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War Talk Mounts in Arab East



ARAFAT: Tells the facts about Israel and Palestine.

The Left Debates a Timely Issue

Should Troops Be Used in Boston?

Swiss Ban Tariq Ali

On the eve of the October 20 referendum on a proposal to limit the foreign population in Switzerland, the Federal Council banned entry of three speakers who had been invited to address public meetings in opposition to the proposal.

The three were Tariq Ali and Edgardo Pellegrini, leading members of the British and Italian sections of the Fourth International; and Salli N'dongo, secretary of the Association of Senegalese Workers in France.

They had been invited by the Ligue Marxiste Revolutionnaire (LMR—Revolutionary Marxist League), the Swiss section of the Fourth International, as part of its campaign against the referendum proposal.

The meetings, scheduled in Lausanne, Geneva, and Zurich on October 16-18, were held anyway. Pellegrini, together with members of the Front Communiste Revolutionnaire, the French Trotskyist organization, and the LCR-ETA(VI), a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International in Spain, addressed the meetings by videotape.

In a statement protesting the government ban, the LMR linked it with previous bans against left-wing speakers from other countries, including Ernest Mandel, a leader of the Fourth International, and Santiago Carrillo and Dolores Ibarruri, two leaders of the Spanish Communist party.

The ban exposed the hypocritical nature of the opposition many bourgeois politicians expressed to the referendum proposal, which had been initiated by the right-wing National Action party. Instead of denouncing its xenophobic nature they complained that its acceptance would mean that the Swiss themselves would have to perform the "dirty" jobs like garbage collecting and waiting on tables. Swiss workers might not be content with the substandard wages normally paid in such occupations.

The Swiss Trotskyists of the LMR, in contrast, campaigned energetically for a "no" vote around demands defending "the free flow of immigrant labor" and "the same political and trade-union rights for all who work in Switzerland."

The referendum proposal was rejected by 66 percent of those voting on October 20. □

Uruguayan Peso Devalued . . . Again

The Uruguayan peso was devalued 7.95 percent on November 13. The devaluation was the eleventh this year and the thirty-first since March 1, 1972.

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Mounting Talk of War in Arab East

By Michael Baumann

Israel's partial mobilization of its reserve forces November 15 was interpreted throughout the Arab East as an ominous signal that the Zionist regime was about to launch a "preemptive strike" that would unleash the fifth Arab-Israeli war.

The move followed stepped-up raids across the border in Lebanon. It was accompanied by arrogant threats to Syria, by a brutal crackdown on Palestinians in the occupied West Bank, and apparently by an alert in the Israeli border settlements.

"Reports of Israeli mobilization of reserves and military movements toward the borders of Lebanon and Syria brought a war scare today to the Middle East," reported Juan de Onis in a November 16 dispatch to the *New York Times*.

"Some [Beirut] newspapers close to the Palestinian guerrillas said an Israeli attack was imminent in southern Lebanon, where the guerrillas have bases. Movements of armored infantry units on the Israeli side of the border were reported last night, and one newspaper said Israeli civilians had been evacuated from Kibbutz settlements near the border."

Western correspondents visiting Israeli settlements near the Syrian border November 16 reported that residents there had spent the previous night in underground shelters.

In Damascus, reported de Onis, "informed sources said the armed forces had been placed on a 'higher state' of alert. . . ."

Syrian Foreign Minister Abdel Halim Khaddam charged November 16 that the mobilization, along with a threatening speech by Israeli Premier Yitzhak Rabin that immediately preceded it, meant that Israel was preparing to attack Syria. "He said Syrian forces were ready," reported the November 17 *New York Times*, "and would retaliate 'firmly and strongly against any Israeli aggression.'"

In the days before the mobilization, Khaddam said, Israel had stepped up a campaign against Syria, a campaign "aimed at misleading world

public opinion. . . . Israel wants to cover for an aggression which it is preparing and planning to launch against Syria, while alleging that Syria is contemplating military actions. At the same time Israel wants to divert the attention of its population from their domestic problems. . . ."

The threat of an Israeli attack was clearly felt in Cairo as well. According to a November 16 dispatch in the *New York Times*, "Egypt today urgently called the attention of the world powers to the dangerous situation created in her view by Israeli military movements on the Israel-Lebanon border and on Israel's front with Syria."

"Foreign Minister Ismail Fahmy, who had earlier canceled all appointments for the day, called in Ambassador Hermann F. Eilts of the United States and Ambassador Vladimir P. Polyakov of the Soviet Union for separate meetings and told them of his Government's concern, informed sources said. . . ."

"There has been growing concern in official circles here that Israel may have decided to launch a pre-emptive strike against Lebanon and Syria."

And in Havana, Yasir Arafat, leader of the Palestine Liberation Organization, issued a warning that the new moves indicated Israel was preparing a "preemptive strike" leading to another war.

