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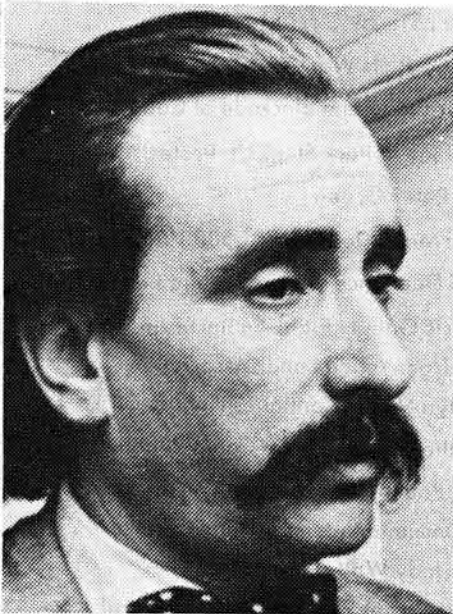
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Juan Carlos Coral, a leader of the PST, denounces police: "Instead of looking for those who have attacked our members, the police are raiding us, the victims."

## *First Act Under State of Siege*

# Argentine Police

# Raid PST's

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## Ford Urged to End Blockade of Cuba

## Protest Arrest of Spanish Feminists

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Congreso de Fundación de la Cuarta Internacional

# Protest Arrest of Spanish Feminists

In an appeal issued in Stockholm, exiled Peruvian revolutionist Hugo Blanco has called for an international campaign in defense of two Spanish feminists, lawyer Lydia Falcon and psychoanalyst Genevieve Sastre.

Falcon, Sastre, their husbands, and some of their friends were arrested in connection with the September 13 bombing of the Bar Rolando, a Madrid cafe frequented by police. They are accused of having helped shelter members of the ETA who allegedly carried out the bombing. The police also charge them with membership in the Spanish Communist party.

The Swedish section of Amnesty International, which is circulating Blanco's appeal, issued a statement of its own pointing out the flimsiness of the police charges. "It is a well-known fact," said Bo Lindblom, chairman of the Swedish section, "that all of the arrested belong to the Spanish opposition. Their homes—continually watched by the police—have been natural meeting places for many members of the Leftist opposition. It is therefore not very probable that anyone should try to hide there, trying to escape the police." He also pointed out that the explosion in the bar was "very different from anything ETA has ever done."

The ETA itself denounced the bombing October 17 as the work of "ultrafascist grouplets" closely linked to the police. In his appeal, Hugo Blanco called attention to reports that a notice was circulated among the Madrid police, warning them against entering the Bar Rolando the day of the bombing. Only one person connected with the police, a secretary, died in the explosion, which took twelve lives.

The real reason behind the arrest of the oppositionists, Lindblom suggested, is the Franco regime's desire "to put an end to all discussion about 'democratization' in Spain" and "to get rid of some of the leading critics of the Spanish political system. As nobody would believe that they are the real terrorists, they are accused of having formed some kind of terrorist service organization."

## Next Week

"Why Public Transport Is Falling Apart." A report on the Australian experience that leads one to wonder whether putting a gasoline engine in a buggy wasn't one of the greatest blunders in history.

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## Police Raid Buenos Aires Headquarters of the PST

By Gerry Foley

The Argentine government issued a decree November 6 putting the country under a state of siege as of 4:30 that afternoon.

At a news conference Minister of the Interior Alberto Rocamora explained that the decree had been made necessary by threats from an unspecified source against schoolchildren. Allegedly some group sought to close down the schools for a certain period. Rocamora did not indicate for what reason.

"Children of school age are being threatened," he told the reporters, "as you have seen in the papers and heard on all the radio reports. This means violating the sanctity of the family. This means destroying the peace of the home. It goes beyond any war that there might be between us and the terrorists, a war in which those of us who struggle in one form or another for social peace find ourselves exposed to danger. This means that the forces of evil are trying to go beyond the limits of an ideological struggle or dispute, no matter how fierce it might be.

"We think that the measure taken by the executive branch is a prudent one in view of this new evil that is assailing the republic, and the executive branch is determined to fight to the last extreme to preserve the peace of the Argentine home."

The government's first move under the emergency rules was to raid the national headquarters of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers party, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International) and arrest six members there.

The raid took place at 7:50 a.m., November 7, according to the Buenos Aires daily *Clarín*. The police were accompanied by the chief and deputy chief of the Policía Federal themselves.

"The police report said," the November 8 *Clarín* reported, "that pistols and rifles were found, along with clubs, brass knuckles, and pictures of public officials, police chiefs, and military officers.

"According to the report, there was also a photo lab, slide projectors, and several pictures of public mass meetings, as well as others of the assassinated former chief of police Alberto Villar, and his successor, Luis Margaride.

"Police sources added that sandbags had also been found, arranged to serve as barricades."

Apparently the police report did not mention that the PST national headquarters includes the offices of the party's newspaper, *Avanzada Socialista*. Had this been noted, the presence of photographic equipment would have been self-explanatory. Moreover, since there were pictures of many public figures, why was it necessary to point out specially that there were also photos of the assassinated chief of police and his successor?

The claims about finding weapons in the PST headquarters were in particular bad faith. The police could not have been unaware, since the chief of the Policía Federal was present, that the PST had been given special authorization by the minister of the interior to defend itself against the right-wing terrorists.

In fact, the raid came less than a week after three members of the PST were murdered by rightist commandos who claimed to be policemen. It came in the wake also of a long series of terrorist attacks on PST headquarters throughout the country. The national headquarters itself was machine-gunned only two weeks earlier, at 5 a.m., October 23, by a rightist goon squad. So, it seemed hardly worth noting that there were sandbags on the premises.

On the other hand, by emphasizing (and greatly exaggerating, according to a statement by PST leader Juan Carlos Coral in the same issue of *Clarín*) the defense of the PST headquarters, the police were only pointing up their own failure to stop the rightist gangs who have been murdering and raiding with full impunity for many months. The authorization for self-defense given by the Ministry of

the Interior was already an admission that the government could not, or would not, carry out its legal responsibilities.

"Instead of looking for those who have attacked our members and our headquarters," *Clarín* quoted Coral as saying, "the police are raiding us, the victims."

In its November 8 issue, the rightist Buenos Aires daily *La Razón* said: "It was also reported, off the record, that the headquarters was frequented by a top leader of an outlawed organization." Perhaps some police official told this to a reporter to try to justify the raid on a legally recognized party. However, the entire political world in Argentina knows that the PST has no links of any kind with any guerrilla organization. It has less in common with them in fact than the government party, which most of the guerrillas supported until recently. At a certain point, in fact, Perón himself gave explicit encouragement to the guerrillas. They did him a service by assassinating Augusto Vandor, a union leader who threatened in the late 1960s to lead an important section of the labor movement out of the Peronist camp.

Nonetheless, the police continue to hold the six persons they found in the PST headquarters; it has not been reported on what charges.

Although under Argentine law a state of siege does not empower the government to ban political parties or seriously restrict their functioning, a raid of this type obviously seriously obstructs the work of a party.

The fact that the authorities did not arrest PST members who later removed equipment from the raided headquarters indicates that a section of the bourgeoisie and probably of the government itself is still concerned about legal credibility.

Since a state of siege has been in force in Argentina for most of the last thirty years, except for election periods, the courts have defined rather precisely what they are prepared to consider legal in such circumstances.

The rules were listed in the November 8 issue of *Clarín*.

Under a state of siege, the government can arrest anyone it believes is involved in "subversive activities" and transport detainees to any point in the country. However, such detention is not to last more than thirty days, and persons detained have the right to leave the country, going into exile.

A state of siege "cannot," *Clarín* specified, "be used to penalize publications for expressing criticisms or opinions of the government's actions." Furthermore, because this measure is exceptional by definition, no penalties can legally be imposed under it that have a permanent or irreparable effect, such as expropriation of goods or sentencing of persons by special courts.

The leader of the main opposition party, Ricardo Balbín of the Unión Cívica Radical (UCR—Radical Civic Union, the bourgeois liberal party), did not challenge the government's right to impose the measure, *Clarín* reported, but said that it would have to be "applied in a discriminate and just way in order for it to be effective and do credit to the government. Otherwise, it threatens to provoke the most lamentable and tragic division among Argentines."

The UCR leader made a statement on October 29 condemning an earlier raid on the PST headquarters in Córdoba. Juan Carlos Coral, the general secretary of the PST, had a meeting with Balbín after the raid on the party's national headquarters, the November 8 *Clarín* noted.

Raúl Alfonsín, the leader of the more outspokenly liberal wing of the UCR, who has been threatened with assassination by the rightist death squadrons, noted that "the state of siege has always been used to trample on individual freedoms and rights."

Alfonsín had good reason to think that the government does not need special powers to suppress those responsible for the violence. The left-wing guerrillas consider that the country is in a civil war and publicly claim credit for their actions. The authorities thus have no difficulty convicting them under the laws on the statute books, once they are apprehended. What special powers are useful for, as the raid on the PST headquarters indicates, is precisely to create conditions that make it easier to victimize political and trade-union activists.

Another thing that the state of siege

permits is holding prisoners incommunicado for extended periods. Thus, it enables the government to use torture to terrorize political oppositionists and trade-union militants.

If the Argentine government were really concerned about stopping the violence, there is abundant evidence that it would not have to look very far or very hard for those most responsible for it. Although leftist guerrillas have carried out a number of assassinations of police and military officials that tend to obscure the realities of the situation, it is the rightists who inspire the most fear.

"For the first time since Perón's triumphal return to Argentina," *Le Monde* correspondent Philippe Labreveux wrote in the November 3 issue of the Rome weekly *L'Espresso*, "the high official who received me in his house, surrounded by familiar and reassuring objects, came to the point of talking frankly with me. He served the General [Perón], and perhaps more than anyone else had received tokens of esteem and recognition from him; this official continues to serve Perón's wife . . . but every day more reluctantly. In fact, the entourage of Señora Estela Martínez de Perón inspired only fear in this official. 'They are gangsters,' he said with his voice trembling, 'intriguers hungry for power and money. They have no scruples, even about murder.'"

Rightist assassination squads, the Alianza Anticomunista Argentina (AAA—Argentine Anticommunist Alliance), began operating openly after Perón's death, Labreveux explained. (It was then that the Argentine bourgeoisie lost much of its confidence in the future, since Perón was the only bourgeois politician still able to keep the masses in check.) One of the first operations they claimed was the attempted assassination of the liberal UCR Senator Hipólito Solari Yrigoyen. Recently AAA death threats forced him to flee the country.

Since the attack on Solari Yrigoyen, the French correspondent continued, "the AAA has carried out at least a score of terrorist attacks.

"They work with complete impunity and the obvious complicity of the police, as well as the other repressive forces. Their threats are taken seriously. Those whose names appear on their death lists go into hiding or leave the country.

"The organization's backers rejoice

almost openly: 'We don't know who the "AAA" is,' *Semana Política*, a weekly financed by [José] López Rega [the minister of social welfare and strongman of the Peronist right] wrote, but it is clear that in a few days its activity has demobilized the leading cadres of the far-left groups."

Labreveux found himself on the AAA death list, Gian Santiago wrote in the next issue of *L'Espresso*, and was forced to flee to Peru.

Santiago reported that rightists in the government were beginning to be embarrassed by reports linking them to the AAA and had started making denials.

"However," the *L'Espresso* reporter continued, "if there is no connection between the AAA and the official bodies, there have been some coincidences that are, to say the least, strange. There is the case of Ursula Allgeier Levze, the secretary of Walter Hanf, a correspondent of the German television network Ard, who was condemned to death by the feared organization. She was given until last Friday to leave the country. Terrified, Miss Allgeier packed her bags, but at the last minute she was forced to postpone her departure for three days. Last Monday, at 7 a.m., Walter Hanf and his secretary were kidnapped. Fortunately, the German Embassy intervened quickly and the kidnapping was transformed into an arrest. . . . About thirty journalists have been forced to leave Argentina by threats from the AAA, including Augusto Montesinos, the correspondent of the Brazilian magazine *Veja*, who left after a rather horrifying adventure.

"One night, he was dragged from his bed by members of the death squadron and taken to an area near Ezeiza airport. After holding him for hours under the threat of death, the group took him downtown and at dawn turned him over to the police, who held him under arrest for twenty-four hours."

In the November 3 issue of the Swedish daily *Dagens Nyheter*, Mats Holmberg described the case of the kidnapping and murder of three Uruguayan political refugees who had taken asylum in Argentina after being forced to leave Chile by the Pinochet coup. Since the three had been granted asylum in Sweden, and one had a United Nations passport as a recognized political refugee, their murder became an international scandal.

Two other Uruguayan refugees kidnapped at the same time—Nicasio Romero and Ribera Moreno—lived to tell the story, proving the Argentine government's responsibility.

"Ribera Moreno was in the same room as Luis Latronica and Daniel Banfi when the group of armed men broke in. He said they were obviously looking only for Daniel Banfi. He thought that the decision to take him and Luis Latronica along was made off the top of their heads.

"The kidnapers wore civilian clothes. They identified themselves as police. Daniel Banfi recognized one as a member of an ultraright student organization in Uruguay. . . .

"The refugees were taken to an abandoned house, where their captors identified themselves as members of the AAA. They began questioning their prisoners under torture about their past political activities in Uruguay and any contacts they might have with left groups in Argentina.

"'They knew everything we did going back a year,' Nicasio Romero and Ribera Moreno reported. 'And in one place—we think it was a police station in La Plata—they showed us a report from the police in Uruguay on all the Uruguayans wanted for political offenses.'"

From the second day of their captivity, the Uruguayans knew that their kidnapers were at least working very closely with the police, Holmberg reported. "They were taken to a place that they could see was a police station. They saw police uniforms and police boots on those who brought in their food, and they overheard conversations among their guards and telephone conversations dealing with routine police matters. The cells smelled of urine and vomit, and two of the refugees shared a cell with a drunk who had been hauled in to sleep it off in jail."

The AAA had promised to release the five after interrogation but went berserk, the survivors thought, after the killing of Villar, the chief of the federal police, on November 1. Nonetheless, the murder gang did make an effort to conceal the identity of the persons murdered—Luis Latronica, Daniel Banfi, and Guillermo Rivera. "Their faces were so mutilated by acid," Holmberg wrote, "that their bodies could be identified only after the judge had given permission to amputate a finger from each so that

a fingerprint check could be made."

By unleashing this reign of ultrarightist gangster terror, the Argentine government has taken a dangerous course. A number of clumsy operations by the AAA indicate that spectacular scandals could be touched off at any time. Internationally, the re-



LOPEZ REGA

gime has already fallen into ill repute.

In the long run, any government needs some sort of political cover for repression, some appearance of legality. Simply giving fanatical killers free rein to murder anyone who "causes trouble" creates insecurity at all levels of society.

If the clampdown is to be continued in Argentina, the bourgeoisie has to gain a certain acceptance for dictatorial government. To do this, it has to put over the idea that a "strong hand" is needed to "restore peace." To this end, it has been trying to present the violence as a vicious circle of provocation by leftist guerrillas and retaliation by rightist vigilantes. The declaration of the state of siege was another step in this campaign to legitimize arbitrary rule.

The imperialist press has done its best to promote this campaign. For example, in its November 10 issue, the *New York Times* wrote:

"A threat by leftist extremists to bomb schoolchildren and their teachers indiscriminately has led the Argentine Government to reimpose the state of siege. . . ." A fantastic report of this kind would be shocking even

to a backwoods reactionary sheet. The *New York Times* editors were apparently uncomfortable with their task. In the November 7 issue, the statement by the Argentine minister of the interior was falsified to cover up its crude demagogic character. Rocamora had said that the government would "fight to the last extreme to preserve the peace of the Argentine home." The *New York Times* changed the word "home" to "people."

The clumsiness of the AAA and the Peronist right offer good possibilities for blocking the regime's plans to legitimize massive repression of the left by exposing those who are really responsible for the violence, by pointing out that the tracks of the most brutal and "indiscriminate" killers lead right to the government. And every attack by the government on a legal socialist party like the PST, which is committed to leading the masses to establish genuine democracy, is irrefutable proof of the hypocrisy of the regime's claims that it declared a state of siege to "restore peace." □

#### Fraud and Negligence Charged in DC-10 Crash That Killed 346

A United States Federal District Court in Los Angeles was told October 29 that there was new evidence of negligence in aircraft design and development, and possibly of fraud, in connection with the crash of a DC-10 airliner near Paris in March. All 346 persons on board the Turkish Airlines jumbo jet were killed in the crash, which was caused by the loss of a cargo door in flight.

One of the lawyers for plaintiffs seeking tens of millions of dollars in damages from the aircraft's manufacturer, McDonnell Douglas Corporation, claimed the company had suppressed a study showing that such a sudden loss of a door would lead to structural failure of the floor of the passenger cabin and rupture of the control cables leading to the tail assembly. The General Dynamics Corporation, a subcontractor on the plane, had written a report saying it was certain that a DC-10 cargo door would come off in flight during the predicted 20-year lifetime of the fleet, and that a catastrophe would occur. These statements were not challenged by the chief lawyer for McDonnell Douglas.

A DC-10 had already lost a cargo door in flight near Detroit in 1972, but the pilot had been able to make an emergency landing with jammed controls. That plane was only a quarter as full as the one that crashed near Paris, a factor that may have made the difference.

## Pentagon Plots War in the Arab East

By Dick Fidler

Washington's threats of economic war against the Arab oil-producing countries have been followed by more and more indications that military intervention is under consideration. One of the items is a vast airlift of U.S. military supplies to the Israeli armed forces.

The U. S. offensive was launched in September in speeches by Ford and Kissinger threatening that the full force of the world's mightiest imperialist power would be brought to bear against the semicolonial oil-producing countries if they continued to resist imperialist pressure to lower the price of oil at the wellhead.

So far, the oil producers have refused to submit to Washington's threats.

In his November 8 newspaper column, the well-informed Washington journalist Jack Anderson reported some of the ominous thinking now going on in top circles.

"A grim, new mood is developing in Washington that military intervention may be necessary to bring down the price of oil and save the West from economic ruin," Anderson said.

Citing "confidential talks" with an "important policymaker"—was it Kissinger?—Anderson said, "Until the last few weeks, military action was considered out of the question. But the mood definitely is changing, as the consequences of the oil gouge have become more devastating."

The journalist said he was told by "top policymakers" that nothing less than the "vital interests" of the United States are at stake.

"Oil is the lifeblood of the industrial West. A growing number of policymakers now agree that the United States cannot stand by while a few recklessly greedy potentates interfere with the normal flow of our lifeblood."

The high price of oil imports has already had a devastating effect on the economies of Italy, England, and Japan, he said. "Unless the prices are quickly reduced, economic chaos will spread throughout the West."



Kissinger: Was he the "important policymaker" who gave Anderson inside dope?

Anderson's sources made clear that in the Ford administration's view, the Arab regimes' use of oil as a political weapon—as in the embargo imposed last October in retaliation against Western support of Israel—amounts to "overt economic warfare."

The administration is prepared to act in accordance with this interpretation. "Our sources say the President is willing to use U.S. military power as a last resort to prevent the oil cartel from causing disastrous economic and political dislocations in the West."

