of the principle that no pension can be allowed to fall below the corresponding wage rates set in each round of national collective bargaining. □