In Washington, Secretary of State Kissinger played down the importance of the Israeli threats of war. "Secretary of State Kissinger said emphatically earlier today," reported a November 15 *New York Times* dispatch, that "he and President Ford were convinced that there was no immediate danger of warfare in the Middle East."

Kissinger did acknowledge that the White House was checking the reports of Israeli war maneuvers on an "urgent basis."

Kissinger's stance was not shared everywhere in Washington. "At no time in the last year," wrote *New York Times* columnist James Reston No-

vember 17, "has there been so much anxious talk about a fifth Arab-Israeli war as there is now. Nor, it must be added, so little confidence that Secretary of State Kissinger's step-by-step bilateral negotiations can stop the slide."

As an antidote to Kissinger's "far too optimistic" public pronouncements, Reston called attention to a "private memorandum" prepared by George Ball, former U. S. undersecretary of state, and to a recent speech by Senator J. William Fulbright, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Both documents are worth examining: they were prepared by well-informed individuals.

Ball discounts the possibility of an *immediate* war in the Arab East; in his view war won't break out until spring.

"The most likely prospect now," he wrote, "is a continuing stalemate while both sides feverishly seek to build up their military might. So far the United States has poured a large quantity of sophisticated arms into Israel and it is probably stronger than before the October war. . . ."

The Arab regimes, he said, would probably prefer "to delay a shooting war until at least the fall of 1975 . . . but I think it unlikely that the Israelis will permit such a delay. . . ."

". . . it seems to me quite possible that the Israelis will launch a preemptive attack on Syria, and possibly Egypt, early next spring. If that occurs, the war will be quite different from the campaign of October, 1973."

For one thing, since the Israelis now have surface-to-surface missiles, "one can expect attacks on Middle Eastern cities. . . ."

Furthermore, he said, "the danger that the Middle East might become another Balkan area involving the superpowers in a nuclear confrontation should never be lightly dismissed."

Senator Fulbright, in a November 2 speech in Fulton, Missouri, offered an equally ominous perspective of a nuclear confrontation in the Arab

East. "The danger of a fifth Arab-Israeli war is acute," he said, "and if such a war comes, it will almost certainly be more violent and protracted than the previous wars."

"He adds," Reston wrote, "that Israel is 'generally assumed' to have nuclear weapons and might use them. . . ."

The danger of Israel's resorting to a preemptive strike, including one involving the use of nuclear arms, has been increased by a number of rude shocks—both domestic and international—that the Zionist regime has received in the past month. These include the Palestinian demonstrations that swept the West Bank November 13-16, the angry protests against price increases by Israeli workers, the endorsement of the Palestine Liberation Organization at the Arab summit conference in Rabat, and the appearance of PLO leader Yasir Arafat at the United Nations.

As a result, wrote John Finney in the November 17 *New York Times*, "United States officials sense a rising feeling within Israel that she is being driven into an isolated position and must demonstrate her determination and readiness to meet any threat."

The November 17 *Washington Post* pointed to one aspect of the difficulty as it is perceived in Israel: "In the [November 16] TV interview, [war minister] Peres said that the Syrians might have misread recent internal developments in Israel, viewing the public debate over Israel's economic problems as a sign of weakness. 'The Arabs are totally ignorant of the democratic process,' he said."

The November 15 *Christian Science Monitor* pointed to another aspect: ". . . for the Israelis the shock of seeing their most hated enemies accorded world approval as well as unanimous Arab backing has the immediate effect of putting their backs up against the wall."

The Israeli feeling of international isolation is well founded. Perhaps the best proof of this lies in the circumstances surrounding Arafat's appearance before the United Nation's General Assembly November 13. Israel had strenuously fought the motion to invite the PLO leader to address the UN but was voted down by a 105 to 4 vote October 14.

The simple contrast in the receptions accorded Arafat and Israeli UN dele-



Kissinger: Sees no immediate danger of war in Arab East.

gate Yosef Tekoah drove the point home.

Arafat was greeted by a standing ovation, spoke before a full hall, and was interrupted by applause. Tekoah, on the other hand, spoke before a half-empty chamber; a large number of delegates left after Arafat finished his remarks.

Much more damaging, from the Israeli point of view, was the cogent case Arafat made against Zionist colonialism. ". . . Zionism persists in its aggression upon us and our territory," he charged.

"New military preparations are being made feverishly. These anticipate another, fifth war of aggression launched against us. Such signs bear the closest possible watch since there is a grave likelihood that this war forebodes nuclear destruction. . . ."

To understand the real nature of the Zionist state, he said, "we need only mention briefly some Israeli stands: its support of the Secret Army Organization in Algeria, its bolstering of the settler-colonialists in Africa—whether in the Congo, Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Azania or South Africa—and its backing of South Vietnam against the Vietnamese revolution. . . . All these facts offer further proof of the character of the enemy which has usurped our land."