Anderson outlined the possible U.S. moves now being discussed in Washington. "The secret speculation is that Libya would be the most likely target of U.S. intervention." Libyan President Muammar el-Qaddafi's militantly nationalist regime is unpopular with many other Arab governments; and Washington says his nationalization of the Occidental Petroleum properties in 1971 initiated the current attempts by Arab countries to get more revenues from oil exports.

"His tactics encouraged other oil potentates to band with him. If he were singled out for U.S. retaliation, they might once again get the message."

Anderson indicates what kind of "retaliation" is being weighed.

"CIA sources have suggested that the simplest way to knock the props out from under Khadafy would be to engineer a coup and replace him with a leader more friendly to the West.

"One secret report tells of a discussion between a CIA agent and an Occidental official about putting up \$50 million for Khadafy's assassination."

A Pentagon source told Anderson that "no more than two Marine divisions" would be required to seize and occupy Libya's oil fields.

Anderson is not the only journalist to have been tipped off on the discussions going on in the White House camarilla.

In its October 7 issue, *Newsweek* magazine listed the "most talked-about options" for dealing with the Arab oil producers, based on interviews with "government officials, military strategists and experts" in Washington.

They included "terror squads to stalk traveling Arab oil barons. . . . Assassinations—accompanied by blunt hints to other Arab leaders that they could be next—might be carried out." Another "option" was direct "military intervention."

In his November 8 column, Jack Anderson mentioned another line of attack. "There is also talk in the backrooms about giving Israel the green light to take over Kuwait's oil fields. The secret assessment is that no combination of Arab armies could stop an Israeli march upon Kuwait."

The Pentagon is currently rushing arms shipments to Israel at such a pace that "in some cases, the U.S. military's own stocks have been depleted to make the weapons available in Israel," Anderson noted.

The reaction in Tel Aviv and Washington to the decision taken by the Arab leaders at their summit meeting in Rabat October 28 to support the creation of an independent Palestinian state under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), shows that there is substance to Anderson's revelations.

In both Israel and the United States, the Rabat decision is being portrayed

as proof that the Arab regimes are about to launch a war of extermination against the Israelis.

Israel has seized on the decision as the pretext for stepping up its armaments drive and engaging in renewed saber rattling. Israeli Defense Minister Shimon Peres has threatened to launch a preemptive Israeli assault against the Arabs. "There is no more important weapon than that of surprise," he affirmed.

In the November 10 *Washington Post*, staff writer Michael Getler reported that when deliveries of U. S. arms are completed, "the Israeli air arm will be stronger than it was in 1973, with about 175 F-4s and roughly 200 smaller A-4 attack jets."

Getler described "a consensus within U. S. intelligence circles that an Arab-Israeli war is likely within six months unless some breakthrough in negotiations—thus far elusive—can be achieved."

Most Pentagon officials are convinced, he said, "that Israel would win if another war broke out, no matter which side struck first." And there is "a general view that if war appears imminent, Israel will strike first and not allow itself to be surprised again as it was in the October war."

This indicates that the CIA and the Pentagon are thinking of an early "first strike" against the Arabs.

One thing worrying U. S. officials, Getler reported, is "the virtual certainty that any new Middle East war would bring a new oil embargo. . . ." And they are also worried that Israel's military advantage will be whittled away as the Arab states replace the arms they lost in last year's war. "It is widely expected . . . that after an Egyptian-Soviet summit early next year the Soviet arms flow will resume."

The likely economic impact of another oil embargo by the Arab countries has been somewhat exaggerated in the Western press. The United States depends on Middle East supplies for only one-sixth of its oil imports. And during the embargo that followed the October 1973 war, the big monopolies that control the capitalist world market in oil were able to juggle deliveries so as to minimize the disruption of supplies to the West European and Japanese economies.

The main effect of the embargo was political. Together with the increase in the price of oil imports, it induced the leading competitor-allies of U. S.

imperialism to shift their diplomatic sympathies toward the side of the Arab regimes in the Middle East, in hopes of winning lower oil prices. The result was to weaken the U. S. position and increase Israel's international isolation. Washington fears that a repetition of the embargo will further this tendency.

Frenzied opposition to the Arabs' use of the "oil weapon"—both the embargo, which has since been lifted, and the steep rise in taxes and royalties charged to the oil trusts—has become a dominant theme of spokesmen for U. S. imperialism. Oil revenues are said to be bankrolling a "rising tide of Arab militancy" that has fouled Kissinger's Middle East strategy.

The November 18 issue of *U. S. News & World Report*, for instance, protested "a decision by oil-rich Arab nations at Rabat to give Egypt, Syria, Jordan and the Palestine Liberation Organization a war chest of nearly 9.5 billion [billion] dollars over the next four years."

In reality, the oil producers' revenues are small compared with the massive resources of the oil trusts—the real "oil potentates." The International Monetary Fund's latest report shows that the monetary reserves of all members of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries amount to \$38,000 million. But Rockefeller's Exxon alone had sales and assets of more than \$25,000 million last year, and they will be much higher by the end of 1974.

What Washington fundamentally opposes is any assertion of independence by the Arab regimes, even their attempts to retain part of the enormous revenues their resources can obtain on the world market.

And the Ford administration is making amply clear that it will stop at nothing, including war, to thwart those efforts.

The U. S. ruling class has expressed virtual unanimity in support of Washington's bellicose stance. An editorial in the November 11 *New York Times*, for example, warns of a "threat" to the "political future" of the semicolonial oil-producing countries if they refuse to bow to "rational argument to reduce oil prices" to a "reasonable" level—that is, a level that would maintain revenues at scarcely higher than the amount they spend on imports of manufactured goods from the imperialist countries.

One big unknown factor is the possible reaction of the Kremlin to a military thrust against the Arab states.

In the interests of its own existence, the Soviet bureaucracy cannot afford to let the Arab East again become the exclusive imperialist preserve that it once was. That is why the Kremlin threatened to intervene in last year's conflict, in contrast to the passivity it displayed in the face of U. S. imperialism's assault on North Vietnam, where it saw no immediate threat to its narrow interests.

However, the strategists in the Pentagon and State Department are apparently convinced that they can get away with it as they did in Vietnam without precipitating a nuclear showdown with the Kremlin.

"The policy experts," Anderson said, "don't believe the Soviet Union would interfere with a U. S. military operation in the Middle East. Even Kissinger agrees, according to our sources, that the superpowers recognize one another's 'vital interests.'"

". . . Kissinger believes the Soviets wouldn't likely risk a nuclear war with the U. S. over Middle East oil."

No doubt the Dr. Strangeloves have been emboldened by Moscow's failure to denounce Washington's threats and preparations for war against the oil producers. But whatever hopes the short-sighted occupants of the Kremlin may entertain about Washington's ability to limit the war to a "brushfire" operation, it is clear that any military action along the lines indicated by Anderson's Washington sources could quickly draw in much wider forces, and indeed pose the danger of the use of nuclear weapons. □

### U. S. Army Training Elite Unit for Intervention in 'Trouble Spots'

The United States Army is training a special unit for the purpose of swift intervention in "trouble spots" anywhere around the world. The First Ranger Battalion, the first of three such units, is described as a "deep penetration force."

According to a report in the October 25 *New York Times*, Pentagon planners view the unit as a "weapon that could be deployed to safeguard American economic, strategic or political interests anywhere from the Middle East to the Andes Mountains and from Norway's North Cape to the Indian Ocean."

The unit is lightly armed, relying on bombers or artillery for heavier support, and every member of the unit is a qualified paratrooper.

# Ford Urged to End Blockade of Cuba

In a report submitted to President Ford October 29, a group of prominent U. S. businessmen, university presidents, and former government officials recommended major changes in Washington's policies toward Latin America.

Among the thirty-three recommendations of the Commission on United States-Latin American Relations was a call for an immediate and unconditional end to the fourteen-year-old U. S. economic embargo against Cuba.

The White House, it said, should move to drop restrictions on travel and cultural exchanges "regardless of progress or a Cuban response." If Cuba made some appropriate response, the commission said, Washington could then discuss the resumption of diplomatic relations.

The twenty-three-member commission was established in May of this year with about \$80,000 in support from the Ford and Clark foundations and from the Rockefeller Brothers Fund. It is headed by Sol M. Linowitz, former U. S. delegate to the Organization of American States.

Among other members of the influential group are Charles A. Meyer, former assistant secretary of state for inter-American affairs, and Elliot Richardson, former attorney general in the Nixon administration.

Corporation and banking executives on the committee include W. Michael Blumenthal, chairman of Bendix Corporation; C. A. Costanzo, vice-chairman of the First National City Bank; Henry J. Heinz II of H. J. Heinz Company; Andrew Heiskell of Time, Inc.; and Lee Hills of Knight Newspapers.

Ford said he appreciated the "constructive" work of the commission. A "high United States official concerned with Latin America" was more direct. "These guys are leaders and they will be listened to," he told the *New York Times*. He might have added that many of them were responsible for Washington's original decision to apply the embargo and the accompanying OAS sanctions in an attempt to defeat Cuba's socialist revolution.

In addition to its proposals on Cuban policy, the commission called on the White House to stop covert intelligence operations in Latin American countries, to terminate military supply grants, and to stop sending military-adviser groups to the region.

Other proposals included:

- An end to coercive measures against Latin American governments that expro-

priate property held by American companies or that bar commercial fishing by U. S. vessels as far as 200 miles from their coasts.

- Elimination of Washington's veto power in the Inter-American Development Bank, which receives more than one-third

## On Eve of Ford's Visit to South Korea

# Opposition to Park Steps Up Protests

By Peter Green

In the weeks preceding President Ford's visit to South Korea, scheduled for November 22, opponents of Park Chung Hee's dictatorship intensified their protests.

More than 2,000 Catholics attended a protest mass in Seoul's Myongdong Cathedral November 6, although riot police tried to bar entrance to the church. A strongly worded statement calling for the release of political prisoners and the scrapping of Park's constitution was read aloud. The statement, drawn up by a group representing about half of South Korea's 600 Catholic priests, also called for "reconsideration" of Ford's visit.

Striking journalists on South Korea's largest and most influential daily newspaper, *Dong A Ilbo*, forced the publishers to print a front-page statement October 25 demanding freedom of the press, withdrawal of police agents from newspaper offices, and an end to arbitrary arrests. Five of the six other major dailies also carried the statement, as did three commercial radio stations. The statement expressed "shame that we have not been reporting facts." The papers also published accounts of the antigovernment Catholic rally in Seoul the previous day.

The 180 reporters and editors of *Dong A Ilbo*, which has a national circulation of about 600,000, unanimously voted on October 24 to sit

of its funds from the U. S. government.

- Greater U. S. tariff preference for Latin American goods.

- The signing of a new Panama Canal treaty recognizing that Panama should "ultimately" have sovereignty over the canal.

The committee submitted its report only a few days before the meeting of hemisphere foreign ministers in Quito, Ecuador, which is expected to vote to end the OAS economic and diplomatic sanctions against Cuba imposed in 1962 and 1964. □

in and refuse to put out a paper until their demands were met. The reporters of *Hankook Ilbo*, a major morning paper, also voted to suspend publication until the censorship was eased.

Confrontation between the press and the Park regime has been growing. The recent protests were sparked by the arrest and interrogation of editors from *Dong A Ilbo* and *Hankook Ilbo* by the South Korean Central Intelligence Agency (KCIA). The newspapers apparently violated a government directive banning stories on four topics.

One of the topics was the agitation in South Vietnam against President Thieu, including burning of newspapers by Vietnamese journalists. Park feared that South Koreans might draw inspiration from these protests. The other three prohibited topics were student demonstrations, demonstrations by religious groups, and a scandal concerning charcoal.

Half of South Korea's universities were shut down for up to two weeks in October in an attempt to curb growing student protests against the regime. Threatening direct intervention, the government ordered university administrations to take full responsibility for stopping demonstrations and disciplining dissenters. When twenty-six universities reopened October 28, ending their self-imposed recess, student



protests flared up immediately.

A demonstration by 1,500 students from Korea University was blocked at the school gates by riot police. The students denounced "one-man dictatorship" and demanded greater freedom on and off campus. At Ehwa Women's University, riot police used tear gas to turn back 2,000 demonstrators. Many of the students wore black ribbons symbolizing the "death of democracy." Protesters carried signs and handed out leaflets condemning Park's martial-law constitution of 1972. Both universities were promptly shut down again by their administrations.

Students calling for an end to "dictatorial government" and the restoration of democracy demonstrated at Yonsei University on October 31 for the second day in a row. Police fired tear gas at nearly 2,000 students attempting to march on the campus. According to the November 1 *Washington Post*, four more colleges and universities were shut down in an attempt to thwart the latest wave of protests.

Stirrings of opposition to the Park dictatorship also surfaced at the annual convention of the 650,000-member Federation of Korean Trade Unions (FKTU). On October 19, presidents of ten of the seventeen unions that make up the federation demanded the resignation of the FKTU chairman, Park stooge Pae Sang Ho. In the past, the FKTU has obediently supported the Park regime and gone along with the outlawing of strikes and the denial of workers' rights to bargain collectively.

Under permanent intimidation by the ubiquitous KCIA, delegates to the normally docile FKTU convention broke loose and moved a motion of no confidence in Pae. Before the assembly was abruptly closed, supporters of the motion extracted a vague promise from Pae that he would resign in the near future.

The role of the FKTU as a pliant tool of Park is not likely to change overnight. But as one delegate, quoted by the November 1 *Far Eastern Economic Review*, said after the convention: "Ten of the seventeen presidents at least stood up to the Government on the issue of Pae. It's not much, but it's ten more than spoke out last year." □

## Mounting Racist Campaign Against Immigrants

### Ottawa Moves to Deport 1,500 Haitians

The Canadian government is moving to deport up to 1,500 Haitian immigrants who face imprisonment or worse if they return to Haiti.

The Haitians came to Canada after November 30, 1972, when Ottawa began tightening its immigration policy. More than 900 have appealed immigration department rulings denying them landed-immigrant status and ordering their deportation. At least eighty have lost their final appeals, and some have already been deported, according to the November 4 issue of the Canadian revolutionary-socialist fortnightly *Labor Challenge*.

"There is evidence that several persons were arrested by Haitian authorities after being deported from Canada. Others have not been heard from since they were sent back," Paul Kouri reported from Montreal, where most of the Haitians have settled.

The Reverend Paul Dejean, director of a counseling service for the Haitian community in Montreal and a leader of a committee that is fighting the deportations, told *Labor Challenge* that Ottawa's immigration courts are rejecting nine out of ten Haitians' appeals.

In an interview published in the October 28 issue of the *Gazette*, a Montreal daily, Pierre Gousse, the secretary of state for information in the Duvalier dictatorship, labeled the immigrants "essentially subversive" elements who had "cut the bridge for a return to Haiti." He said that "they will not find in Haiti favorable ground for their activities. . . ."

Canadian officials have rejected the Haitian immigrants' claim to the status of political refugees.

"If we gave the kind of special treatment that they want to everyone who came here because he was displeased with the economic or political situation of his own country, we would have them coming by the millions," was the cynical comment of an immigration department spokesman.

At an October 17 news conference called to defend the Haitians, Michel Chartrand, president of the Montreal council of the Confederation of National Trade Unions, said, "They are Black, they speak French, they are militant. That's more than enough reason why the Royal Canadian Mounted Police don't like them."

The moves against the Haitians come amid a mounting racist campaign against nonwhite immigrants.

On October 22, Ottawa announced new regulations that would severely limit immigration from underdeveloped countries.

Effective immediately, an applicant who

is unable to prove that he or she has a job waiting, or a skill that is needed by Canadian industry, will lose ten points under the complicated point system Canada employs to screen immigrants.

Furthermore, before admitting the immigrant who does have a prearranged job, the government will try to ensure that no Canadian citizen or permanent resident can be found to fill the vacancy.

The government expects these restrictions to cut the number of immigrants by 20 percent in 1975—from 250,000 to 200,000. The bulk of those affected will be Asians, Africans, and West Indians, who comprised 38,828 of the 104,089 immigrants admitted in the first six months of this year.

Capitalist politicians and the news media are trotting out all the usual racist arguments in their campaign against non-white immigration.

"Canada is becoming a multiracial country at a staggering rate, and there's just no simple guarantee that we'll be able to handle the phenomenon better than others," said Brian Steward, a commentator on the government-owned Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's national television network.

Bruce Phillips, a commentator on the privately owned CTV network, said: "It's fair to say that many people in the Government with a responsibility in this field are worried about the possibility of Canada's importing a race problem.

" . . . we are putting in place all the elements of ghetto situations and all that portends for the future."

These racist statements are being echoed by government officials. Asked in a television interview about the racial implications of the new policy, Robert Andras, the minister of manpower and immigration, said, "I don't think it can be swept under the rug. I guess we've got to face up to it." □

#### Demand Names of CIA-Funded Papers

The Inter American Press Association asked President Ford October 31 to reveal the names of the Chilean newspapers that received funds from the Central Intelligence Agency in the effort to "destabilize" the Allende regime. Julio de Mesquita Neto, the association president and publisher of *O Estado de Sao Paulo*, said the request had been authorized by the association's general assembly. The information was necessary, he said, "so that the good name of innocent newspapers can be cleared."

### Unions Denounce Ottawa's Chile Policy

Canadian trade unions, churches, and student organizations have issued a sharp denunciation of the Trudeau government's support of the Chile junta.

A statement presented to the federal government criticized Ottawa's refusal to open Canada's doors to refugees from the Chile terror and protested the collaboration of Canadian banks and businesses with the military dictatorship.

The statement was signed by the Canadian Labour Congress, which is affiliated with the U. S. labor federation, the AFL-CIO; the Québec-based Confederation of National Trade Unions; the Canadian Council of Churches, and the Lutheran, Presbyterian, Anglican, and United churches; OXFAM; Amnesty International; and university student organizations.

The statement was presented October 9 to Allan MacEachen, secretary of state for external affairs, and Robert Andras, minister of manpower and immigration.

"... Canada has been virtually silent regarding the total suppression of democratic institutions in Chile, the systematic reign of terror, mockery of justice and brutality which has characterized the rule of the military junta," the brief stated. Less than a month after the coup, Ottawa recognized the junta.

"Canadians were given assurance that 'recognition does not imply approval.' Yet approval is implied if Canada is silent on the transgression of human rights in Chile, if Canada supports the military junta with economic aid through international financial institutions, and if Canada takes only slow and inadequate measures to assist Chileans escaping from this repressive regime."

The statement noted that the Canadian government and businesses participated in international financial institutions that boycotted the Allende government in order to undermine the Chilean economy and prepare the overthrow of the Popular Unity regime. Ottawa's Export Development Corporation, which provides credit to foreign buyers of Canadian products,

cut off export credit to Chile in November 1971, almost two years before the coup.

The signers of the statement call for "public scrutiny and accountability" of Canada's participation in international financial institutions.

Since the September 1973 coup, the statement observed, "several Canadian banks have already participated in multimillion dollar loans to the junta."

"Falconbridge Nickel Mines Ltd. is considering a \$300 million investment in copper production in Chile," it added.