Terrorism? The facts, Arafat said, show who the real terrorists in the Arab East are.

". . . Zionist terrorism which was waged against the Palestinian people to evict it from its country and usurp its land is registered in our official documents. Thousands of our people were assassinated in their villages and towns; tens of thousands of others were forced at gunpoint to leave their homes. . . ."

Furthermore, he said, "If a record of Zionist terrorism in South Lebanon were to be compiled, the enormity of its acts would shock even the most hardened: piracy, bombardments, scorched-earth policy, destruction of hundreds of homes, eviction of civilians and the kidnapping of Lebanese civilians. This clearly constitutes a violation of Lebanese sovereignty."

The central proposal Arafat put forward in his speech was for the creation of a single Palestinian state that would include Christians, Muslims, and Jews.

Israel replied in two ways. Tekoah, in his rebuttal, rejected the demand out of hand, since it would mean the destruction of the exclusively Jewish Israeli state. Israeli officials answered shortly afterward:

"About four hours after Mr. Arafat's speech," reported the November 15 *Christian Science Monitor*, ". . . Israeli artillery opened fire on the south Lebanese town of Nabatiyeh and surroundings. Israeli 155mm. shells and ground-to-ground rockets killed at least two persons in Nabatiyeh and injured several others." □

100 Persons Killed in Angola Clashes

Fighting erupted November 6 in a suburb of Luanda and lasted for five days. Portuguese troops surrounded the area and imposed a partial curfew on the city. Although the official death toll was put at thirty-two, one high government official stated that as many as 100, most of them Africans, had died in the clashes.

Some sources, both within the Portuguese administration and the guerrilla movements, stated that the fighting had been sparked by a faction of the MPLA (Movimento Popular de Libertacao de Angola—People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola). But Fernando Wilson, the head of the UNITA (Uniao Nacional para Independencia Total de Angola—National Union for the Total Independence of Angola) delegation in Luanda, put the blame on the Portuguese troops. He said that "the fighting was not the liberation movements fighting one another but it was the fact that the Portuguese cannot control their soldiers."

Israeli Workers Protest Huge Price Hikes

By Peter Green

Angry protests erupted throughout Israel in reaction to the huge price rises and other harsh austerity measures decreed by the government in the early hours of Sunday, November 10. Among the measures were a 43 percent devaluation of the Israeli pound and big hikes in the prices of basic foods. The government also intends to impose a wage freeze for one year.

Sugar prices went up 300 percent overnight, while other essentials including bread, milk, and eggs nearly doubled in price. The November 12 weekly overseas edition of the *Jerusalem Post* reported that "many people went on an all-out shopping frenzy Sunday in a last-minute and mostly vain attempt to beat the price hikes." Many shopkeepers, expecting to be mobbed, did not open for business Sunday morning. The shops that did open were besieged by shoppers grabbing anything they could off the shelves.

After the price rises were announced, demonstrations were held in the Hatikva area of Tel Aviv for three consecutive days. On November 10, demonstrators battled steel-helmeted police, smashed windows, looted shops, and damaged ten buses and an undetermined number of private vehicles, the *New York Times* reported November 11. 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.

Demonstrations also occurred November 10 in Haifa, Ben Shemesh, and Ashdod.

The next day demonstrators again tried to break out of the Hatikva area to march on downtown Tel Aviv. Riot police with clubs and shields tried to cordon off the area, but some demonstrators broke through. They marched down Allenby Road, a main business thoroughfare, smashing store windows, attacking a bank, setting fires in a bazaar, and battling police. About sixty demonstrators were arrested.

Demonstrations continued November 12. In Ashdod, 5,000 persons took part in a protest march. In the Hatikva quarter, one policeman was injured and ninety persons were arrested.

Port workers at Haifa and Ashdod stopped work November 11, protesting the drastic cuts in their living standards. On November 13 a strike by engineers forced the state radio off the air for fifty-

five minutes, and civil aviation workers suspended services to all except military aircraft for half an hour. Stop-work meetings to protest the price rises were also held in other industries.

The day the measures were announced—a Sunday and normally a workday in Israel—many people didn't turn up for work. About 1,000 workers gathered outside the headquarters of the Histadrut—the Zionist-controlled corporation that doubles as both the country's largest employer and substitute for a labor federation. They protested that the Histadrut hadn't acted effectively to prevent the price rises.

One group forced its way into the building and compelled a Histadrut official to address the crowd. Apparently not satisfied with his reassurances that the Histadrut would do something about the situation, some workers followed him back into the building, where another clash occurred.

Although the government claimed that the measures would result in an overall price rise of 17%, even the *Jerusalem Post* estimated that 34% would be a more realistic figure. This is in addition to the 34% jump already registered in the cost of living this year.

Normally, a partial cost-of-living adjustment is made in Israeli wages every six months. As part of the austerity measures, however, the government ruled that there would be no adjustment at all for the latest increase.

Faced with such a broad attack on living standards and the massive reaction by Israeli workers, the Histadrut came out against the government. On November 11 the Histadrut executive bureau demanded that workers receive full compensation for the price hikes.

The next day both Premier Yitzhak Rabin and Finance Minister Yehoshua Rabinowitz appeared before the Histadrut executive committee to argue their case for workers forgoing any cost-of-living adjustment. They received a sharp rebuff. The committee voted 82 to 3 to endorse the decision demanding full cost-of-living adjustments.

"The atmosphere was somewhat hostile," the November 13 *New York Times* reported, "with representatives of shop committees crowding the back of the room and heckling loudly." Shop committee representatives also picketed the Histadrut headquarters.

In Haifa on November 13, a meeting of shop committee delegates representing 80,000 workers was addressed by Histadrut General Secretary Yeruham Meshel. At the end of the heated four-hour meeting, a resolution was passed supporting the Histadrut stand. Workers pushed one delegate off the dais when he spoke in opposition to antigovernment demonstrations.

The cause of the current economic crisis is Israel's huge military spending, which consumes 45 percent of its gross national product. The October 1973 war, which cost an estimated \$6 billion, is still not paid for, and the regime is trying to make the workers bear the cost. The *Christian Science Monitor* reported November 11 that Israel is thought to have "the highest per capita outlay for defense in any country of the world." Through the austerity measures, the regime hopes to reduce the population's purchasing power by more than \$1 billion and lessen the drain on Israel's foreign reserves.

Apart from devaluation, price rises, and higher indirect taxes, the government also announced a host of other measures. Among them were increased import restrictions; credit restrictions; big hikes in the cost of such services as telephones, the postal system, water, electricity, and public transport; restrictions on the construction of housing and public projects; and budget cutbacks.

The austerity measures were described by a treasury official as "the most severe economic program in the history of the state." An opposition member of the Knesset denounced it as "not a tightening of the belt, but a blow to the belt." He added, "It will not merely lower the standard of living of middle- and lower-income families, but the actual standard of health." Yet Premier Rabin announced in a television speech that the measures were only the first step. More severe measures could come soon, he said.

What he did not admit, and what the Israeli masses have yet to grasp, is that there will be no end to the cycle of wars and economic hardship as long as the Zionist colonial system endures.

Israeli workers have, however, served notice on the Rabin government that they are increasingly unwilling to pay the social costs of permanent war. This has been shown by the angry demonstrations at Tel Aviv, Haifa, and Ashdod. □

Right-Wing Peronists Step Up Witch-Hunt

By Gerry Foley

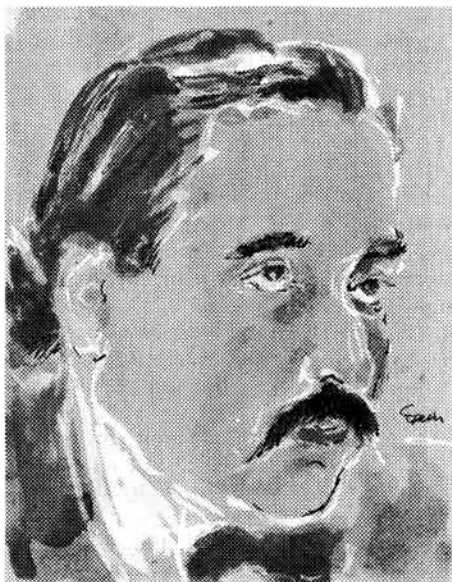
Four days after Minister of the Interior Alberto Rocamora declared a state of siege in the name of defending "the peace of the Argentine home," troops were posted November 10 in front of many elementary schools in Buenos Aires. The government and the right-wing Peronist organizations launched a witch-hunting propaganda campaign based on vague reports of threats against children and teachers, reports that were ridiculed by Secretary of Education and Culture Carlos Frattini the very day before the declaration of an emergency.

The deploying of troops around the schools was hailed in these terms by the bureaucrats of the 62 Organizations, one of the main Peronist trade-union formations:

"This new affront [the assassination of another military officer] no longer merely moves us as trade-unionists or Peronists, but as men and women of this land, as the mothers and fathers of children who are the fatherland's only privileged ones, children who today, because of these murderers running wild, have become the innocent target of the vile hatred of the enemies of our homes and our families.

"Today when we know that our little ones are being shielded by the firm and determined protection of the Armed Forces, joined in brotherly union with the people in the process of liberation we are experiencing, our indignation is redoubled against the aggression of the agents of subversion who are trying to wage a fratricidal struggle against the two forces that are the fundamental pillars of the nation—our army and the workers, who are also constituted in a multitudinous army of peace."