The statement exposed the fraudulent nature of Ottawa's promise that the procedure for permitting the entry of refugees from Chile would be

speeded up on an "emergency" basis. Prospective immigrants from Chile were given special treatment for only two months, from December 1973 to February 1974. Since the coup, Canada has admitted fewer than 600 Chileans with refugee status. The statement added that "the actual procedures [for admitting Chileans] have become increasingly lengthy, now taking an estimated five to ten months."

Among fourteen proposed recommendations aimed at reversing the government's Chile policy, the statement called on Ottawa to "broaden its refugee program to allow 10,000 persons to enter Canada under *relaxed criteria*," with first priority given to refugees from the concentration camps and prisons. It also demanded that "refugees from Chile presently in Canada on minister's permit, some dating back over one year, be granted landed immigrant status, immediately, without further delay." □

### State Conference Urges Reinstatement

## Socialists Gain in Fight Against Expulsion From Australian Young Labor Association

Victory is in sight in the campaign for reinstatement of thirty-one socialists who were summarily expelled from the Victorian Young Labor Association (YLA) last February without notice and without a trial. They were accused by the newly elected state executive of "supporting the Fourth International" and of putting forward "revolutionary ideas." (See *Intercontinental Press*, March 18, p. 310.)

Delegates to the state conference of the Victorian branch of the Australian Labor party (ALP), meeting October 25-26, adopted a recommendation that those expelled should be "reinstated forthwith" by the YLA.

The decision reflects the overwhelming support won by the expelled socialists in their nine-month campaign to reverse the YLA state executive's undemocratic decree. Motions of support came from at least fifteen YLA branches and thirty ALP branches. More than 100 YLA members and 500 ALP members signed a petition

demanding reinstatement. In addition, prominent Labor movement figures, including federal ministers Moss Cass and Kep Enderby, gave their support.

The reinstatement recommendation came as part of a report from a subcommittee of the ALP's administrative committee, which had been set up to investigate the internal affairs of the Victorian YLA a few months before. The report also recommended convening a conference of YLA members on December 14 and 15 to discuss a new draft constitution. Although the draft is a step forward in that it proposes a more democratic method of settling disputes within the YLA, it also suggests establishing delegated assemblies and scrapping the open membership conferences in which all YLA members are permitted to attend and express their views.

While the decision to reinstate the expelled is to be applauded as a victory for the rights of socialists in the Labor movement, another part of the

report is causing concern to supporters of members' democratic rights. This is a proposal to change the constitution to allow exclusion of individuals belonging to "proscribed organizations." The proscription would include "organizations involved in concerted political activity whose policies and philosophy are contrary to those of the ALP."

The proposal opens the way for all sorts of attacks against radical organizations, including socialists. The formulation is so vague that it could conceivably proscribe formations like

the Congress for International Cooperation and Disarmament, of which Jim Cairns, Labor's deputy prime minister, is chairman.

Rank-and-file members of the YLA and ALP have shown by their strong opposition to the expulsion attempts that they are against any resurrection of red-baiting in the Labor movement. Whether the Labor leadership will heed the lessons of the YLA expulsions and support the basic democratic right of socialists to put forward their views in the Labor movement remains to be seen. □

## Ukrainian Dissident Dying by Inches in Vladimir Prison

### Valentyn Moroz Continues Hunger Strike

Valentyn Moroz, the Ukrainian dissident historian who has been on a hunger strike in Vladimir prison since July 1, has announced that he will continue his hunger strike until January 1, 1975. If by that date the prison authorities have not relaxed their brutal treatment of him and at the very least transferred him to a communal cell and allowed him to work, Moroz says he will commit slow suicide.

Moroz is reported to be in very poor health. He now weighs about 115 pounds. Afflicted with a serious liver ailment, he has suffered several heart attacks. For two months, now, the tube that his guards use to force-feed him has been covered with blood at each application.

In the November 9 *New York Times*, Jeri Laber, a member of Amnesty International, quoted a former Soviet political prisoner who had seen Moroz. He gave this description:

"I, who had been witness to a great deal in my ten years in prison, found it difficult to imagine that a person could be brought to such a state. . . .

Russian gendarmes have seen to it that this person with the thin face and intelligent eyes will never again resemble his former self.

"The gaunt figure in the striped uniform of a repeater, sick and ghastly, reminded one of the frightful photographs of the surviving victims of Auschwitz. The prison rags hung on him as if on a wire skeleton. Short, stubby hair on his dried scalp, and greenish, parchment-like skin, terrifying as that of a mummy, covered his high forehead and prominent cheekbones. And the eyes—no, I cannot convey what I saw in his eyes during this short encounter."

Valentyn Moroz is in the fourth year of a fourteen-year term, his second prison term since 1965, when, at the age of 29, he was first arrested on charges of anti-Soviet propaganda. Moroz's "crime" was to protest the Kremlin's suppression of Ukrainian national rights. While not a Marxist, Moroz's critique is anti-Stalinist and prosocialist. He has favorably contrasted Lenin's sympathetic approach to the nationalism of oppressed peoples with Stalin's attempts to stifle and destroy the Ukrainian national identity through brutal repression.

For holding these views, Moroz has himself become one of the best-known victims of that repression, and, in his courageous resistance, a symbol of intransigent refusal to recant.

During his imprisonment, he has been attacked and stabbed by criminal inmates. Brain-damaging drugs have been administered to him. Since 1972 he has been in solitary confinement.

He launched his hunger strike to back his demand that he be transferred to a prison camp. Otherwise, he says, he will go insane, and he would rather die than lose his reason.

On November 5, Moroz's wife, Raissa, his 10-year-old son, and his father visited him. The authorities at first tried to restrict the visiting rights to Moroz's father, with the condition that he try to persuade his son to end his hunger strike and recant. When the elder Moroz refused to submit to this condition, all three were permitted to meet with Moroz. During the visit, however, the guards clapped their hands to Raissa Moroz's mouth and demanded that she speak only in Russian and about "nothing political."

The KGB (the Soviet secret police) has threatened Raissa Moroz with dismissal from her job, eviction from her apartment, and arrest, if she continues to appeal publicly for help for her husband. □

### God's Popularity Sinks to New Low

God's popularity has dropped to a new low in Britain, according to a poll taken for BBC by the Opinion Research Centre.

As reported in the October 13 London *Sunday Times*, only 29% of those polled said they believe in a personal god. This compares with 38% in 1963.

On the question of an afterlife there was a similar shift. In 1963, 53% said they believed in it, 22% did not, and 25% did not know. The current figures are 39% believers, 35% nonbelievers, and 27% don't know.

In contrast, an increase in believers in a spirit or life force was registered, the figure rising from 33% in 1963 to 35% in the current poll. Another encouraging sign for the Almighty was a drop among those who believe in neither god nor any form of life force—from 9% to 6%. Also the don't knows slid from 20% in 1963 to 18%.

Despite these small countercurrents, Father Victor Stack, resident chaplain of the London University Church, felt that the poll was highly condemnable. "It perpetuates a level of non-meaning about language, questions and reality. Polls are the sort of thing the media pride themselves on but do badly. I think it's just awful."

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# Since the Concentration Camp Rebellions

By Patricia Fryd

London

In the mass demonstrations that followed the October 15 revolt in Long Kesh concentration camp, the Catholic population of Northern Ireland came onto the streets on a scale greater than at any time since August 1971, when the concentration camp system was introduced.

The scope and intensity of these protests by the oppressed community testified to the profound and powerful feeling of desperation stemming from decades of brutal repression and a half decade of direct military subjugation by the forces of British imperialism. The arbitrary arrest and imprisonment of several hundred persons in the small Catholic neighborhoods became the focus for resentment against the whole repressive machine.

The election of a Labour government in February brought no let-up in the repression in Northern Ireland, nor any more consideration for the aspirations of the island-wide nationalist majority trapped in the British imperialist enclave.

In the period before the October 10 general elections for the United Kingdom parliament, the Ministry of Defense sent an extra 750 soldiers to Northern Ireland to join the forces that were already being used to intimidate the Catholic population. In particular, the army had distinguished itself in these weeks by harassing the campaign of the Republican Clubs, the only militant organization in the Catholic ghettos that tried to offer a general alternative in the elections.

The announcement of the elections on September 18 was apparently taken by reactionary terrorists as a signal for a new wave of attacks on the Catholic population. In the short period between the start of the electoral campaign and the mid-October prison revolts, fourteen Catholics were assassinated and many injured by pro-imperialist goons.

Far from attempting to halt the killings (many of which have been claimed by paramilitary rightist

gangs), the British army has merely called upon the public to provide more information to military intelligence. At the same time, the troops stepped up their raids on the Catholic ghettos.

The protests of mid-October left no room for doubt about the feelings of the nationalist-minded population, almost 40 percent of the total in the British enclave. Internment "is the one IRA-inspired grievance around which virtually the whole Roman Catholic community unites," the *London Times* admitted in an editorial October 17, without explaining how the IRA had "inspired" it.

But this fact did not induce the supposedly "democratic" and "socialist" government in London to change its course. On October 17, the secretary of state for Northern Ireland, Merlyn Rees, informed the public that the massive protests of the Catholic community would not influence him in any way to change the policy. As if to underscore the point, on the same day 500 more troops were sent into Northern Ireland.

Between Thursday, October 17, and the afternoon of Friday, October 18, the army had arrested more than 500 persons in the Lower Falls Road Catholic ghetto of Belfast alone. Arrests have continued in the six counties of Northern Ireland. In the small County Armagh village of Jonesborough, for instance, one-third of the adult population was rounded up on the weekend of October 19-20.

Some specific factors helped to spark the present upsurge. During the summer, the London government set up the Gardiner Committee to "examine" the Emergency Provisions Act, which provides much of the legal cover for the repression, and to examine the internment system. This helped to focus attention more strongly on the internment issue as Catholic and Protestant groupings gathered and presented evidence to the committee. Then, on September 5, Rees made a statement ruling out any immediate end to internment.

Next, the internees and other political prisoners in Long Kesh, including both republicans (i.e., militant nationalists) and members of the reactionary Protestant terrorist organizations, exploded into protest actions over camp conditions, hurling their rotten food over the fences and issuing a joint statement of demands. Visitors joined the demonstrations. In retaliation, the prison administration banned food parcels and visitors. Protests quickly spread to other prisons, and barricades went up in Belfast in Protestant as well as Catholic areas.

The Protestant protests stopped after September 15, when the British government promised improvements in the conditions in Long Kesh. But demonstrations continued daily in Catholic areas until October 2, when Long Kesh Governor Robert Truesdale announced that food parcels and visitors would be allowed.

The approach of the general elections scheduled for October 10 probably had an effect on the government's decision to make some concessions. But the main factor was undoubtedly the growing confidence and solidarity of the prisoners and the rapidity with which the protests spread.

Once the elections were over, the government may have thought that it was safe to tighten the screws again. The immediate cause of the October 15 prison rebellions is unclear, but the prisoners had previously announced that if the government sent troops against them, they would burn down the camp. So, it is possible that the rebellion was sparked by a large-scale attempt to clamp the lid back down by using troops to repress the prisoners.

A more general cause of the explosion may have been the reaction by the most oppressed section of the Catholic population to the results of the elections themselves. The apparent reinforcement of reactionary sentiment among the dominant pro-imperialist Protestant population seemed, in the context of the last year's political events, to make even more remote the possibility of any reforms to benefit the oppressed Catholic community or lessen the repression against it.

In the February 1973 general election, the United Ulster Unionist Coalition (UUUC, made up of the three Loyalist parties totally opposed to

power-sharing—i.e., participation by nationalists in the government—and the Sunningdale Agreement, which proposed such a solution) won eleven of the twelve Northern Ireland seats in Westminster.

In the October election this year, these right-wing Unionists received well over 40,000 more votes than in February 1973 and won ten of the twelve seats. (Of the seats they gained in February, they lost only Belfast West, where republicans and the Social Democratic and Labour party [SDLP, the bourgeois nationalist party] agreed on a single candidate and united the Catholic vote. This time, as last, a nationalist unity candidate won in the border county of Fermanagh, where there is a Catholic majority.)

Such a show of strength by the Loyalists, who are opposed to any concessions whatever to the Catholics and determined to maintain the Protestant ascendancy intact, cast a shadow in particular over the solution to the conflict that is now being proposed by the British government.

Elections are to be held next spring for a convention to write a constitution for Northern Ireland. The British government has suggested that with its encouragement the Protestant representatives can be persuaded to meet the Catholics halfway and thus make it possible for both parties to work out a mutually satisfactory agreement for reform. However, the October general elections indicated that even under a system of proportional representation, the reactionary Unionists will win a massive majority.

Furthermore, in the past period the British government has not convinced the Catholics that it really intends to persuade the Unionists to accept reforms.

The proposal for a constitutional convention came out of a White Paper published by the Labour government in July. It is filled with demagoguery about "participation by the whole community" and the need for "some form of power-sharing and partnership because no political system will survive, or be supported, unless there is widespread acceptance of it within the community."

However, the fact that the Loyalists got away with paralyzing the economic life of Northern Ireland in May to block any concessions to the Catho-

lics made it clear from the start what the results of such a convention would be.

Furthermore, no proposals whatever are contained in the paper for satisfying any of the demands made by the Catholic community. Indeed, it says: "Inevitably, any less pressing legislative proposals for Northern Ire-



REES: Says he will not be influenced by massive Catholic protests.

land, however desirable in themselves, will now have to be deferred, to the disadvantage of various groups in the Northern Ireland community."

As for the repressive apparatus, the White Paper makes it clear that the troops will remain until "law and order has been restored." In the context of national oppression that has been maintained for more than fifty years on the basis of continually renewed reactionary terrorism against the section of the all-Ireland majority that finds itself in the British-ruled area, this means until the oppressed community is decisively defeated and beaten back into passivity.

However, British imperialism could not look forward to such a victory in the near future even before the prison rebellions, and the response they triggered revealed a new rise in the combativity of the nationalist-minded people. So, the continuous presence of the army in Northern Ireland, massive jailings of ghetto inhabitants, and the

Emergency Provisions Act have made up the most consistent element in British government policy. Yet these same authorities have been appealing to "the whole community" to support and cooperate with the police service. In fact, the White Paper makes such collaboration the condition for the withdrawal of troops and an end to internment.

The British government's appeals for popular support for the security forces has served only to provide an opportunity for the various Loyalist groups and paramilitary gangs to raise the demand for a "third force"—a Loyalist home guard that would be virtually a reborn "B" Specials, the justifiably hated Protestant militia that was abolished in 1970 as a result of the international outcry over the role it played in the 1969 pogroms.

The effect of granting the demand for a "third force" would only be to legitimize and extend a state of affairs that has been allowed to develop for the last few years. Since the abolition of the "B" Specials and the imposition of restraints on the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC), a variety of paramilitary groups and goon squads have been organized in Protestant areas. The ultra-Loyalists argued that in view of this weakening of their "security" and the political "weakness" shown by talk of concessions to nationalists in the Belfast government, they needed their own private forces to "deal with" the republican movement and its supporters.

On August 7, Secretary of State Merlyn Rees held a meeting with sixteen Loyalist representatives of the Ulster Workers Council, which organized the economic shutdown in May; the Ulster Defence Association; the Ulster Volunteer Force; and other paramilitary groups. It was described by Robert Fisk in the August 8 London *Times* as "long and surprisingly cordial."

Perhaps the Loyalist leaders were given a hint of the plan for enlarging the security forces that Rees was to unveil in the Belfast parliament building on September 2.

The Rees plan for expansion of the security forces was welcomed as "a toe in the door" by Ian Paisley, leader of the Democratic Unionists, one of the Loyalist formations. As reported in the September 3 London *Times*, he said that at last the government had realized that "only Ulster men and Ulster women could win the war against the IRA." The Official Union-

ist party (another Loyalist faction) called the plan "a useful first instalment" and saw it as similar to ideas expressed at the Loyalist conference earlier in the year.

The proposal was to double the strength of the RUC reserve from 2,000 to 4,000, basing the reservists around their homes. The RUC itself was to be increased from 4,000 to 6,000. Membership of the part-time 7,500-strong Ulster Defence Regiment (UDR) was to be increased considerably (at present less than 3 percent of its members are Catholics, and in some areas, such as County Fermanagh, the UDR contains hundreds of former members of the "B" Specials).

The "search wardens"—as the unarmed guards who check shoppers in the centre of Belfast are called—are to be increased by a further 100 and the system is to be extended to Derry, where searches are currently carried out by troops. Rees announced that 1,000 troops were to be withdrawn from Northern Ireland—but this part of the plan proved short-lived.

This clear move back toward restoring the full apparatus of the repressive caste system, together with the growing desperation of the Catholic population, is putting more and more pressure on the bourgeois nationalist leaders committed to compromise with Britain. And they are transmitting this pressure to the main bourgeois nationalist institution on the island, the Dublin government. For example, Paddy Devlin, an SDLP assembly member for a ghetto constituency in Belfast, recently made a public attack on Dublin for its "abandonment" of the Northern minority and its continual appeasement of the Loyalist forces.

The weak bourgeois nationalist regime in the twenty-six counties badly needs some kind of compromise in the North that will defuse the anti-imperialist struggle there and prevent it from spreading. In return for promises of concessions from the British and the Unionists that would make such a settlement possible, it has made retreat after retreat from the historic principles of the national revolution that brought it into being and on which its authority is based.

The most blatant capitulations were Dublin's acceptance at Sunningdale that Northern Ireland is a de facto part of Britain until the majority of

those living there wish otherwise, and its participation in North-South discussions of joint security actions against "terrorists."

The justification for this position was that the only hope for a united Ireland lies in rapprochement with the Protestants in the North, in a historic reconciliation between the victims of the English conquest—essentially the older Celtic population—and the colony planted to secure that conquest. For this, the argument goes, it is necessary not to frighten the Protestants or appear to be backing the Catholic minority against them.

This policy was reinforced when the Fine Gael-Labour coalition came to power in February 1973. The first partner is the historically more pro-imperialist party, based on the most conservative segments of Irish society and on the economic interests most closely tied to British capitalism. As for Labour, it is a right-wing Social Democratic party with a narrow economic tradition. Furthermore, the coalition campaigned basically on a platform of peace and prosperity, which in the context of the elections meant abandoning the North and offering a "good business climate" for foreign investors.

The logic of the Dublin regime's line was shown perhaps most clearly on September 20, when the coalition's Justice Minister Patrick Cooney publicly proposed the repeal of Articles 2 and 3 of the constitution, which claim jurisdiction over the whole of Ireland for the formally independent Irish state.

In its September 22 issue, the liberal nationalist Dublin fortnightly *Hibernia* commented: "The reason for the repeal . . . was perhaps the most incredible ever to be suggested by any politician since the Constitution was adopted." Cooney contended, the article continued, that "we in the South . . . had an obligation to offer a gesture of reparation for what has happened . . . to Northern Protestants."

Cooney found few takers for his suggestion and within a few days had provoked such an outcry in the Fian-na Fáil party, free to take a more nationalistic tone now that it is in the opposition, not to mention in the population as a whole and in the SDLP in the North, that he was obliged to withdraw his proposal.