General Numa Laplane also tried to link the attacks on military officers with the alleged threats against schoolchildren. Speaking in San Nicolás at the funeral of a first lieutenant assassinated by the guerrillas, he said: "Today it is the members of the army, later it will be our students, children, farmers, ordinary citizens



Coral: "We are going to build a mass response" to rightist commandos.

who will fall victim to these merchants of terror."

The right-wing Peronist interventors appointed to run the universities were apparently the most carried away by this atmosphere. In a speech November 7, the interventor-rector of the University of Buenos Aires, Alberto Ottalagano, hailed the state of siege as one of the glories of the Roman empire and said that the use of this measure by the dictator Rosas was responsible for Corrientes being a province of Argentina.

The speech caused some shock in political circles, especially since it came after Ottalagano's deputy, Raúl Zardini, the interventor-dean of the School of Exact and Natural Sciences, had praised Mussolini and corporatism in an interview in the October 31 issue of *El Cronista Comercial*.

In the face of an outcry, Zardini made a "correction," saying that he was not a fascist but just "an admirer of order."

Minister of Culture Oscar Ivanissevich, a former reactionary Catholic activist, made it clear November 8 what kind of "order" was going to be maintained in the universities under

his administration. He said that arrangements were being made to bring troops onto the campuses if the police forces were unable to keep things in hand. A series of expulsions were threatened to break student strikes against reactionary Peronist rule on the campuses. Even bourgeois student political activists were brutally treated by the authorities.

A member of the Franja Morada, the student group of the Unión Cívica Radical (UCR—Radical Civic Union, the bourgeois liberals and the main parliamentary opposition party), was arrested and tortured, according to a protest published in the November 12 issue of the right-wing Buenos Aires daily *La Razón*. The statement was signed by Rafael Pascual, general secretary of the Federación Universitaria para la Liberación Nacional Buenos Aires (FULNBA), and Miguel Ponce, chairman of the Línea Recta Engineering Students Center. It said that Horacio Goytía, a student in the Engineering School, was arrested on campus on November 8 and beaten up in the Office of Student Affairs.

"Goytía was later taken to Precinct 23A," *La Razón* reported. "The interventor-dean of the Engineering School, Arturo Bonetto, said that Goytía left his institution 'in perfect physical condition.' On Saturday he was taken to Argerich hospital, where he was to undergo urgent abdominal surgery."

Repressive actions multiplied against the left political parties and trade-union activists, procedures that according to the government's own statements were not authorized by the state of siege.

Rocamora issued a statement November 14 saying: "The Minister of the Interior wants to make it known that there will be no restrictions on the internal activity of recognized political parties. Thus, their internal activities, as well as the conventions called for expressly in their statutes and the related activities, can take place indoors, so long as the authorities receive prior notice. Special rallies

can be held indoors with the proper prior notice." (*La Razón*, November 15.)

On November 8, the government had banned the congress of the FIP (Frente de Izquierda Popular—People's Left Front), a small party that for virtually its entire history has supported Peronism.

On November 9, a Communist party rally was banned in Córdoba. The grounds, according to Police Commissioner Héctor García Rey, were, among others, "knowledge that in the said meeting they were going to attack the institutions of the state."

On the very day Rocamora issued his statement, a rally planned by the Communist party in Buenos Aires to commemorate the Russian revolution was banned. "All the preliminaries required by the rules in force were complied with," the CP city leadership said in a protest published in the November 15 *Clarín*. "But the Policía Federal informed us that the rally had been banned, no matter whether it was held in the Plaza de Flores or indoors. As grounds for this, they cited the so-called security law and the state of siege."

Even the plenum of one of the components of the ruling bloc, the Partido Socialista Unificado (PSU—United Socialist party), was banned November 9. This party is affiliated to Frejuli (Frente Justicialista de Liberación Nacional—National Liberation Front for Social Justice, the Peronist electoral formation) and is represented on the Buenos Aires city council.

Fourteen trade unionists were arrested in Córdoba three days after the declaration of the state of siege. They were former leaders of the light and power workers union and the automobile machinists union, which earlier were placed under government trusteeship.

A planned strike by metalworkers in Santo Rosa was declared illegal by the Ministry of Labor, and the workers were threatened with sanctions under the state of siege rules, according to the November 14 issue of *La Razón*.

In Salta, the police arrested the rector of the university, H. Martínez Borelli, on suspicion of complicity with "extremists." The wave of arrests was so extensive that even the right-wing *La Razón* headlined its story: "What Is Going On in Salta?"