Now the prison revolts and mass demonstrations of mid-October in Northern Ireland have made it clear

that the conciliationist policy of Dublin and its allies in the North has not brought the country any nearer to peace. At the same time, the economic capitulation to imperialism in the twenty-six counties has not produced the promised prosperity either.

Unemployment has risen 24 percent since the beginning of the year, and in the October 11 issue of *Hibernia*, Brendan Walsh predicted that the number of jobless may hit 90,000 by mid-winter. In an economy highly dependent on foreign trade, a balance of payments deficit of £300 million is expected this year. The annual rate of inflation for 1974 is estimated at 18 percent.

In these conditions, the basis of the deal between the Catholic nationalist moderates and British imperialism seems to be breaking down rapidly. The trend points to a convergence of sharper struggles against the imperialist structure in the North and a working-class revolt against the poverty to which imperialism condemns the island as a whole, that is, against capitalism as it exists in Ireland.

However, given the weakness of the country vis-à-vis the imperialist forces that impinge on it, whether this crisis leads to a revolution or simply to demoralization and more emigration, as similar crises have in the past, depends a great deal on the strength of international solidarity with the struggle of the Irish people. □

#### **In Brazil, the Police Beat Children, Too**

An estimated 70,000 abandoned children roam the streets of Sao Paulo, picking up a meager living peddling fruit, sweets, and flowers and cleaning automobile windshields. According to social workers, their number is expected to triple within the next six years.

Recently, the Sao Paulo police devised their own solution to what the city's security chief has called "this mass of future delinquents." According to a report in the November 4 *New York Post*, they rounded up 100 youths between the ages of eleven and seventeen from police cells, drove them across the state line into Minas Gerais, ordered them to take off their clothes, and—waving pistols and sub-machine guns—forced them to run naked into the rainy night.

When local residents discovered the youths, they reported some had bleeding buttocks because they had been hit by the police with batons studded with tacks. Others had broken arms as a result of beatings by the police.

# New Documentation on Reign of Torture in Brazil

By Judy White

In September 1974 Aurélio Perez, a São Paulo metalworker, was arrested by the Brazilian army's secret police. He was beaten, subjected to high-voltage electric shocks, and suspended for fourteen hours on a torture instrument called the "parrot's perch." The case was reported by Marvine Howe in the November 4 *New York Times*. The source of the information was a letter from the prisoner's wife to the National Conference of Bishops in Rio de Janeiro.

There had been much speculation in the press about a "relaxation" of repression when the new Brazilian president, General Ernesto Geisel, was inaugurated last March. But the Perez case and others like it show that there has been no letup in the torture of the regime's political opponents.

On April 3 a prominent lawyer, Wellington Rocha Cantal, was detained by São Paulo police. He charges that a hood was placed on his head, that he was stripped naked, kicked, beaten, suspended by his arms from hooks, given electric shocks, and kept without food or water for several days. Twenty-seven days later he was released but not before receiving death threats against his entire family if he revealed the treatment he had been subjected to.

In August, the archbishop of São Paulo and 800 members of the Brazilian Bar Association drew up a list of about twenty political prisoners who had disappeared while in custody. Archbishop Paulo Evaristo Cardinal Arns presented the list to federal authorities on August 7 and requested information on their whereabouts. Church sources believe several of those listed to be dead. As of November 4, the Geisel regime had not replied to the church's inquiry.

Howe also described a clandestine 96-page document dealing with the organization of Brazil's national security apparatus and methods of torture. It includes the names of more than 300 persons who have administered torture—police officials, military officers, drug traffickers, businessmen,

and members of extreme right-wing groups.

The report, dated February 1974, also contains a list of seventy-nine political prisoners who died as the result of torture. One death was reported in 1965. The rest occurred since 1969, with only a small decline since the end of 1971, when, according to Howe, "revolutionary organizations were virtually crushed."

The information was compiled by a group of lawyers, relatives of political prisoners, former prisoners, and Roman Catholic activists. Independent sources—including priests, professors, and journalists—have corroborated its authenticity.

Edwin McDowell, writing in the November 1 *Wall Street Journal*, reported some of the activities of Brazil's infamous death squads, the gangs sponsored by the police that are reported to have summarily executed more than 2,000 persons in the last ten years. Their practice is to detain, torture, and murder their victims—often before the "suspect" ever reaches police headquarters.

McDowell made this qualification, however:

"Foreign critics sometimes equate Death Squad activity with the torture of political prisoners in Brazil, but they are not directly related. Death Squads are composed almost entirely of state Civil Police, plainclothesmen responsible for investigating crime and under the command of the Secretary of Security in each state. . . .

"Political torture, on the other hand, is said to have been the handiwork of an elite special police unit that was formed within the army yet enjoys a rare autonomy. Little is known about CODI, an acronym for 'Coordination of Internal Defense.'"

The report Howe summarized also mentioned CODI as "the principal organization for antisubversive activities."

The various repressive bodies work in close coordination. This was shown by the role of Sergio Fleury, former

São Paulo police commissioner and leader of the death squads.

Fleury is widely reported to be the murderer of several Brazilian revolutionists, including Carlos Marighela, Joaquim Camara, and Eduardo Leite.

The February 1971 issue of the bulletin of the Frente Brasileiro de Informaciones (Brazilian Information Front) contained the following account of Leite's death:

"Eduardo Leite, known by his companions as Bacuri, was being held at the headquarters of the Operação Bandeirantes, which is the army's repressive body. His legs were paralyzed by the time he was turned over to the São Paulo political police, where they administered truth serum—pentathol. He didn't talk.

"Later, the government newspapers announced the escape of Bacuri, which did not happen, since he was with me and fifty other companheiros in prison. Three days later, at 1 a.m., Eduardo was taken out of the cell by the Death Squad, headed by its delegate, Sergio Paranhos Fleury. He was taken to Santos beach, where he was found dead on December 8 [1970]. All his bones and teeth had been totally smashed, his eyes poked out, one arm ripped off, and his mouth cut from ear to ear." □

## Shah Arrests 30 Persons Deported by Iraq

SAVAK, the shah's secret police force, has arrested about thirty Afghan and Pakistani citizens, according to the September issue of *Payame Mojahed*, an Iranian opposition newspaper. They were arrested at Khowsrawi, on the border between Iraq and Iran, after being deported by the Iraqi government. Questions asked them by SAVAK agents included: "What Palestinian organization did they belong to?" and "How many times have they participated in actions against Israel?"

Relatives of those arrested have protested to Iranian embassies and demanded their immediate release. So far the Iranian government has not responded, and their fate is unknown.

## The Two Greek CPs Set Up an Electoral Bloc

By Gerry Foley

Greek premier Constantine Caramanlis's decision at the end of September to call elections within a few weeks (the date was finally set for November 17, the first anniversary of the massacre of the students occupying the Athens Polytechnic Institute) touched off a storm of protest from virtually all political forces outside his government. It also apparently created tensions in the cabinet itself.

The reason for this reaction was clear to all. The old parliamentary strongman was aiming to take advantage of the fear of a comeback by the junta to stage a Bonapartist-type plebiscite. The left parties protested that the country was being asked to choose between "Caramanlis and the tanks."

These parties pointed out, too, that it was doubtful that genuinely free elections could be held while the junta's repressive bodies still remain intact, and while the administration set up in the countryside by the junta is still virtually untouched. Even the left papers, they said, could not yet circulate freely in the provinces.

Even Caramanlis's coalition partner, the bourgeois liberal Enosis tou Kentrou (EK—Center Union), could not be very enthusiastic about the old rightist's maneuver for an unlimited personal mandate. The EK had already been severely split by its participation in the government. And it could not expect much of a role in a de Gaulle-type regime.

In fact, since its electoral high-water mark in February 1964, the party has virtually fragmented. Of the 170 deputies it had in parliament after that vote, thirty-seven split from the party in 1965 under the political pressure of the right and the lure of its money. They are now aligned with Caramanlis's Nea Demokratia (New Democracy). Another thirteen have joined Andreas Papandreou's Panellenio Sosialistiko Kinema (PASOK—Pan-Hellenic Socialist Movement). Three left the official party to run as independents. And nine collaborated with the dictatorship.

Andreas Papandreou called the projected elections an "electoral coup d'etat."

The Enosis tes Demokratikes Aristeras (EDA—Union of the Democratic Left, the old CP electoral front now dominated by the "interior" faction of the Greek Stalinists) objected at first to the system set up for the election. The decree of September 25 established "reinforced proportional representation." According to this, multiseat constituencies are combined with single-seat ones. In the first, the seats are divided according to the percentage of the vote received. In the second, deputies are elected by a simple majority. In addition to this, twelve seats in the 300-member parliament are to be assigned to persons of "special merit." They will be divided among the two strongest parties.

The "interior" faction's protest against Caramanlis's electoral maneuver sharpened when they got an indication of the type of campaign he intended to wage. On October 3, the premier said in his opening statement:

"And if the Greek people do not make good use of their vote this time, it will be no good complaining in the future when what happened in the past happens again."

In its October 30 issue, *Aughi*, the journal of the "interior" faction, complained that the premier was beginning to use the same language about parliamentary democracy as the colonels before the 1967 coup.

Caramanlis's objective seems to be similar to the one the right wing of the Portuguese provisional government tried unsuccessfully to achieve in July; that is, to establish a strong bourgeois government on the basis of a Bonapartist plebiscite, thus avoiding the need to rely on a popular-front government.

In July, the Portuguese premier—at the time, Palma Carlos—wanted immediate elections. He played up the likelihood of the dictatorship if General Spínola did not get an unlimited mandate to run the country. Palma Carlos lost his gamble when the

Armed Forces Movement proved unwilling to let Spínola and the forces behind him take full control of the government.

The fact that Caramanlis has succeeded so far in doing what Spínola and Palma Carlos failed to do illustrates the difference as well as the similarity between the political position of the bourgeoisies in Greece and Portugal. In both countries, the capitalists are faced with the problem of finding stable formulas for bourgeois democratic rule after a long period of naked dictatorship.

But in Greece, unlike Portugal, the ruling class has effective political machines and skilled electoral politicians that directly represent its interests. This fact in particular has thus far greatly limited the parliamentary opportunities for the reformist workers parties in Greece and forced them to modify their strategy.

Both factions of the Greek Communist party (KKE—Kommunistiko Komma tes Ellados) had hoped that the fall of the dictatorship at the end of July would open the way for a popular-front government like the one in Portugal. This was evident in the way they pressed from the first to be included in the cabinet and in the way they supported Caramanlis in the early weeks.

Even after the premier's "operation de Gaulle" was under way, the "interior" faction called once again (in the October 1 *Aughi*) for a "government of national unity" after the elections. But by that time it was clear that their only hope of winning a post in the cabinet was to demonstrate strength at the polls. Facing a strong bourgeois coalition, the CPs had only one place to turn. They made a strategic retreat toward the proletarian side of the class line.

This turn was exemplified by Mikis Theodorakis, the well-known Greek composer and musician, who has moved in Stalinist circles for many years. Of all the traditional left figures, he had probably gone the furthest in his support for Caramanlis. Now he



announced, "My home is on the left."

In a news conference held at the Plakas nightclub "Zoom" in the first week in October, Theodorakis said:

"I had the courage to say yes to Caramanlis when he came here after the dictatorship, and I am ready to do it again, because if Caramanlis disappears from the scene at this point, the tanks will come again. I am with Caramanlis when it comes to opposing fascism—and that is all. But I say no to Caramanlis when he represses my songs, which are stronger than any ban."

The musician had explained earlier that nine out of ten of his scheduled concerts had been banned by the authorities.

In the October 10 issue of *Aughi*, Theodorakis was listed as one of the ten members of the executive committee of the Enomene Aristera (United Left), the newly formed electoral coalition of the two factions of Greek Stalinism. The other members were as follows: Elias Eliou, Kharilaos Florakis, Vasilis Eufraimidis, Stauros Eliopoulos, Nikolaos Kaloudis, Nikolaos Kyriakidis, Leonidas Kyrkos, Giorgios Speliopoulos, and Kostas Filines. The most widely known are Eliou, the chairman of the EDA; and Florakis, the first secretary of the Central Committee of the "exterior" CP.

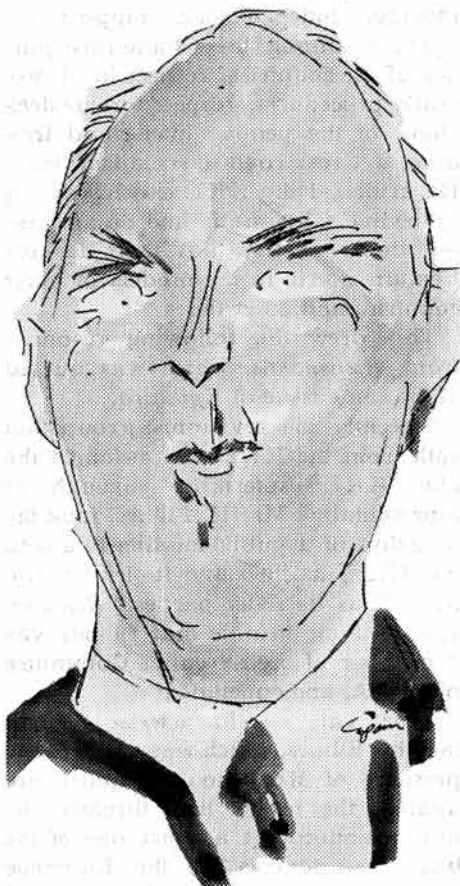
Kostas Filines and Leonidas Kyrkos are prominent members of the "interior" CP, but they were listed as representing the EDA and not the "interior" CP. This was part of the bargain between the two factions, since the "exterior" group, the "Exoterikoi," does not recognize the existence of two Communist parties and claims to be the "one and only" CP in Greece. As far as the Exoterikoi are concerned, the United Left is a bloc between the KKE and the EDA, and that is how it is referred to by their paper *Rizospastis*.

The pressure of Caramanlis's operation led these two groups to form a bloc despite their deep hostility. It was a matter of survival.

The influence of the Kremlin and the lesser power centers in the world Stalinist movement also seems to have played a role in producing this coalition. Like Portugal, Greece is a crucial test case for Moscow's political strategy in Europe as well as for all the European Communist parties.

Nonetheless, the formation of the EA was no easy matter, as is shown

by the following sequence of events. On September 27, Elias Eliou, a supporter of the "interior" CP (the "Esoterikoi"), was elected chairman of the EDA by an assembly of the fifty-six members of the Executive Committee that existed before the April 21, 1967, coup. On the same day, the Exoteri-



CARAMANLIS: Warns Greeks to make "good use" of their votes.

koi publicly withdrew from the EDA. On the following day they joined with the Esoterikoi, who had conveniently put on the mantle of the EDA, to form the EA, which was described in the joint communiqué as a "coalition for united action in the elections."

However, in its statement calling on its members to leave the EDA, the Central Committee of the "exterior" CP described the EDA as virtually nonexistent. It said that the EDA "had filled the need for a legal presence and activity by the progressive movement in conditions where the Communist party was completely banned and subjected to systematic persecution. It represented an important achievement for the movement and contributed decisively to the development of a mass democratic movement.

"The EDA developed into a united party in which the members of the KKE were incorporated as the party dissolved its clandestine organizations.

"Between then and the establishment of the dictatorship, as well as afterward, the KKE decided to rebuild its clandestine organizations and maintain its organizational independence.

"Since the legalization of the KKE, there is no need to work through another political organization.

"With the changes that have occurred and under the new conditions, the conception and structure of the EDA no longer correspond to reality."

The point the Exoterikoi were trying to make was clear enough. One of their main lines of attack on the opposing faction has been to try to pin the blame on them for the KKE's tendency in the 1950s and 1960s to dissolve into a loose parliamentary party. Not only did the leadership tend to liquidate the party into the more loosely structured EDA, but in moving toward an alliance with George Papandreou's bourgeois liberals in the mid-1960s, it tended even to liquidate the EDA into the EK. As champions of "orthodoxy," the Exoterikoi have tried to exploit the negative reaction of the membership to this experience. They may have had some success.

The largest-circulation left paper in the first eight weeks after the fall of the dictatorship was clearly *Aughi*, according to the statistics published weekly by the Athens magazine *Epikaira*. This daily was formally the paper of the EDA but had actually been the main Stalinist organ since the civil war, at the end of the 1940s, when the KKE paper *Rizospastis* had to be published abroad or underground.

However, after the legalization of the Communist party on September 23, the Exoterikoi began putting out a daily *Rizospastis* that outdistanced *Aughi* in the first two weeks of October. In the week of October 6-12, for example, the circulation figures were 13,038 for *Rizospastis* as against 9,145 for its "interior"-controlled rival.

Nonetheless, the Exoterikoi proved unwilling to leave the mantle and the specific following of the EDA to their rivals. On October 7, the Exoterikoi Central Committee issued the following statement:

"The EDA formed by Mr. Eliou has

called on the left to contribute to it financially so that it can begin its electoral campaign. This action as such has nothing strange or reprehensible about it. Every party has the right to appeal to the people and to those it regards as its members. We do not dispute this. What is not permissible is to exploit respected titles and traditions that do not entirely belong to you. . . . The present EDA presents itself as the heir and continuator of the traditional EDA. But as is well known, the KKE, which formed the core of this coalition, has withdrawn its forces, and no left current or group is active in Mr. Eliou's EDA except the notorious bunch that split from the KKE.

"The question is not a financial one, but rather a purely political one. These bona fides for political activity do not belong solely or principally to the present EDA, because it is not the same as the one that existed before the dictatorship."

Furthermore, the Exoterikoi did not intend to share the "mantle" of the EA equally with the Esoterikoi. The October 22 issue of *Aughi* reported a protest. The article began by saying that "Leonidas Kyrkos declared his support for unity in action and described the EA as a victory for the left forces." But the statement of the "interior" spokesman, which was quoted by *Aughi*, does not confirm this interpretation:

"This Sunday's *Rizospastis* [the October 20 issue] raised the slogan: 'Vote for the candidates of the KKE who are the only guarantee of respect for the interests of the people and the nation.' The EDA and the KKE (es.) think that the people should be able to decide freely which of the members of the EA they will send to parliament to represent them. Our friends of the KKE (ex.) prefer the method of recommending a straight party vote. This puts us in the position of having to oppose them, and I am sure you will agree we could not do anything else."

The October 29 *Aughi* complained of other irritants: "It is an undeniable fact that on the evening the EA election center was opened, slogans were shouted by *Rizospastis*'s supporters that were not conducive to unity, such as 'The KKE is one.'"

The Esoterikoi had assured their supporters that the deal that permitted the formation of the EA did not mean that the identity of their party would

be obscured. However, trying to assert this "identity" brought furious attacks from the Exoterikoi. This is how the October 17 *Epikaira* described a meeting of the "interior" CP in the Khatzekhrestou theater:

"The speaker, Mr. K. Filines, stressed mainly the special features of the KKE esoterikou (an individual identity, independence, support for equality among the Communist parties of all countries, respect for democratic procedures, respect for the decisions of the people, intellectual freedom, a 'Greek road to socialism,' etc.). He criticized the KKE exoterikou for following a dogmatic line on all these questions, saying that their leaders 'remain glued to the models of other countries and other times.'"

This drew the following response from *Rizospastis*, which was quoted in the same issue of *Epikaira*:

"Recently the revisionist group that split from the KKE and assumed the title 'KKE esoterikou,' through its representative Mr. K. Filines, took the occasion of a public meeting to attack the KKE, its line, and its leadership, as well as its sister parties." *Rizospastis* went on to note that Filines was a member of the Executive Committee of the EA, and concluded:

"How can we characterize this attack by Filines, which was made in the presence of Mr. Eliou, an attack not against the forces that threaten democratization but against one of the basic components of the Enomene Aristera, namely the KKE. Everyone can judge that for themselves."

Obviously considerable pressure is needed to hold a bloc of this kind together. But the Esoterikoi, the advocates of unity since the fall of the dictatorship, have some reason now to think that the influence of the international Stalinist movement may begin to work for them instead of against them in this respect.

In the Warsaw meeting of European Communist parties in mid-October, the representative of the "exterior" CP, Tony Ambatielos, presented a glowing picture of his party's work to achieve unity on the left. "The KKE's efforts have met with success, and an agreement has already been signed between the first secretary of the CC of the KKE, Comrade Kharilaos Florakis, and Mr. Elias Eliou of the EDA. This coalition, which includes personalities on the left such as S. Eliopoulos and Mikis Theodorakis,

has taken the name of the United Left. The cooperation among all these forces will provide a firm basis for the formation of a democratic front and a successful and effective struggle for the democratization of the country." (Quoted in *Epikaira*, October 17.)

It was obviously the thing to say, *Epikaira* noted: "Previously the Soviet representative Ponomarev had called on the CPs of Western Europe to cooperate 'with all the forces of the left' and to take note that in Greece and Portugal developments were occurring that were very important for the Communist movement."

The Exoterikoi could hardly refuse to work with a party that was clearly a major force on the left and, furthermore, whatever its reservations, far closer to the Kremlin's camp than any other "democratic" or "left" forces. In fact, the Esoterikoi have been trying diligently to look like a loyal, if "independent-minded," Stalinist party.

At the insistence of their rivals (according to *Aughi*), the Esoterikoi were not allowed to attend the Warsaw conference. The "interior" daily claimed, however, that the Yugoslav and Rumanian CPs were in favor of including their representatives, and that some West European parties (including specifically the Italian) also expressed this position.

In its October 19 issue, *Aughi* noted: "The Yugoslav representative [at the Warsaw conference] stressed that the pendulum is now swinging toward the antidogmatists." The same article reported an apparent reconciliation between the Soviet CP and the semi-excommunicated Spanish Communist party.

On the other hand, the Exoterikoi have a lot to lose by continuing to coexist with their more "reasonable" rivals, namely, the dogmatic shell that is essential to the survival of a Stalinist party. Such an alliance with "the revisionist group" cannot help but open them up to conflicting pressures and influences. As a reformist party that has declared its independence of the Kremlin, the "interior" CP has moved a long way toward the Social Democracy. In fact, at the moment it is probably the closest thing Greece has ever had to a real Social Democratic party. Perhaps this was one of the considerations that motivated the Portuguese Socialist party leader Mário Soares to send them a friendly

message, which was published with all due appreciation in the October 30 *Aughi*.

While their course has led the *Eso-terikoi* to take a series of positions to the right of their "orthodox" rivals, it has also apparently forced them to take a more flexible attitude toward the radical youth. In this it resembles the Portuguese SP, which also faces a strong "orthodox" Stalinist rival.

Furthermore, the existence of a party with a popular leader that is trying to base itself directly on the

radical youth, the *Panelenio Sosialistiko Kinema* of Andreas Papan-dreou, which has taken positions verbally to the left of the EA, has probably put certain pressure on the CP front.

The combined effect of all these complex forces seems to be producing a rather sharp polarization in the Greek elections, certainly sharper than any of the left parties looked for in the aftermath of the fall of the dictatorship. But it is clear that both CPs view this as only temporary, that their objective is to use the support they

win in the working class as a lever to force Caramanlis to accept a "national unity" coalition.

It is symptomatic that the preamble of the EA, while it contains many socialist-sounding formulations, defines the front as "national and democratic" and concludes with this appeal:

"Greek men and women, all those who want a genuine progressive democracy should vote enthusiastically for the *Enomene Aristera*. Send to parliament the strongest possible representation of this great people's bloc, the *Enomene Aristera*." □

## Sabata-Muller Day Set for November 27

# Protest Repression of Czechoslovak Dissidents

November 27 has been designated Sabata-Muller Day in a joint appeal endorsed by Pavel Litvinov for the Soviet Initiative Group for Human Rights, Ken Coates and Chris Farley for the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, and Jiri Pelikan for *Listy*, the journal of the Czechoslovakian Socialist Opposition.

Jaroslav Sabata and Jiri Muller were arrested in Czechoslovakia in November 1971 and convicted of "subversion" in 1972 under Article 98 of the penal code. They are not the only political prisoners in their country, but represent two trends of socialist opposition in Czechoslovakia—Sabata as one of the leaders of the 1968 reform movement and of the middle generation, and Muller as a student leader trying to eradicate the bureaucratic distortions of socialism in Czechoslovak society.

The pretext for the arrest of Sabata, Muller, and others was the issuing of leaflets signed by six groups before the 1971 elections. This was the first time since 1968 that the socialist opposition had made its views known publicly.

Jaroslav Sabata was born in 1927 and joined the Communist party at the age of 19. For thirteen years he was a lecturer in Marxist studies at the J. E. Purkeyne University in Brno, and subsequently became head of the psychology department. He was a member of the Central Committee of the party, and at the Fourteenth Party

Congress, held in August 1968, he was elected to the presidium. He held these posts until his expulsion from the Communist party and the university. After being unemployed for a long time, he worked as a laborer until his arrest. He was sentenced to six and a half years imprisonment.

Jiri Muller was born in 1943 and studied at the Czech Technical University in Prague, where he edited the engineering students' newspaper. In the paper and at the first national student conference in December 1965 he criticized the deadening effect of direct Communist party control over the *Ceskoslovensky Svaz Mladeze* (CSM—Union of Czechoslovak Youth).

Later, when a number of students decided, without "orders from above," to voice their support for the Vietnamese people's struggle against imperialism, and when they attempted to get information about China by contacting the Chinese Embassy in Prague, the bureaucrats decided to make an example of Muller.

He was expelled from the CSM in December 1966. The next day he was expelled from the university and soon afterward he was called up for military service. After Dubcek was elected first secretary of the Communist party, Muller was rehabilitated and reinstated at the university; after Dubcek's fall, he was expelled a second time in 1970.

Political prisoners in Czechoslo-

vakia suffer worse treatment than criminal offenders. According to recent reports, both Sabata and Muller, despite their poor health, are being held in total isolation.

Reprisals do not end even with release from prison. Prisoners are forced to pay not only lawyers' fees and court costs, but also "board and lodging" for their time in jail. When they come out of prison, they start life with the burden of a heavy debt to pay.

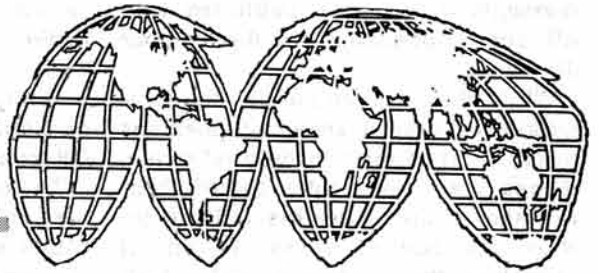
Many public figures around the world have endorsed the day of protest. These include Andrei Sakharov, Jean-Paul Sartre, Simone de Beauvoir, Daniel Ellsberg, Noam Chomsky, and Erich Fromm. In the United States, actions have so far been planned for New York, Chicago, and Boston. □

### Chinese Report Liu Shao-chi's Death

An official Chinese Communist newspaper revealed October 31 that Liu Shao-chi, the former Chinese head of state purged during the Cultural Revolution, is dead. In the middle of an article in the English-language edition of *Ta Kung Pao*, published in Hong Kong, was the statement that "Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao are dead physically as well as politically." There were no other details about time or cause of death.

Rumors of Liu's death had come out of China as early as the end of last year, but Chinese officials refused to confirm them.

# AROUND THE WORLD



## Washington Fears Communists Under NATO Bed

The NATO nuclear-planning meeting, scheduled to be held this month in Rome, has been cancelled. No reasons were publicly stated.

"One reason Washington gave [for the cancellation] was that it could not disclose highly secret information to a government whose Communist members or officials might pass it back to Moscow," syndicated columnist Victor Zorza wrote in the November 5 *Washington Post*. Portugal's cabinet includes a Communist party member—Alvaro Cunhal, the CP's general secretary.

"It was serving notice also on Italian politicians who favor a coalition with Communists that, ultimately, they might have to choose between such a coalition and NATO membership," Zorza added.

Regularly held twice a year, the meetings of the NATO war ministers comprising the Nuclear Planning Group deal with the use of "strategic" and "tactical" nuclear weapons in the NATO alliance system intended for possible use against the Soviet Union.

## Sweet Profits

Sugar has once again become a luxury item. In January, granulated sugar sold in the United States for eighteen cents a pound. By November the price had risen more than 300% to about sixty-five cents a pound. As the price continues to rise, speculators have flocked to the sugar futures market, and some grocery

stores have even begun limiting sales to one five-pound bag per customer. The sugar manufacturers claim the high prices are necessary to offset the higher costs of raw sugar. But one sugar company's (Amstar) profits rose 250% during the most recent quarter and another's (Great Western United) net earnings rose 1,120%.

## Calley Freed on Bail

William Calley, the U. S. Army officer convicted of murdering at least twenty-two Vietnamese civilians in the Mylai massacre, was freed by a federal judge November 9. He was released on an unrestricted personal bond of \$1,000.

Since Calley's original conviction in March 1971, his sentence has been successively reduced from life imprisonment to twenty years to ten years. For much of the time he was under "house arrest" in an apartment at Fort Benning, Georgia, where he occupied himself with gardening, caring for his pet beagle and mynah bird, and gourmet cooking.

Last September Calley's conviction was overturned by the same judge who has now freed him on bail. That reversal is under appeal by the army. The appeal is to be heard in February.

## Riots in Israel Protest Huge Price Rises

Angry demonstrations occurred in Tel Aviv and other Israeli cities on November 10 in reaction to large increases in food prices and other harsh austerity measures decreed by the government earlier in the day. The measures included a 43% devaluation of the Israeli pound, higher taxes, and increased import restrictions. Sugar prices went up 300% overnight, while other essentials including bread, milk, and eggs nearly doubled in price.

In one Tel Aviv area, demonstrators fought with riot police, smashed shop windows, and looted stores. Ten buses and a number of private vehicles were damaged. Thirty-one persons were arrested, including Shalom Cohen, a former member of the Knesset and a leader of the Black Panthers, a group fighting discrimination against oriental Jews in Israel.

About 1,000 workers gathered outside the headquarters of Histadrut, the state-

controlled labor federation, complaining that it had not acted effectively to prevent the price rises. One group forced its way into the building and compelled a Histadrut official to address the crowd outside.

Demonstrations were also reported in Haifa, Ben Shemesh, and Ashdod, where port workers announced they would hold a one-hour protest strike the next day.

Israel has one of the highest inflation rates in the world because of its huge war spending, which amounts to 45% of the gross national product. Premier Yitzhak Rabin said in a television speech November 10 that the austerity action was only the first step. He said more severe measures could come soon.

## Carmen Castillo Freed by Chilean Junta

Carmen Castillo has been released by the Chilean junta and granted asylum in Britain. Castillo, a member of the Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria (MIR—Movement of the Revolutionary Left), was captured October 5 after a shootout with junta troops that resulted in the death of MIR leader Miguel Enriquez. She was seriously wounded in the shooting.

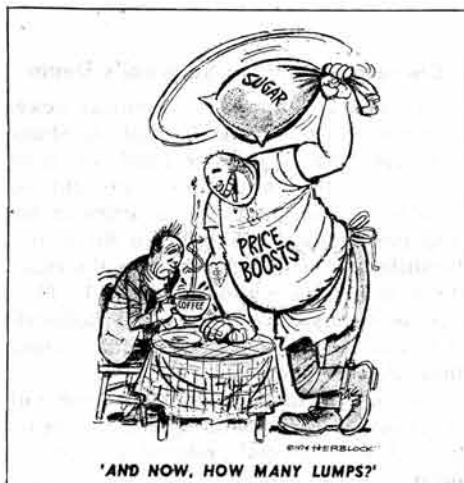
The U. S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners credits her rapid release to the immediate international protest in her behalf.

Pascal Allende, a leader of the MIR believed to have been with Enriquez and Castillo at the time of the clash, is reportedly still the object of a massive manhunt by the junta.

## Laura Allende Arrested in Chile

Reuters News Agency reported November 4 that Laura Allende has been arrested by the Chilean junta. Allende, the mother of MIR leader Pascal Allende and sister of former Chilean President Salvador Allende, was arrested at her Santiago home November 2. The arrest followed a gunfight with police in which MIR leader Claudio Rodriguez was fatally wounded. Under Secretary of the Interior Enrique Montero claimed that weapons and documents found in the Allende home showed that she was aiding the MIR.

Allende, who is sixty years old, served as an intermediary between the junta and the MIR in August when the Pinochet



dictatorship offered a deal to the organization. In exchange for the MIR's giving up its arms and its political work in the army, the junta pledged to release all MIR prisoners. The MIR turned down the deal.

### **It's Not Good for Your Health Either**

A confidential Federal Energy Administration report, leaked to the press October 28, details some side effects of that wonderful air we breathe. "Air pollution causes cough, throat discomfort, eye irritation, shortness of breath, respiratory disease, asthma attacks, chronic bronchitis, emphysema, cardiorespiratory disorders, excess mortality and lung cancer," the report said. It noted that lung cancer is up ten to twenty times since 1930 and that every time air pollution increases 10 percent, the death rate rises almost 1 percent.

### **Government-Controlled Unions Demand Franco Recognize Right to Strike**

Representatives of more than 200 Falangist unions in Spain have demanded that wages be raised, the right to strike be recognized, and all jailed unionists be released. According to a report in the October 27 issue of the Buenos Aires Daily *La Opinion*, the demands were made in the form of a letter to Alejandro Fernandez Sordo, minister in charge of trade-union affairs for the Franco government.

### **Former Head of Army Intelligence Implicated in Italy Coup Attempt**

On a rainy night in December 1970, fifty men, weapons hidden under their topcoats, approached the headquarters of the Interior Ministry in Rome. The doors swung open, and they entered, joining accomplices who had infiltrated during the day by posing as employees. The conspirators quickly reached the top floor, where they took over the radio transmitter and telephone switchboard.

While this was happening, another group was taking over the offices of the Defense Ministry; some officers of the Carabinieri (the national police) had been sent to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; and members of the Forestry Service, reassigned from Cittaducale to Rome, were sent to occupy the radio and television studios.

But in the middle of the night, a mysterious telephone call canceled the preparations.

This is the account of an attempted coup that has emerged from Italian newspaper reports of a secret dossier recently submitted to the state prosecutor in Rome by Defense Minister Giulio Andreotti. The dossier, prepared by the Defense Ministry's Information Service (SID), is said to docu-

ment three such attempts—the two others were in February and August of this year—to stage a right-wing coup.

The rightists' activities have been linked with the numerous bombing attacks, many of them producing fatalities, that have occurred in Italy during the last five years. The December 1970 attempted coup was said to have been conceived by the late Valerio Borghese, the so-called Black Prince who headed the National Front, an extreme right-wing organization.

But persistent press reports suggested that persons high in Italy's political and military apparatus were also involved. Andreotti responded by issuing a formal denial in September, defending the "armed forces and their services, which have been, are, and will be strangers to any political intrigue."

But on October 31, General Vito Miceli, himself the chief of the SID until three months ago, was arrested on charges of political conspiracy. He is said to have been involved in rightist activities over several years, including the 1970 coup attempt.

This "citizen above suspicion" joined other officials implicated in the rightist offensive who were arrested in police raids October 11: Giuseppe Casero, a retired air force general; Luciano Berti, former commandant of the forestry service school at Cittaducale; Sandro Saccuci, a parliamentary deputy of the neofascist Italian Social Movement (MSI); a Carabinieri colonel; and another police officer.

Most of them were alleged to be members of Borghese's "government," to be established after the coup.

Also publicly linked with the "Black Terror" is the former chief of staff of the air force, Duilio Fanalli.

### **U. S. Atomic Energy Commission Concealed Reactor Safety Hazards**

For at least the last ten years the United States Atomic Energy Commission has repeatedly sought to suppress studies by its own scientists that found nuclear reactors more dangerous than officially acknowledged.

This is the conclusion drawn in a November 10 *New York Times* article by reporter David Burnham after examining hundreds of memos and letters written by commission and industry officials since 1964. Some of the documents were originally leaked to the Union of Concerned Scientists, while others became available as a result of suits and threats of suits by other critics.

One key study—kept from the public for more than seven years—found that a major reactor accident could have effects equivalent to a "good-sized weapon," killing up to 45,000 persons, and that "the possible size of such a disaster might be equal to that of the state of Pennsylvania."



Clarín

SEREGNI

### **Seregni Released From Prison**

General Liber Seregni, the candidate of the Frente Amplio (Broad Front) in the 1971 elections in Uruguay, was paroled from prison November 2 by the dictatorship of President Juan Maria Bordaberry. He had been in jail, the November 3 issue of the Buenos Aires daily *Clarín* noted, since July 9, 1973, when he was arrested for participating in a street demonstration against the coup d'etat Bordaberry carried out on June 27 of that year.

The former popular-front candidate was convicted in February 1974 by a military court of "complicity in violating the constitution, aggravated by conspiracy." His request to be allowed to leave the country was denied. After the military court passed its sentence, an officers "court of honor" stripped Seregni of his rank for "conduct grossly unbecoming a commander." It banned him from wearing the uniform or using his military title. His pension was also taken away.

### **Yugoslav Laborers Hit Hard by Layoffs in Western Europe**

Increasing layoffs in Western Europe forced about 100,000 Yugoslav migrant workers to return home during the first eight months of this year. Money sent home by Yugoslav workers last year amounted to \$1,200 million, Belgrade's second largest source of foreign exchange earnings.

Italian officials report that tens of thousands of Italian workers have also been forced to return home because of the sharp decline in jobs open to emigrant labor.

# Trotsky, Cannon Discuten Trabajo Para Preparar Congreso de Fundación de la Cuarta Internacional

[Como parte de los preparativos para el congreso de fundación de la Cuarta Internacional, realizado en septiembre de 1938, el Socialist Workers Party envió en marzo de ese año una delegación a Coyoacán, México, para realizar una serie de consultas con León Trotsky. Los miembros de la delegación eran: James P. Cannon, Rose Karsner, Vincent R. Dunne y Max Shachtman.

[Durante las reuniones, se tomaron notas taquigráficas de las conversaciones. Estas notas estaban incompletas y no fueron corregidas por los participantes.