"The police seized an abundant

quantity of allegedly subversive material in the university," *La Razón's* report said. "The investigation has continued and in recent hours the list of persons arrested has grown. It now includes officials and political leaders considered linked to the subversive organizations. Among these are the former mayor of Salta, Héctor G. Bavio; the former city government secretary Ernesto Tartano . . . leaders of the Peronist Youth . . . a leader of the Communist party, Alberto Basat; a student leader named Abuerna; and others."

Under the state of siege, also, the municipal elections scheduled for the town of Piedra Buena in Santa Cruz province were canceled. This would have been the first test of the government's popularity at the polls since the repressive operation went into high gear.

Despite all the activity by the police and military, the ultraright terrorists continued to operate. The Central Committee of the Communist party announced November 14 that death threats signed by the Alianza Anticomunista Argentina (AAA—Argentine Anticomunist Alliance) had been received against its leaders Orestes Ghioldi, Rubén Iscaro, Florindo Moretti, Fernando Nadra, Ricardo Clementi, and Tulio dos Santos, as well as against two members of parliament associated with the CP, Jesús Mira and Juan Carlos Dominguez.

After only a few days of the new crackdown, in its November 12 issue, *Clarín*, an influential daily linked to sectors of business that collaborate closely with imperialism, began to raise a fairly strong protest:

"Public opinion is beginning to wonder if instead of using these special powers to attack terrorism and subversion the government intends to utilize them, as in the cases noted, to paralyze the political life of the citizenry and the legal activity of the parties."

Some influential voices of imperialism also voiced concern. In an editorial November 11, the *Christian Science Monitor* referred to the "unpleasant" situations existing in the other countries of the Southern Cone, Chile and Uruguay, and said: "For the sake not only of Argentina, therefore, but for all of South America, it is imperative that Argentines arrest their slide toward increasing civil strife and economic chaos."

The Argentine Communist party and the Soviet Union, which have been quite friendly to the Peronist government, raised an emphatic alarm over the state of siege.

"In the opinion of the Argentine Communists," Tass correspondent V. Chernyshev wrote from Buenos Aires in the November 12 issue of *Pravda*, "the state of siege 'will lead only to discrediting the government, lowering the combativity of the people and the Peronist masses and disorienting them; it will facilitate the plans of the ultrarightist plotters and the CIA.' Terrorism, it was stressed in the party communiqué, cannot be liquidated by suspending constitutional guarantees."

"One of the first actions of the authorities after declaring the state of siege was to raid the headquarters of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores—PST [a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International]. During the raid, the police arrested six persons. In the recent period this party has been subjected to constant attacks from the ultraright organizations; in a brief span of time, seven members of the PST have been killed, and in several areas the headquarters of the party have been blown up."

The attack on the PST tended particularly to discredit the government, as the Soviet correspondent recognized, because of the Trotskyist party's rejection of terrorism, its constant appeal to the masses of workers, and its challenge to the regime and the parliamentary parties to apply their avowed democratic principles.

"Speaking at a memorial meeting held in the party headquarters for Juan Carlos Nievas and Rubén Darío Boussas—who were buried yesterday in La Chacarita cemetery," the Buenos Aires daily *La Opinión* reported November 5, "Juan Carlos Coral, chairman of the PST, said: 'We are not going to respond to these massacres by creating special formations; we are going to build a mass response. We are going to continue with our kind of struggle, to win the minds of the working-class vanguard.'"

The day before the declaration of the state of siege, the PST paid tribute to another member murdered by rightist commandos, César Robles, a national leader of the party.

"In homage to our dead, and faithful to the road they followed," the Novem-

ber 6 *La Opinión* quoted Coral assaying, "we are not going to respond with guns or bombs, but by mobilizing all those sectors that are struggling for democracy and liberation."

Messages condemning the murder of the three PST members were sent to the meeting by the UCR (signed by Antonio Tróccoli, the leader of the UCR parliamentary bloc), the Communist party, and other groups represented in parliament.

The main story on the front page of the November 6 *La Opinión* dealt with the PST's moves to build a mass opposition to the rightist terror:

"In the Casa Radical [UCR headquarters], with the presence of Ricardo Balbín, chairman of the National Committee of the Unión Cívica Radical, a meeting was held of opposition political figures. A proposal was made to call for a special committee of both houses of Congress to investigate all the terrorist acts and for holding a united-front public rally to build popular support for such action.

"The proposal came from the head of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores, Juan Carlos Coral, who initiated a series of contacts with other political sectors over the murders of three members of his group."

Coral was demanding action, the report made clear: "He stressed last night to journalists in the UCR headquarters that the situation created by the attacks on the PST had forced him to seek the solidarity of the other parties and not a mere meeting of the Opposition."

The daily went on to quote Coral as saying: "They have killed a compañero of ours right in the center of the city, in front of a uniformed policeman, and so it is clear that the rightist terrorist groups have a license from a part of the government at least, if not from the government as a whole."