[Algunos de estos textos han sido publicados. Sin embargo, el que reproducimos a continuación y que fue tomado en una reunión realizada el 20 de marzo de 1938, nunca fue incluido en su totalidad. (Se incluyó un extracto en la segunda edición de *The Transitional Program for Socialist Revolution* de León Trotsky publicada recientemente por Pathfinder Press). Lo reimprimos con permiso de Pathfinder Press según la versión de la segunda edición de *Writings of Leon Trotsky*, que aparecerá en 1975. (Derechos de autor de Pathfinder Press, Inc.). Nos hemos tomado la libertad de corregir errores tipográficos que son obvios, y hemos efectuado algunos cambios en la puntuación.

[De particular interés en esta transcripción taquigráfica son las evaluaciones que hace Trotsky sobre algunos de los dirigentes europeos de la Cuarta Internacional y figuras cercanas al movimiento. Trotsky deseaba que Cannon, a quien confiaba la responsabilidad del trabajo preparatorio al lanzamiento de la Cuarta Internacional, supiera los juicios que le merecían los individuos que de una u otra manera debían ser tomados en cuenta.

[Además de las conversaciones que como ésta fueron parcialmente registradas, Trotsky tuvo conversaciones con Cannon en privado en las que sin duda tocó más en detalle éstos y otros asuntos al respecto. El texto en inglés fue publicado en *Intercontinental Press* el 7 de octubre].

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*León Trotsky.* Todas las secciones han discutido los sucesos de España, la guerra sino-japonesa, el carácter de clase de la URSS—y algunas secciones incluso se han escindido, como la sección alemana. Sus tesis<sup>1</sup> son conocidas por todas las secciones y lo mismo sucede con las tesis francesas.<sup>2</sup> Ahora lo único que se tiene que hacer es ordenar los textos.

1. El congreso de fundación del Socialist Workers Party, realizado en Chicago del 31 de diciembre de 1937 al 3 de enero de 1938, adoptó una declaración de principios, una constitución y una serie de resoluciones ("tesis") sobre problemas políticos contemporáneos, muchas de las cuales fueron impresas en el semanario *Socialist Appeal* [Llamado Socialista].

2. El segundo congreso del Parti Ouvrier Internationaliste

*James P. Cannon.* Queda la cuestión de preparar el texto para la conferencia.

*Trotsky.* Nosotros tenemos aquí el proyecto del programa; puede estar listo dentro de dos o tres semanas, luego lo traducimos al inglés y al francés. ¿Se puede usar su declaración de principios para la conferencia internacional?

*Max Shachtman.* No; es más bien la declaración de una sección nacional.

*Trotsky.* Adolphe<sup>3</sup> envió ya su proyecto de estatutos. La sección alemana preparó la tesis sobre el carácter de la Cuarta Internacional. Fue enviada hace tres meses a todas las secciones y ahora ha sido publicada en *Unser Wort* [Nuestra Palabra].

*Shachtman.* No hemos recibido *Unser Wort* desde hace algunos meses.

*Trotsky.* Quizás esto se deba a que durante su permanencia en el Partido Socialista perdieron sus conexiones internacionales y aún no han podido reestablecerlas plenamente.<sup>4</sup>

También han recibido la tesis de Diego Rivera.<sup>5</sup> La única objeción que puede hacerse es que es demasiado larga para la conferencia. Leí su sugerencia de que escriba sobre el problema de la guerra a la luz de los últimos sucesos. Acepto gustoso esta sugerencia, para complementar y concretar nuestra tesis a la luz de los acontecimientos recientes. Tenemos algo importante que hacer. Podemos hacerlo en los próximos días. Aquí tenemos un proyecto, pero no hay suficientes personas que puedan traducir del ruso.

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(POI—Partido Obrero Internacionalista), realizado en París del 30 de octubre al 1 de noviembre de 1937, adoptó varias resoluciones sobre los importantes problemas a los que se enfrentaban al movimiento de la Cuarta Internacional y su sección francesa.

3. Adolphe era el seudónimo del joven revolucionario alemán Rudolf Klement, que fue secretario de Trotsky en Turquía y Francia, y que en ese momento estaba a cargo de la preparación del congreso de fundación de la Cuarta Internacional. En julio de 1938 fue secuestrado por agentes de la policía secreta de Stalin; posteriormente se encontró su cuerpo degollado en el Sena.

4. Los trotskistas norteamericanos entraron al Partido Socialista en 1936 para vincularse con un ala de izquierda que se había desarrollado allí. El tono irónico del comentario que Trotsky hace a Shachtman se debe al hecho de que unos cuantos miembros del núcleo trotskista encontraron muy agradable la atmósfera centrista de izquierda y comenzaron a adaptarse a ella. Tanto Trot-

Pero lo que falta es un programa de demandas y consignas de transición. Es necesario hacer un resumen de demandas concretas, precisas, tales como el control obrero de la industria como contraposición a la tecnocracia. De vez en cuando se lo menciona en el periódico pero sólo de pasada. Pero yo creo que es una de las consignas más importantes para los Estados Unidos.

Lundberg escribió un libro sobre las 60 familias.<sup>6</sup> *The Annalist* dice que sus estadísticas son exageradas. Debemos pedir la abolición del secreto comercial: que los trabajadores tengan el derecho de revisar los libros, como premisa para el control obrero sobre la industria. Una serie de medidas de transición que corresponden a la etapa del capitalismo monopolista y la dictadura del proletariado, con una sección dedicada a los países coloniales y semicoloniales.

Ya hemos preparado ese documento. Corresponde a esa parte del *Manifiesto del Partido Comunista* de Marx y Engels que ellos mismos declararon obsoleta.<sup>7</sup> Es sólo parcialmente obsoleta. Parcialmente es muy buena, y nuestra conferencia la va a reemplazar.

También tengo el proyecto de una tesis sobre la demo-

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sky como Cannon advirtieron el peligro y tomaron medidas para poner fin a esa táctica. Shachtman, sin embargo, estaba a favor de que se prolongara el "entrismo." El problema se resolvió en el verano de 1937 cuando el ala derecha del PS se las arregló para expulsar a los trotskistas. Estos dejaron ese partido, habiendo aumentado considerablemente el número de sus miembros, y procedieron a fundar el SWP a fines de ese mismo año.

5. Diego Rivera (1886-1957), el renombrado muralista y pintor mexicano que ayudó a lograr que México diera asilo político a Trotsky en 1937, fue miembro de la Cuarta Internacional hasta 1939, cuando abandonó el movimiento porque había desarrollado serias diferencias políticas. Su proyecto de tesis sobre los problemas del desarrollo en América Latina fue publicado más tarde en el primer número (octubre de 1938) de *Clave*, revista teórica respaldada por la sección mexicana de la Cuarta Internacional.

6. *America's 60 Families* [Las 60 Familias de los Estados Unidos], por Ferdinand Lundberg (Vanguard Press, 1937) documentaba la existencia de una oligarquía económica en los Estados Unidos que está dirigida por sesenta familias que poseen una riqueza inmensa. El libro, que por algún tiempo fue la sensación, llegó a ser un "best seller." En 1968, el autor actualizó el trabajo y se publicó con el título *The Rich and the Super-Rich* [Los Ricos y los Super Ricos] (Bantam Books, Inc.).

7. En 1937 Trotsky escribió un artículo en conmemoración del décimonoveno aniversario de la publicación del *Manifiesto del Partido Comunista*. Este brillante análisis del famoso folleto de Marx y Engels, en el que se hacía una evaluación de lo que se había vuelto obsoleto y lo que había resistido la prueba de los acontecimientos, aparece como prefacio en la edición que hizo Pathfinder Press de este documento pionero.

cracia. Su punto clave es que la democracia es la forma más aristocrática de gobierno. Sólo los países que tienen esclavos en el mundo pueden preservar su democracia, como Gran Bretaña, donde cada ciudadano tiene nueve esclavos; Francia, donde cada ciudadano tiene un esclavo y medio, y los Estados Unidos, donde no puedo calcular la cantidad de esclavos, pero es casi todo el mundo, comenzando con América Latina. Los países más pobres, como Italia, han renunciado a su democracia.

Es un análisis de la democracia a la luz de los nuevos acontecimientos. ¿Qué es la fascistización de la democracia? Los demócratas pequeño burgueses caen en la bancarrota. Sólo los grandes, los ladrones más grandes, los esclavistas más ricos, etc., siguen siendo demócratas.

Plantear el problema de esta manera resulta especialmente útil para los Estados Unidos. Naturalmente, no será escrito a favor del fascismo, sino de la democracia proletaria. Aún para el país más rico, como los Estados Unidos, la democracia se está volviendo cada vez menos funcional.

Creo que éstas son casi todas las proposiciones que tenemos para la conferencia internacional. Los otros problemas importantes, los puntos candentes sobre el carácter de clase de la Unión Soviética, la guerra sino-japonesa, la cuestión de España, ya han sido discutidos por todas las secciones. Estamos bien preparados para la conferencia.

Yo prepararé, entonces: (1) las demandas transicionales; (2) la cuestión de la democracia; (3) la guerra; (4) el manifiesto sobre la situación mundial; ya sea por separado o como un solo folleto fundamental.

*Cannon.* ¿Qué tal si preparamos un manifiesto programático? Me pregunto si no deberíamos tener un documento de ese tipo.

*Trotsky.* Sí, sería muy bueno tener uno. Puede ser elaborado en Europa o acá. Podría ser adoptado por la conferencia internacional misma, o presentado por el Secretariado Internacional a nombre de la conferencia.

*Cannon.* Sobre el aspecto organizativo: ¿Debemos considerar esta conferencia como una reunión provisional o como la verdadera fundación de la Cuarta Internacional? La opinión que prevalece entre nosotros es que deberíamos formar la Cuarta Internacional en esta conferencia. Consideramos que en este momento ya se han cristalizado los principales elementos de la Cuarta Internacional. Debemos poner punto final a nuestras negociaciones y maniobras con los centristas y tratarlos de aquí en adelante como agrupaciones separadas y ajenas a nuestra organización.

*Trotsky.* Estoy totalmente de acuerdo con lo que dijo el camarada Cannon. Considero que encontrarán alguna oposición en Bélgica, particularmente por parte de Vereecken.<sup>8</sup> Para él la vida es una eterna discusión. Le

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8. Georges Vereecken representaba una tendencia sectaria en el movimiento trotskista belga, del que se escindió en 1935 porque se oponía a ingresar en la socialdemocracia para tratar de ganar nuevos miembros. Más tarde regresó, sólo para escindirse nuevamente en

resulta una catástrofe llegar a una decisión. También encontrarán en la conferencia algún elemento de oposición por parte de los camaradas franceses. No conozco la opinión de los diferentes camaradas británicos; pero estoy totalmente de acuerdo en que sería absolutamente ingenuo posponerlo.

Naturalmente, somos una internacional débil; pero somos una internacional. Esta internacional se fortalecerá mediante nuestra propia acción, no a través de maniobras con otros grupos. Naturalmente, podemos atraer otros grupos intermedios pero eso sería un accidente. La línea general es nuestro propio desarrollo. En España, todas estas organizaciones fueron puestas a prueba. El POUM<sup>9</sup> era la parte más importante del Buró de Londres<sup>10</sup> y resultó ser al mismo tiempo lo más desastroso para la revolución española. Considero que nuestra sección norteamericana debe proclamar su posición con energía. No hay razón para vanagloriarnos de que somos fuertes; somos lo que somos.

*Cannon.* Considero que necesitamos explicar este punto a algunos de los camaradas. Quizás bajo la forma de artículos o discusiones. Algunos camaradas han adoptado la táctica de maniobrar y hacer concesiones a los centristas como política permanente, mientras que nosotros consideramos que por el momento ya hemos agotado todas las maniobras con los centristas. Hace dos o tres años se justificaba que retardáramos las acciones organizativas para terminar las maniobras y los experimentos con esa gente, pero ahora no. Nos hemos dado cuenta en las discusiones que hay camaradas que quieren seguir con esta táctica indefinidamente . . . con el tipo de maniobras que están condenadas de antemano al fracaso. Y es por esto que considero que tenemos que explicar este asunto a los camaradas.

*Trotsky.* La dirección la tienen ahora los derechistas: los peores elementos del grupo de Maurin;<sup>11</sup> y han acusado a los del ala de Nin<sup>12</sup> de ser responsables de la catástrofe de España por su política demasiado revolucionaria.

*Shachtman.* ¿Y en Holanda?

el verano de 1938 antes del congreso de fundación de la Cuarta Internacional.

9. El Partido Obrero de Unificación Marxista (POUM) se fundó en España en 1935 al fusionarse algunos ex trotskistas y otros centristas. Trotsky analizó en *The Spanish Revolution* (1931-39) (Pathfinder Press, 1973) el papel que jugó.

10. El Buró de Londres era uno de los nombres de un amplio comité internacional formado por grupos centristas europeos, fundado en 1932 y que se desintegró durante la Segunda Guerra Mundial. Se oponía tajantemente a la Cuarta Internacional. Además del POUM español, incluía al Socialistische Arbeider Partij (SAP—Partido Obrero Socialista) de Alemania, al Parti Socialiste Ouvrier et Paysan (PSOP—Partido Socialista Obrero y Campesino) de Francia, al Revolutionair So-

*Trotsky.* Ese es el punto negro de nuestro mapa político. Es un ejemplo clásico de la transformación de una política sectaria en política oportunista, acompañada de una serie de derrotas.

Ustedes saben que estos sindicatos de izquierda han existido desde hace treinta o cuarenta años. No son una improvisación del "tercer período" stalinista;<sup>13</sup> son el resultado de los prejuicios sindicalistas.<sup>14</sup> Sneevliet<sup>15</sup> se convirtió en secretario de esta organización. Tenía 25,000 trabajadores y funcionarios de estado—mitad y mitad—en su mejor época. Pero sucede que las funciones del estado son realizadas a través de sindicatos. Es-

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cialistische Arbeiders Partij (RSAP—Partido Obrero Socialista Revolucionario) de Holanda y al British Independent Labour Party (Partido Laborista Independiente) de Gran Bretaña.

11. Joaquin Maurin (1897-1973) fue uno de los fundadores del POUM y diputado del parlamento español cuando estalló la guerra civil en 1936. Después de haber sido arrestado y encarcelado por las tropas de Franco, fue liberado y emigró a los Estados Unidos, donde se retiró de la actividad política.

12. Andrés Nin (1892-1937), fundador del Partido Comunista Español y secretario de la Internacional Roja de Sindicatos Obreros, fue miembro de la Oposición de Izquierda de 1927 a 1935, cuando se escindió de ésta para fundar el POUM con Maurin. En 1936 fue por corto tiempo ministro de justicia del gobierno catalán. Más tarde fue arrestado por los stalinistas y asesinado.

13. En 1928, para ayudar a encubrir la política oportunista de Stalin que había llevado a la derrota de la revolución china de 1925-27 y a costosos retrocesos en occidente, los stalinistas inventaron tres períodos, a partir de la revolución rusa. El "primer período" era el de 1917-24, época de crisis capitalista y de ascenso revolucionario. El "segundo período" era el de 1925-28, época de estabilización capitalista. El "tercer período" estaba comenzando en ese momento; marcaba los últimos días del capitalismo. Para hacer juego con el "tercer período", Stalin adoptó una política aventurera, ultraizquierdista. La línea del "tercer período" de Stalin, que incluía una oposición sectaria a los frentes únicos contra el fascismo, ayudó a abrir el camino para el triunfo de Hitler en Alemania. En 1934 Stalin se apartó bruscamente del ultraizquierdismo, sólo para reemplazarlo un año más tarde con el "frentepopulismo", una línea de abierta colaboración de clases con los partidos capitalistas. Esta línea, caracterizada por las peticiones de "coexistencia pacífica" a las potencias imperialistas, ha sido seguida por Moscú hasta hoy con la sola excepción del breve período del pacto Hitler-Stalin, cuando los partidos comunistas de los países capitalistas "democráticos" siguieron una política ultraizquierdista.

14. Una perspectiva sindicalista, o en el mejor de los casos, "sindicalista revolucionaria." Considera que se puede llegar al socialismo organizando sindicatos revolucionarios. Trotsky estaba a favor de los sindicatos revolucionarios, pero sostenía que aunque éstos apa-



tos están subvencionados por el estado. Y de esta manera la burocracia de los sindicatos se vuelve dependiente del estado. Sneevliet y sus amigos tenían un aparato que no correspondía ni corresponde a la fuerza de los sindicatos y del partido, sino que se basa en el apoyo económico del estado.

*Cannon: ¿ Un subsidio directo?*

*Trotsky.* Sí. Permite a los sindicatos sostener su aparato. Si el ministro de estado retira este apoyo económico a los sindicatos—y amenazó con hacerlo—sobreviene una catástrofe de inmediato. Una pequeña amenaza de Colijn<sup>16</sup> a los sindicatos de izquierda bastó para que todos los funcionarios los abandonaran y se fueran a otros sindicatos; y ahora Sneevliet ya no tiene 25,000 sino 11,000 ó 12,000 como máximo.

Es su anterior posición radical, especialmente sobre la cuestión colonial, la que le dió autoridad entre los obreros. Fue arrestado y cuando salió de la prisión fue elegido diputado.

En ese tiempo, en Francia, discutimos con él y le dijimos que era imposible que siguiera siendo al mismo tiempo secretario de un sindicato—un semi funcionario de estado—y miembro de un partido revolucionario. El me dijo que estaba de acuerdo; pero que deseaba seguir siendo secretario sólo para ganar a unos 2,000 miembros de los sindicatos para el partido revolucionario. Yo le dije: "Bueno, veremos qué sucede."

Pero las cosas evolucionaron de manera contraria. Cuando entró al parlamento esperábamos un discurso genuinamente revolucionario: era la primera vez que la Cuarta Internacional tenía un diputado en el parlamento. Pero todos sus discursos fueron ambiguos. Con Colijn, su Primer Ministro, era muy cortés; nada revolucionario.

El puede darles mil razones para justificar esta actitud, pero esconderá la verdadera: su servilismo ante el gobierno para conservar el apoyo económico que éste da a su sindicato. Muy humillante, pero cierto.

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recieran aquí o allá esto no eliminaba para nada la necesidad de construir un partido revolucionario de tipo leninista.

15. Henricus Sneevliet (1883-1942) fue uno de los fundadores de los partidos comunistas de Holanda y de Indonesia y representante de la Internacional Comunista en China. Dejó el PC en 1927 y más tarde formó un pequeño partido propio, que se afilió a la Oposición de Izquierda en 1933. En 1935 su partido se fusionó con otro grupo para formar el RSAP (ver nota No. 10). Sneevliet fue elegido al parlamento holandés en 1933, y sirvió como presidente del Nationaal Arbeids Sekretariat (NAS—Organización Obrera Nacional), un grupo sindical radical que había sido formado en 1893. Bajo la dirección de Sneevliet, el RSAP se retiró del movimiento trotskista a comienzos de 1938. El y otros siete camaradas fueron arrestados y ejecutados por los nazis durante la ocupación de Holanda.