After the November 7 raid on the PST national headquarters, Coral's statement was published on the front page of the November 10 *La Opinión*:

"The general secretary of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores, Juan Carlos Coral, was received by the undersecretary for constitutional affairs of the Ministry of the Interior, Héctor M. Millán, from whom he demanded a clarification of the party's status. The PST national headquarters was raided last Thursday by the Policía Federal. The PST had already presented various complaints to the

authorities about the murder of seven of its members, as well as dynamite attacks on several of its headquarters and acts of intimidation.

"Coral then denounced the police report of the raid. He denied that there were any weapons in the headquarters other than a few small-caliber arms 'for personal defense.' He said that the sandbags were there to 'defend the premises against machine-gun barges, such as the one fired against us a few days ago.' And finally, he noted that the photographic material found by the police belonged to the party weekly *Avanzada Socialista*. The former member of parliament stressed that his party had nothing to do with the guerrillas."

The PST had participated in both national elections, *La Opinión* pointed out, like the FIP and PSU, whose normal operations had also been interfered with by the police.

"Until now there has been no legal accusation whatever lodged against any of these groups, and their leaders have been invited to multiparty meetings and even interviews with the president. . . .

"Is the activity of these parties illegal? If it is, what judicial procedure has proved this? If the rapidity of some events has had the result that structures legal yesterday are so no longer or if some members of these groups are conspiring against the country, why has there been no official report against the illegal actions that have brought about a change in the status of these political organizations?"

"The answer to this question would enable public opinion to figure out when seven hundred clerks, or students, or athletes, or political activists can meet or act collectively without endangering the national security."

The government has charged the nine PST members who were on the premises at the time of the raid with "possession of arms of war." Any firearm above a .22 caliber is so defined by Argentine law. However, the nine are still being held under the state of siege rules that permit arbitrary detention up to thirty days.

In view of the history of rightist attacks on the PST and the well-known public record of the party, it is unlikely that a prosecutor could build a credible case against these activists. An arbitrary condemnation on the other hand would put the government

in open collusion with the right-wing terrorists, something that it can hardly afford politically unless it is ready to give up all pretense to constitutional rule.

PST members have been arrested in other parts of the country, along with other left activists. Reports indicate, however, that the authorities have not subjected them to torture. Among those arrested is Jorge Mera, the leader of the Buenos Aires bank workers' strike.

Despite the atmosphere of violence created by the guerrillas and the rightist terrorists, it is unlikely that the Peronist regime can yet resort to open dictatorship without risking a rapid loss of the support it still has among the workers and poor strata of society, that is, losing all the political capital it has accumulated in the last twenty years and exactly those advantages that make it useful to the bourgeoisie. □

Army Uses Banned 'Subversive' List in Attempt to Discharge YSA Member

Five months after ex-President Nixon supposedly abolished the attorney general's "subversive list," and claimed that it "shall not be used for any purpose," it has been revealed that the army still uses the list to victimize military personnel. On October 18, the army attempted to discharge Steven Wattenmaker, a reservist and a member of the Young Socialist Alliance.

The notice sent to Wattenmaker cited his membership in the YSA and claimed that the YSA "is controlled and dominated by the Socialist Workers Party, which has been designated as a subversive organization by the Attorney General of the United States." The notice also declared that Wattenmaker's remaining in the Reserves "would not be clearly consistent with the interests of national security."

John Finney wrote in the November 13 *New York Times*, "The Army confirmed that its regulation on the military personnel security program still specified that membership in an organization on the Attorney General's list would be considered presumptive evidence that an individual was subversive."

An editorial published in the November 22 issue of the New York revolutionary-socialist newsweekly *The Militant* said that "Wattenmaker will press his fight by invoking his right to a formal Army field board of inquiry into the charges against him. Ongoing publicity and pressure is required to fight back against all the continuing government attempts to treat socialist and other dissenting organizations as if they were illegal."

Britain's Tiger Cages

The growing use of torture by the police and by prison administrations in virtually all countries, which Amnesty International documented in massive detail last year,* is one of the telling indicators of the decline of the capitalist system.

As the capitalist powers go to increasingly savage lengths to keep the profit system from being junked, sadism displaces humane conduct and becomes the norm. Thieu's "tiger cages" with their population of political prisoners can be said to symbolize the crumbling of capitalist civilization.

The accuracy of this judgment has been confirmed once again by a current development in Britain that is all the more significant because of the image sedulously maintained by the British ruling class of concern for human values.

Two prisons, Wakefield and Wormwood Scrubs, have been undergoing modernization, but in a way so secret that not even Britain's criminologists have been informed of the details. The secrecy was not broken until October 6 when the London *Sunday Times* brought it to public attention, citing a confidential working paper of the Home Office Prison Department.