16. Hendrik Colijn (1869-1944) fue Primer Ministro conservador de los Países Bajos de 1925 a 1926 y de 1933 a 1939.

En esta situación, no puede soportar ninguna crítica. Cuando un miembro le pregunta: "¿Por qué en el parlamento no dijo esto y aquello?" no puede contestar. Elude toda crítica. Para luchar contra nosotros—la Cuarta Internacional—busca en España un camuflaje revolucionario, y declara sobre el POUM: "Ese es mi partido." Fue a España con 500 gulden para dárselos al POUM—los periódicos publicaron todas las fotografías—fue a apoyar al POUM contra nosotros.

El POUM tenía 40,000 miembros. Eso no significa nada. Si se tienen sólo 10,000 miembros—pero que están conectados con las masas en rebelión—se puede ganar una revolución. Pero 40,000 miembros separados de las masas . . . no significa nada.

Pero Sneevliet, Vereecken, Serge,<sup>17</sup> se convirtieron en rompeshuelgas. En el verdadero sentido de la palabra, rompeshuelgas. Se solidarizaron totalmente con el POUM contra nosotros en esos momentos, y el POUM declaró: "Si figuras tan importantes están contra la posición oficial de la Cuarta Internacional, entonces es posible que tengamos la razón." Eso fortaleció las tendencias oportunistas del POUM en los momentos más críticos.

Nuestros amigos norteamericanos tienen una tarea: acusarlos enérgicamente. Porque España fue una gran lección histórica y el resultado de la política de Sneevliet es que de 25,000 miembros que hay en los sindicatos, tiene ahora 11,000; y en las elecciones últimas perdió su cargo. Ya no tuvo 50,000 votos, sino menos de 30,000. Sus discursos diplomáticos no eran de interés para los trabajadores.

Ahora corre al Buró de Londres. No podemos hacer ninguna concesión a Sneevliet. Hemos sido pacientes. No ha sido una cuestión de dos o tres semanas, sino de por lo menos seis años . . . y todos fuimos pacientes, demasiado pacientes. Ahora debemos hacer un balance, porque en el período más crítico de la revolución española demostró ser un rompeshuelgas. No podemos perdonarlo.

Recuerden cómo actuó durante la última conferencia internacional.<sup>18</sup> Vino, pero como turista. Participó en

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17. Víctor Serge (1890-1947), nacido en Bélgica de padres rusos, en su juventud pasó cinco años en la prisión por ser anarquista. Después de la revolución bolchevique se trasladó a la Unión Soviética y trabajó para la Comintern. Fue arrestado dos veces por pertenecer a la Oposición de Izquierda antes de que lo pusieran definitivamente en libertad y se le permitiera abandonar la URSS en 1936. Pronto desarrolló diferencias con los miembros de la Cuarta Internacional y se separó de ellos antes del congreso de fundación. Escribió varios trabajos históricos importantes, novelas y una biografía de Trotsky.

18. La "última conferencia internacional" se refiere a la Primera Conferencia Internacional por la Cuarta Internacional, realizada en julio de 1936. Trotsky había insistido en que se fundara la Internacional en esta conferencia, pero los delegados tomaron un paso intermedio, formando el Movimiento por la Cuarta Internacional. Las resoluciones adoptadas por la conferencia de 1936, varias de las cuales fueron escritas por Trotsky, se pueden encontrar en *Documents of the Fourth International* (1933-40) (Pathfinder Press, 1973).

una sesión; luego telegrafió a Schmidt,<sup>19</sup> quien aprobó [que se retirara]. Más tarde Schmidt abandonó el movimiento obrero y pocos meses después se pasó al lado de la burguesía.

*Cannon.* ¿Tenemos un grupo en Holanda?

*Trotsky.* Sí, tenemos un grupo que fue expulsado por Sneevliet, y tenemos simpatizantes en el partido de Sneevliet. Consideramos que la actitud de la conferencia será decisiva para el partido holandés. Hay que hacerles entender que no se trata de un detalle.

En cuanto a Vereecken, cuando Sneevliet expulsó a nuestros camaradas Vereecken estuvo de acuerdo porque, dijo él, habían desarrollado una actitud faccional dentro del partido de Sneevliet. La sección belga también tiene una sección de habla holandesa; y allí los camaradas respaldaron nuestra política, por lo cual Vereecken los amenazó con la expulsión. Son una clique [corrillo] internacional; están en una lucha permanente contra la línea del SI [Secretariado Internacional]. En cierto sentido, Vereecken es un valioso cuadro obrero, muy dedicado al movimiento, y muy activo; pero este obrero tiene todas las malas características de un intelectual.

*Cannon.* Lo que no nos staisface de los grupos europeos es que parece que nunca acaban con los problemas. Nunca concluyen sus luchas. La mitad del éxito que hemos logrado en los Estados Unidos se debe a que llegamos a una conclusión con la gente que no puede ser asimilada. Discutimos con ellos solamente hasta ese momento. Cuando rompen con la organización, terminan todas nuestras relaciones con ellos.

Los camaradas europeos no concluyen sus discusiones. Nos parece que se escinden muy a la ligera y después se reunifican apresuradamente. Con gente como Vereecken nosotros hemos seguido la política de llegar a una conclusión definitiva después de una profunda discusión. No podemos construir la Cuarta Internacional con gente a la que le gusta pasarse la vida discutiendo.

Considero que el congreso tiene que establecer su línea política y decirles a todos: "He aquí nuestro programa y nuestra plataforma. Que los que estén con nosotros nos sigan sobre estas bases. Que los otros tomen su propio camino."

Creo que debemos pedir a los jóvenes camaradas de las secciones belga y francesa que insistan en una posición así, y que terminen todas las relaciones con quienes rechacen las decisiones del congreso, no importa quienes sean. En el congreso mismo debe haber una discusión sobre el problema de la "discusión." Debemos hacer claro que nosotros discutimos no por discutir, sino para llegar a una conclusión y actuar.

Nunca nos quedó claro, por ejemplo, cómo es que Vereecken, después de romper en forma tan irreflexiva con la sección belga y de unificarse tan a la ligera, pudo

ser nombrado de inmediato secretario político, el puesto más alto del partido. Crea la impresión de que uno puede hacer pedazos la organización impunemente, luego unirse, y comenzar de nuevo como si nada hubiera pasado. Esa política está perdida, en nuestra opinión. Los camaradas de la Cuarta Internacional deben tener el valor — si hacen una escisión — de hacer una escisión definitiva.

En los Estados Unidos consideramos que escindirse de la organización es un crimen capital. No comenzamos de nuevo con gente como ésa al día siguiente. Tratamos de inculcar este espíritu a los camaradas jóvenes para que comprendan que la lealtad a la organización es algo sagrado. Ellos valorizan la unidad de la organización en el grado máximo. Es por eso que nuestra última discusión<sup>20</sup> fue tan exitosa: nadie amenazó con escindirse. Por consiguiente, el partido pudo dar la mayor libertad de discusión sin el temor de una escisión o de que la discusión continuara para siempre.

Creo que esto es algo que los camaradas europeos deben desarrollar: la concepción de que la Cuarta Internacional está formada como una organización definida, a la que todos los miembros tienen que ser leales. Los que se escinden a la ligera deben ser separados y dejados de lado.

*Trotsky.* Comparto cada una de las palabras que ha dicho el camarada Cannon. Solamente añadiré que la situación del partido belga era complicada desde este punto de vista: habían en su seno miembros del Partido Socialista que no tenían una educación revolucionaria. Ahí tienen a Dauge,<sup>21</sup> un joven camarada, muy activo, pero educado en el espíritu del partido de Vereecken, sin ningún espíritu de disciplina revolucionaria. Luego está Lesoil,<sup>22</sup> un excelente camarada completamente absorbido por su esfera local de acción. Era una situación difícil.

Esa fue también la razón por la que en esas circunstancias Vereecken pudo volver a ser el secretario nacional. La desgracia fue que los camaradas del PS, tan pronto como se escindieron de ese partido, se volvieron inmediatamente partidarios de los sindicatos indepen-

20. La "última discusión" se refiere a la discusión pre-congreso que realizaron las fuerzas que habían sido expulsadas del Partido Socialista en preparación del congreso de fundación del Socialist Workers Party. La discusión estuvo marcada por serias diferencias sobre el carácter de clase de la Unión Soviética y los principios organizativos del nuevo partido.

21. Walter Dauge fue dirigente de los trotskistas belgas, y fue elegido para el Comité Ejecutivo Internacional en el congreso de fundación de la Cuarta Internacional. Abandonó el movimiento durante la Segunda Guerra Mundial.

22. Leon Lesoil (1892-1942) fue fundador del Partido Comunista Belga y de la Oposición de Izquierda Belga. Fue elegido para el Comité Ejecutivo Internacional en el congreso de fundación de la Cuarta Internacional. Arrestado por los nazis en 1941, murió en un campo de concentración.

19. Peter J. Schmidt era el dirigente de un grupo socialista de izquierda holandés que en 1933 se unió al llamado de la Oposición de Izquierda para construir una nueva internacional, y que se fusionó con el grupo de Sneevliet para formar el RSAP (ver nota No. 10) en 1935.

dientes. Fue el golpe más duro para el nuevo partido. Ye intercambié correspondencia con Dauge sobre este asunto. Fue durante nuestra estadía en Noruega y la policía se apoderó de esta correspondencia; la publicó y nos acusó de tener esquemas maquiavélicos. Esto hizo todavía más difícil la situación.

Vereecken no está interesado en la cuestión sindical; sólo quiere discutirla. Dauge estaba a favor de los sindicatos independientes. Ahora ha aprendido un poco, pero mientras tanto esto ha sido una catástrofe para el partido. Lesoil estaba en principio en contra de esta posición, pero en la práctica apoyaba a Dauge.

Considero que la ruptura con Sneevliet es total y que éste no se aparecerá en la conferencia. No contestó mi última carta en la que le dije que a pesar de todo, si él desea estar con la Cuarta Internacional, etc., debe responder y haremos lo que se pueda, etc.

En lo que se refiere a Vereecken, un partido muy responsable debe hacerle una seria advertencia. Se presentará a la conferencia y hará críticas, pero considero que es necesario hacerle una dura advertencia personal, enumerando todos sus errores. Hay que advertirle que nuestra paciencia está por terminarse. No es un muchacho; tiene cuarenta años. Es chofer, trabaja ocho horas; luego es muy activo, escribe artículos, da discursos, etc., pero es muy peligroso para el partido.

*Cannon.* ¿Qué progreso ha tenido la sección francesa durante este año?

*Trotsky.* No han progresado mucho este año. Ha sido un año ilusiones frentepopulistas,<sup>23</sup> y solamente los elementos más valientes se han acercado a nuestro partido. Por otro lado, esta situación engendró algunas tendencias sectarias.

Algunos elementos buscan una explicación para el estancamiento y el desarrollo demasiado lento, no en la situación objetiva—la gran ola de frentepopulismo—sino en la insuficiencia de nuestras consignas; principalmente, la que dice que es nuestro objetivo defender la Unión Soviética en caso de guerra.

Esta es la tendencia de Craipeau,<sup>24</sup> elemento muy bueno y honesto, pero dogmático y con una mente esco-

23. El inmenso ascenso de la clase obrera francesa en 1936, que pudo haber conducido a la revolución socialista, fue desviado hacia canales electorales por el Frente Popular, que era una coalición electoral de los stalinistas, socialdemócratas y radicales (un partido burgués). Esta coalición ganó la mayoría en la Cámara de Diputados. Esto creó grandes esperanzas entre los trabajadores de que la victoria significaba el fin del sistema capitalista en Francia. El gobierno de coalición dirigido por León Blum, un demagogo socialdemócrata, traicionó estas esperanzas, desmoralizando a los trabajadores franceses durante varios años.

24. Ivan Craipeau (1912- ) fue dirigente del grupo juvenil trotskista francés cuando éste estaba dentro de la juventud del Partido Socialista, y dirigente de la sección francesa de la Cuarta Internacional durante la Segunda Guerra Mundial. Dejó la Cuarta Internacional en 1946, uniéndose sucesivamente a diferentes organizacio-

lástica. En muchas cuestiones sus puntos de vista coinciden con los de Vereecken, pero su actitud es más disciplinada, más factible de influenciar, etc.

La situación de nuestra internacional no es mala, a pesar de la dura discusión sobre la cuestión rusa. Creo que el problema está en chequear—controlar—verificar la actitud de ellos en los sindicatos. Durante los últimos años, los sindicatos en Francia, se convirtieron en una organización poderosa. Tenían un millón de miembros repartidos en dos organizaciones. Luego se fusionaron y ahora tienen cinco millones en una organización unificada, y la dirección está más o menos en manos de los stalinistas; se cubren con el apoyo al Frente Popular. Pero ahora la tarea es prepararse para la próxima crisis del Frente Popular. La ruptura entre el PS y el PC ha comenzado ya. Esto debe dar un nuevo impulso a nuestra sección francesa. Ellos tienen los principios correctos, pero los camaradas norteamericanos pueden ayudar a chequear su trabajo práctico.

Hubo otros dos incidentes que dañaron a la organización. Un miembro del Comité Nacional estaba falsificando dinero. No sé si era para beneficio del partido, o por razones personales. Naturalmente fue expulsado y el partido demostró que no actuaba bajo su dirección. Pero fue un gran golpe.

El segundo incidente fue el de dos jóvenes camaradas, Fred Zeller y Corvin.<sup>25</sup> Zeller vino a nosotros en Noruega con un mandato de la Juventud Socialista. Yo le dije: "Ahora tú eres el centro del ataque stalinista. Debes ser cuidadoso."

Inmediatamente escribió una postal a un stalinista, diciéndole: "¡Abajo Stalin!" Esta fue reproducida en la prensa stalinista.

Luego me escribió que había aprendido una lección y que tendría más cuidado con los stalinistas.

Pero debido a alguna oscura intriga cayó en las garras de los stalinistas. Lo mismo sucedió con los otros jóvenes camaradas. Y fueron expulsados. Eran dirigentes del movimiento juvenil, y esto fue un golpe para el movimiento.

Creo que debemos prevenir a nuestra juventud en los Estados Unidos. Tenemos elementos nuevos; dedicados pero no experimentados. No saben lo que pueden hacer los stalinistas para provocarlos. Vendrán proposiciones extrañas de diferentes lados. Se puede encontrar a un joven obrero o estudiante revolucionario comprometido con verdaderos fascistas. Pueden pertenecer a la Gestapo y a la GPU<sup>26</sup> al mismo tiempo.

nes centristas. Es autor de *Le mouvement trotskyste en France* (Editions Syros, 1971).

25. Fred Zeller y Matthias Corvin, dirigentes de la organización juvenil trotskista francesa, fueron expulsados en noviembre de 1937 por hacer tratos ilícitos con los stalinistas; durante algún tiempo estuvieron tratando de reingresar. Más tarde Zeller llegó a ser dirigente de los francmasones.

26. A despecho de la propaganda antifascista de la prensa stalinista de ese entonces, Stalin buscó llegar a un arreglo de "coexistencia pacífica" con Hitler. Un área natural en la que se podían probar las posibilidades

Y estas intrigas pueden resultar fatales para nuestra organización, para el internacionalismo revolucionario.

R.<sup>27</sup> ¿Y sobre Indochina? ¿No tenemos una sección fuerte allí?

Trotsky. Sí. Es una sección muy buena. El dirigente está en prisión.<sup>28</sup> Tuvieron un semanario grande, y creo que la organización ha sido ilegalizada por nuestro ministro francés de las colonias, un socialista. Creo que lo mismo sucedió con el periódico. No sé si sale regularmente ahora. No lo he visto desde hace dos meses.

Shachtman. Sí, sale. Yo he visto algunos ejemplares.

Cannon. ¿Y Molinier?<sup>29</sup>

Trotsky. Molinier publica un órgano teórico. Dice que en principio está con nosotros, pero que nuestra política organizativa es mala, que él tiene una mejor. Su organización está impregnada de odio contra nosotros.

Es muy posible que ustedes se vean obligados, objetivamente, a dedicar atención a este problema, y que en la conferencia Vereecken defienda a Molinier. Este debe permanecer fuera, pero los otros—sus miembros—pueden ser admitidos si lo solicitan individualmente y si él se queda fuera. Es un elemento que puede ser

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de llegar a ese arreglo era la caza de revolucionarios. El trabajo recíproco entre las policías políticas secretas de los dos regímenes alcanzó su punto máximo durante el pacto Hitler-Stalin.

27. "R" era probablemente Vincente R. Dunne (Ray Dunne), o Rose Karsner, aunque podría haber sido Rae Spiegel, quien tomó las notas taquigráficas de esta reunión.

28. El dirigente preso de la sección indochina era Ta Thu Thau, que fue uno de sus fundadores, a comienzos de la década del 30. En 1937 el ministro socialista de las colonias del gobierno del Frente Popular francés, Marius Moutet, ordenó el arresto de Ta Thu Thau por escribir un artículo "sedicioso." Ta Thu Thau fue elegido para el Comité Ejecutivo Internacional en el congreso de fundación de la Cuarta Internacional, y para el Consejo Colonial Indochino en 1939. Fue asesinado por los stalinistas en agosto de 1945.

29. Raymond Molinier (1904- ) era un dirigente de los trotskistas franceses con quien Trotsky trabajó en común sobre muchos puntos hasta 1935; año en que fue expulsado por violar la disciplina. En *Documents of the Fourth International* (1933-40) aparecen las resoluciones aprobadas en 1936 y 1938 en las que se explica por qué fueron rechazadas las solicitudes de readmisión presentadas por Molinier. Cuando estalló la Segunda Guerra Mundial y los alemanes invadieron Francia, Molinier se vio obligado a emigrar, yendo a Sud América. Su grupo se fusionó con otros para formar una sección francesa unificada de la Cuarta Internacional durante la Segunda Guerra Mundial.

muy útil, pero sólo cuando contemos con una organización grande. En una organización como la nuestra su gente sólo sería un elemento perturbador. Ustedes pueden proponerle que vaya a los Estados Unidos y prometerle que tendrán relaciones personales amistosas con él; después de un año veremos.

En cuanto a la sección alemana, es más bien problema de que organicen su periódico. Naturalmente, por ser un movimiento de emigrados no tiene base de masas. Publican *Unser Wort*, que aparece regularmente. Las secciones alemanas de Suiza, Austria y Checoslovaquia han creado un órgano teórico mensual, *El Único Camino* [Der Einzige Weg]. La sección alemana propiamente no está representada, pero Walter Held<sup>30</sup> participa en la redacción.

Le he escrito a él, preguntándole por qué la sección no participa; espero su respuesta. Lo mejor sería transformar el órgano de manera que sirva a todos los camaradas que hablan alemán, y creo que es posible. Tenemos muy buenos camaradas, Johre y Fischer.<sup>31</sup> Johre es un marxista muy bueno. En la emigración las cosas son muy duras. El está amargado. Por eso se niega a sacar un órgano teórico mensual para toda la sección. Pero es necesario.

Los camaradas están muy bien educados teóricamente. Adolphe, por ejemplo, estaba bastante verde hace unos años, pero ahora es un marxista. Escribe muy bien en tres idiomas y sabe otros seis. Pero la desgracia es que Sneevliet, Vereecken, y ahora Serge se niegan a reconocer la autoridad del SI porque está compuesto por muchachos, y ellos tienen una política que es mil veces mejor.

Cannon. ¿Y Maslow-Fischer?<sup>32</sup>

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30. Walter Held fue un trotskista alemán que huyó a Noruega después de que Hitler tomó el poder. Fue secretario de Trotsky cuando éste estuvo asilado en ese país. En 1941, después de que los alemanes invadieron Noruega, Held trató de llegar a los Estados Unidos a través de la URSS y Turquía, países que le concedieron los documentos necesarios. Pero la GPU lo bajó del tren en Saratov y lo ejecutó.

31. A. Johre y Oskar Fischer (Otto Schuessler) fueron dirigentes de los trotskistas alemanes en la emigración. Fischer fue secretario de Trotsky en Turquía y después en México. Ambos rompieron con la Cuarta Internacional durante o después de la Segunda Guerra Mundial.

32. Arkady Maslow (1891-1941) y Ruth Fischer (1895-1961) fueron dirigentes centrales del Partido Comunista Alemán durante la década del veinte. Fueron expulsados por los stalinistas en 1927 porque, como partidarios de Zinoviev, habían defendido a la Oposición Unida Rusa. En 1928 ayudaron a fundar el Leninbund alemán, que colaboró con la Oposición de Izquierda hasta 1930. Maslow y Fischer dejaron el Leninbund, y a mediados de los treinta se acercaron más a la Oposición de Izquierda. En 1935 Trotsky nominó a Fischer para que fuera cooptada al Secretariado Internacional, con el que trabajó por lo menos un año. En 1938, sin embargo, ambos se retiraron del movimiento trotskista.

*Trotsky.* Ellos son Maslow-Fischer. Esto provocó una discusión sobre todos los puntos: Rusia, España, China. Están en contra de nuestra línea. Tienen un periódico y sus artículos aparecen firmados "Buntari" (insurgentes<sup>33</sup>). Ellos son insurgentes perennes. Tienen una mentalidad diferente.

Serge es un excelente poeta, un literato. Escribe muy bien y tiene un largo pasado anarquista. Permaneció en Rusia durante muchos años, en las prisiones stalinistas. Era un hombre valiente y honesto y no capituló, lo que es una característica muy buena. Pero no siguió el desarrollo de la Cuarta Internacional. Vino con algunas ideas muy vagas—con imaginación de poeta—a abrazar a todo el mundo: el POUM, los anarquistas,<sup>34</sup> nosotros.

Me escribió una carta personal, refiriéndose a Sedov,<sup>35</sup> en la que mencionaba que a pesar de las diferencias de naturaleza secundaria, etc. etc., está con nosotros. Sólo que las diferencias no son de naturaleza secundaria.

Sería muy bueno que nuestros amigos norteamericanos tomaran la iniciativa de aconsejarle que no se meta

33. *Buntari* es una palabra rusa.

34. Por ese tiempo los anarquistas dirigían en España masas de trabajadores que sumaban cientos de miles. Estaban en posición de dirigir una revolución socialista, pero no pasaron la prueba histórica. Irónicamente, traicionaron su principio fundamental—oponerse a todas las formas de estado—al aceptar puestos en el gobierno burgués que le facilitó el camino a Franco.

35. León Sedov (1906-1938) fue hijo de Trotsky y su más cercano colaborador y dirigente de la Cuarta Internacional por derecho propio. Trabajó en el Secretariado Internacional por varios años en Berlín y París y fue coeditor con Trotsky del *Biulleten Oppozitsii* (Boletín de la Oposición). Fue asesinado por la GPU en un hospital de París en febrero de 1938.

en política. Yo, también, trataré de escribirle—es un asunto muy delicado—diciéndole que lo considero uno de los mejores revolucionarios y uno de los mejores escritores, pero no un político.

Rosmer<sup>36</sup> está muy amigable con nosotros. Estaba vinculado a Sneevliet pero ahora está disgustado con él. No creo que vaya a participar activamente en el movimiento, pero su autoridad moral nos puede ser muy útil.

La situación de nuestros camaradas franceses es muy difícil. Viven en la miseria; no hay comparación con nuestros ricos yanquis. Un billete de a dólar (30 francos) es una fortuna para el SI.

*Cannon.* Hemos enviado 50 dólares. Damos al SI una contribución mensual.

*Trotsky.* Oh, eso está muy, muy bien. Ellos son muy ahorrativos.

Es necesario tener un subsecretariado en Nueva York, con la perspectiva de que el subsecretariado se convierta en el verdadero secretariado. No sabemos la suerte que correrá Europa si el fascismo continúa avanzando. Si esto sucede, Norte América será el único lugar donde podremos funcionar, y se necesita un subsecretariado. □

36. Alfred Rosmer (1877-1964) fue un sindicalista revolucionario y colaborador de Trotsky en Francia durante la Primera Guerra Mundial. Fue dirigente de la Internacional Comunista y del Partido Comunista Francés hasta su expulsión en 1924. Fue dirigente de la Oposición de Izquierda y miembro de su Secretariado Internacional hasta noviembre de 1930, cuando las diferencias con Trotsky lo llevaron a abandonar el movimiento. La amistad personal entre ambos se reanudó en 1936, pero él no se volvió a unir al movimiento trotskista.

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## LCR-ETA(VI) Denounces Report of Spanish Police

[The following press release from the LCR-ETA(VI),<sup>1</sup> a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International in Spain, appeared in the November 1 issue of the French Trotskyist weekly *Rouge*. The translation from the French is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

\* \* \*

Certain European newspapers, reproducing reports in the Spanish press that were obtained directly from the BPS,<sup>2</sup> have recently published articles referring to the alleged arrest of members of our leadership, and to the confiscation of printing equipment for *Combate*, our central organ.

These two reports are completely false; they have nothing to do with reality. The best proof of this is the fact that our organization continues to carry out its political activity in a normal fashion and to put out its publications regularly. (At the same time that the newspapers made these allegations, we published a pamphlet on the struggle being conducted by political prisoners, a pamphlet that was published simultaneously in France by the comrades of the FCR.<sup>3</sup>)

These distorted news reports are part of a campaign to repress and discredit our organization, a campaign that has been intensified since the fusion of the LCR and the ETA(VI).

In this campaign, attempts have been made to attribute actions to the LCR-ETA(VI) that our organization was in absolutely no way associated with, and to link us with other or-

1. Liga Comunista Revolucionaria-Euzkadi ta Azkatasuna (VI)—Revolutionary Communist League-Basque Nation and Freedom (VI).

2. Brigada Politico Social—Political-Social Brigade, the Spanish political police.

3. Front Communiste Revolutionnaire—Revolutionary Communist Front, the French Trotskyist organization.

ganizations with which we have deep differences—such as ETA(V), MIL,<sup>4</sup> FRAP,<sup>5</sup> etc.—but which we unconditionally defend against the Francoist repression.

The most scandalous is the attempt by the political police itself to attribute to us the preparation of a plan to release ten political prisoners from the Segovia prison. We do salute, sanc-

4. Movimiento Iberico de Liberacion—Iberian Liberation Movement, an anarchist organization.

5. Frente Revolucionario Antifascista y Patriota—Revolutionary Antifascist and Patriotic Front, a branch of the Spanish Communist party (Marxist-Leninist).

tion, and support any initiatives taken to save militants from Franco's jails. While our political stand on this is clear, it is also clear that our organization had no concrete plan for any action in relation to the Segovia prison.

But this campaign by the press is not without a purpose. It undoubtedly paves the way for an intensification of the repression against our organization and also against other political groups. We must therefore intensify our efforts—in the Spanish state and internationally—against the Francoist dictatorship.

Unite against the repression! □

## Repression in Franco's Jails

[The following statement was issued October 1 by political prisoners in Spain's Segovia jail who are members of the ETA,<sup>1</sup> the PCE,<sup>2</sup> the LCR-ETA (VI),<sup>3</sup> the FAC,<sup>4</sup> and by three prisoners who are not members of any political organization. The translation is taken from the October 31 issue of *Inprecor*, a fortnightly newsbulletin of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.]

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Throughout its whole existence the dictatorship has not ceased to offer proof of its tyrannical and repressive character. Confronted by the working

1. Euzkadi ta Azkatasuna—Basque Nation and Freedom.

2. Partido Comunista de Espana—Spanish Communist party.

3. Liga Comunista Revolucionaria-ETA (VI)—Revolutionary Communist League-ETA(VI), a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International in Spain.

4. Forces d'Alibrement de Catalunya—Liberation Forces of Catalonia.

class, the high-school students, the university students (most recently after the passage of the law on selection and education),<sup>5</sup> the physicians and professors, the peasants and popular sectors, and the nationalities oppressed by the centralism of the Spanish state, the dictatorship has found no response other than repression: prison, assassination, military tribunals, the Civil Guard,<sup>6</sup> and the politicosocial brigade.<sup>7</sup> It is an exploitative regime granting no political freedoms, dominated by a reactionary oligarchy that has imposed systematic terror to keep itself in power.

In the repressive context of the past several years, the dictatorship has opened a new public-order tribunal to step up persecution of social-political "offenders." Sessions of the war council are held on a daily basis, with sentences of twenty and forty years in

5. A law restricting high-school and university enrollment through the institution of a series of aptitude tests, financial requirements, and political screenings.—*IP*

6. Spain's paramilitary police force.—*IP*

7. The Spanish political police.—*IP*

prison being handed down. Two new prisons for political prisoners have been opened (Zaragoza and Pontevedra). Demonstrating workers have been assassinated (recently it was workers in Carmona, who were demanding water), and so have Basque revolutionaries. Some are murdered "legally," like Salvador Puig Antich.<sup>8</sup> The repression is also manifested in the firing of workers in the factories and shipyards and the removal of professors and students from universities and other institutions. We must call special attention to the repression in Euzkadi (the Basque country), which is under military occupation, with hundreds of prisoners, torture, trials, and police controls, where the Civil Guard abandons itself to frenetic manhunts.

The repressive character of the regime also extends to the prisons, where a completely primitive life is created for the inmates. The whole wave of struggles in the prisons since last summer (hunger strikes, revolts, and so on) has been marked by the struggle of the political prisoners against the inquisitional regime imposed by the DGP (Dirección General de Prisiones—General Prison Administration). Examples of this are the struggles led by the comrades of Zaragoza, who went on a hunger strike, by those of Martutene (in San Sebastian), who were taken on a night transfer without being guaranteed any security or given any information about where they were going, by those of the Bausuri prison, some of whom were released only in order to be seized by the police again, tortured for five days, and returned to prison.

We give here a brief account of the living conditions of the political prisoners:

● A fundamental point is the dispersion of the political prisoners through various penitentiaries on the peninsula. In addition to the provincial preventive-detention prisons, there are a dozen prisons through which the political prisoners are scattered. The comrades convicted in the Burgos trials are held in Carceres, Cartagena, and Córdoba, isolated from the other comrades and subjected to especially miserable conditions. Cartagena is a prison for "hopeless cases" and Cór-

doña for offenses during which blood was shed. The other political prisoners are divided among nine prisons: Soria, Segovia, Jaen, Lerida, Palencia, Zaragoza, Pontevedra; the Zamora prison is reserved for the clergy, and that of Alcalá de Henares for women comrades. The sole aim of this dispersion is to avoid concentrations and thus to prevent general responses to the injustices committed in the prisons.

● The other, more important, aspect is censorship and denial of communication. Periodicals, reviews, and books that are freely circulated in the country are censored in the prisons. In many prisons the daily press is selected or forbidden completely. Further, there is an "inquisitional index" of banned publications. These are, notably, the reviews *Cuadernos para el Dialogo*, *Trionfo*, and *Mundo Social*.

● Communication, both oral and written, is restricted to immediate relatives. Communication is interfered with by functionaries, a situation that becomes intolerable. When they are asked to alleviate these conditions, some prison directors shamelessly assert that when we were condemned, "logically" so were our wives, children, relatives, and friends. The use of the Catalan, Galician, and Basque languages is strictly forbidden. It is recommended to the prisons and to the officials in charge of censorship to add extreme religious criteria set down by reactionary priests to the political basis for the censorship.

● As for the sanitary, hygienic, and food conditions, we can say that they conform to the general characteristics of the prisons. Health care amounts to being given vaccinations against typhoid and smallpox in order to avoid the outbreak of epidemics in the prisons. Medical assistance is deficient, with only one doctor per prison, who must treat dozens of patients in one hour. Hardly any prisons have a dentist or optometrist, with the result that cases requiring special attention become extremely grave. The general prison hospital, the only one inmates can go to, in every case is small and is short of beds and post-operative facilities; medical care varies according to the financial situation of the prisoners. Thirty-five pesetas [1 peseta equals less than US\$0.02] a day are allotted to each prisoner, and when the general costs of lighting

and cleaning and the effects of inflation are deducted, the result is poor nourishment deficient in proteins and vitamins, with no green vegetables or fruits. The diet is based on water and starch. This often produces illness after some time.

● The system of classifying the prisoners according to how "dangerous" they are, the shortening of sentences on the basis of work done, and the possibility of conditional release are applied as means of blackmail and repression. Reduction of sentences is supposed to operate on the basis of two days' labor counting as three days' imprisonment, so that a three-year sentence can be worked off in two years. Conditional release requires serving the last quarter of the sentence under administrative control. All these forms of sentence reduction are conditional on the "good behavior" of the prisoner and on whether he "offers guarantees of leading an honest life outside." Since the political prisoner cannot remain passive before the injustices of the prison system and will not abandon his struggle against the dictatorship, he is deprived of these measures, which could ever so slightly ease the monstrous sentences.

● Prison life is especially miserable. The cells are not taken care of. You suffer from the heat in the summer and freezing temperatures in the winter. The toilets are inside the cells, which results in bad odors that are often made worse by deprivation of water. The cellblocks, which are very small, accommodate about fifty political prisoners each. The right of personal and family privacy is ceaselessly violated by censorship, intervention,

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8. The anarchist garroted March 2 for his alleged participation in a bank hold-up and the murder of a policeman.—IP

and surveillance. Punishments in special cells are frequent and inflicted for minor reasons. This situation gets even worse when the prison administrations violate their own rules of repression, creating subhuman conditions of punishment. Most of the time they forbid prisoners to leave their cells, take away the beds and mattresses, and forbid smoking and reading.

• The prisons also have workshops which are supposed to rehabilitate people through labor and contribute to reductions of sentences through the system just mentioned. In reality, the workshops are transformed into real factories of exploitation and forced labor, in which salaries are beneath the minimum and discipline is draconian; the slightest infraction or mistake sends a prisoner to the punishment cell or to the hole. The work goes on with no security measures; accidents are frequent, as is shown by the workshop fire that killed a dozen people in the Alcala prison.

*It is against this situation that we are struggling. Against dispersion, censorship, discrimination, banning of original languages, the hole, the terrible treatment. In a word, against repression in the prisons.*

We ask for active solidarity in this struggle. We ask that all people committed to democratic rights, to socialism, to the development of Catalonia, Galicia, and Euzkadi contribute however they can to the common fight against the misdeeds of the Francoist regime in the prisons. We are fighting repression where we find it. No provocation by the dictatorship (sentences, firings, assassinations, murders in the prisons) must go without a response.

Finally, the general characteristics of the repression, along with the specific features of the prisons, only demonstrate the weakness of a dictatorial regime with no social base, a regime that has transformed the country into a concentration camp in which any demand or idea of progress is persecuted and banned. This regime is passing through difficult moments. Not only is it facing a spectacular rise of class struggle, it is also awaiting the death of Franco, the dictator for thirty-five years, and is hastily preparing for perpetuating the existing situation by means of the Juan Carlos monarchy. It is trying in vain to maintain a system based on denial

of democratic rights, on national oppression, capitalist exploitation, and prisons and exile, with a king taking over Franco's job. Today more than ever it is necessary to redouble our ef-

orts to win an amnesty, the release of political prisoners, and the return of the exiles, in order that we may be rid of the dictatorship once and for all. □

## London Paper Proposes Mouth-Watering 'Portfolio'

### Invest in Food—and Watch Profits Grow!

Do you have a little cash on hand, and are wondering where to invest it profitably?

This can be a serious problem, when the quoted prices of most traditional investments are dropping.

But a London newspaper, the *Sunday Telegraph*, has come up with a new investment portfolio whose value is sure to rise as inflation increases. It can be cashed in at any moment with a tidy profit on the original investment. And what's more, if things get really bad, you can put it to immediate use—with benefit to your health and even survival.

That's because the portfolio consists of canned and bottled foods.

The *Sunday Telegraph* spent £100 (US\$231) for the "portfolio," which it portrayed in a photo in the September 15 edition. The biggest single investment, 11.88% of the total, was in Maxwell House coffee in eight-ounce cans. The rest included six-packs of Long Life beer, 11.16%; Libby's corned beef, 10.26%; and Osprey medium red salmon, 10.26%.

The *Sunday Telegraph* will from time to time publish the current prices of the twenty-three items, as registered by a local supermarket chain. It will also make comparisons with investments in other fields.

The paper's suggestion to readers that they put their money where their mouth is would seem to make good sense. According to the *Grocer*, a trade magazine, the average increase in processed-food prices in Britain over the past year has been 22.8%. Canned fruit is up 51%; canned and powdered milk, 24%; canned vegetables, 29%; and canned meat, 12%.

During the same period, the *Financial Times* index of stocks fell more than 50%. Gold shares have taken a beating, the art market (especially old masters and Impressionist paintings) has softened, and fine wines are proving to be a sour investment. Land prices are declining rapidly.

Meanwhile, inflation, at an estimated annual rate of 15% to 20%, has food prices soaring, leading to panic buying of commodities like sugar and salt. Dairy products are in short supply.

So the canned-goods portfolio recommended by the *Sunday Telegraph* has

a practical side, as well as being a good investment.

"The greatest attraction of any survival investment like food will obviously occur if shortages appear," says Richard Ensor, the "portfolio manager" for the new venture.

"Last winter, the price of candles rocketed; now it is sugar. A broad selection of preserved meats and vegetables will come into their own if the economy enters a period of hyperinflation, when traditional investments suffer as the price increases reach South American proportions of 50% or more."

The *Sunday Telegraph* doesn't mention it, of course, but the capitalists have long known the advantages of investing in food. They don't limit their investments to private stockpiling. They control all aspects of food production, from fertilizer to marketing. And they've used their control to deliberately create shortages—that in turn drive prices up.

One of the shortages, at least among the layers most concerned about prices, is ready cash. In fact, most people couldn't even scrape together sufficient money to make a small investment in the *Sunday Telegraph's* proposed "portfolio." They're having difficulty just trying to cope with the present weekly food bill out of their declining real incomes. □

### West German Prisoner Dies After Hunger Strike

Holger Meins, imprisoned by the West German government since June 1972 as an alleged member of the Baader-Meinhof group, died on November 9 after a hunger strike lasting nearly two months. After news of Meins's death was released, several thousand persons protested in street rallies in Stuttgart and West Berlin.

Meins was to have gone on trial next year along with Ulrike Meinhof and other alleged members of the group. They have been charged with several killings, bank robberies, and bomb attacks in West Germany. Meins, Meinhof, and thirty-eight other political prisoners began hunger strikes on September 13 to protest the conditions of their confinement.