The working paper tells about two "control units," in which intensive solitary confinement is used with "troublesome prisoners."

"The Wakefield block, opened on August 1, can house 39 men and the one in Wormwood Scrubs, when finished, will take 28," reports the *Sunday Times*. "They are intended for serious and persistent troublemakers, 'subverters of prison order,' in the jargon of the document. . . .

"According to the document, the control units, as they are called, are designed to provide a strict régime, 'where the facilities are deliberately austere,' and the organisation is so structured that the troublemaker 'will come to realise' that only by co-operation with the prison staff can he hope to regain his normal privileges."

The inmates will be received on a

national basis, so as to provide "temporary relief" for other prisons. But this relief may be anything but temporary. The *minimum* time a prisoner will spend in the control unit is *six months*.

This is divided into two phases, each of ninety days. "The first is called the basic phase," continues the *Sunday Times*. "During this time the prisoner is in solitary confinement in a special cell for 23 hours a day. He has one hour's exercise. Worship is apparently the only time he is in contact with anyone else."

The British ruling class, because of their Christian outlook, are naturally meticulous about providing for worship even in such hellholes.

"The running of the units is also deliberately organised so that 'the opportunities for confrontation with the prison staff are reduced.' In other words, these prisoners do not even have the normal contact with prison officers for slopping out, and at meal times, that even men in solitary confinement enjoy.

"They are allowed books, photographs, birthday and Christmas cards, but in other ways their personal facilities are deliberately limited. For instance, they are allowed only the pen they take in with them; should it run out, they do not get another.

"Prisoners in the control units will not be compelled to work, the document says, but 'it will be made clear to them' that until a prisoner does work (that is, sew mail-bags on his own in the cell), he will not even begin to qualify for the second phase. That is, he starts ticking off his first 90 days only when he begins to work.

"If, at any time, during the first 90 days the prisoner misbehaves—stops working, breaks things in his cell, shouts at a prison officer on one of the few occasions he sees one—he reverts automatically and immediately to day one. This applies even if the misbehaviour is on day 89. Only after 90 days of continuous good behaviour is he allowed to move on to the second stage."

The second ninety days is called the

"associative phase." In this, the subject is permitted to mix with other prisoners in the control unit for work and leisure.

"During phase two, as in phase one, if a prisoner misbehaves in any way, he reverts back to day one—that is, he starts the solitary phase all over again. Only after 180 days of continuous good behaviour and continuous work is the prisoner allowed back into the normal prison régime."

Confinement in a control unit is not regarded by the prison department as punishment but as a simple administrative change of location. "It follows from this," explains the *Sunday Times*, "that allocation to a control unit carries with it no right of appeal. Nor is a prisoner seen by the boards of visitors who adjudicate on most serious internal prison offences, unless, of course, he actually commits a serious offence in the control unit.

"The responsibility for sending someone to a control unit, therefore, lies only with the prison staff and the Home Office, as does the decision to revert someone back to day one. So it is possible for a man to be kept in a control unit, in complete isolation in phase one, for an indefinite period and without access to any independent authority."

Visiting arrangements are supposed to be the same as for prisoners held in maximum security except that visits take place in a separate room. That's not the way it works out in practice. The *Sunday Times* cites the case of Molly Newell, who went to visit her brother Michael Williams, who has done four years of a fourteen-year sentence for armed robbery.

"To begin with, she was separated from the other visitors on her arrival. . . . It was made very clear to her that she was not to ask her brother any questions about the 'treatment' he was receiving in the control unit and she was then taken, between two prison officers, to a small room.

"The officers sat next to Mrs Newell and her brother throughout the visit, making any personal conversation on family affairs very difficult. It was ended after one hour—whereas all the other [maximum security] prisoners that afternoon had visits lasting up to two hours as they are entitled to under Home Office regulations. She was also told, she says, that she could not visit her brother again until she heard from

*See review of the report in *Intercontinental Press*, January 21, 1974, p. 61.

the prison. . . ."

The secrecy about the control units works a special hardship on relatives. They may not know that a prisoner has been transferred to a control unit. He cannot even write if he did not take a pen with him. And the Home Office does not inform relatives of the change, so that the shift in visiting arrangements is learned only at the last minute.

What does incarceration in a "control unit" do to a prisoner? The *Sunday Times* had no information on this. It could only report the impression gained by one person in a single

visit with a prisoner who has evidently just begun the treatment:

"When Molly Newell went to visit her brother Michael in Wakefield Jail last Saturday afternoon, she had the shock of her life. He is normally a cheerful and well-built man. She found he had lost weight, was nervous, disoriented and very depressed. . . .

"Last weekend, for the first time, Mr Williams was in tears as she left.

"Mrs Newell was so shaken by the visit that on her return home to London friends sent telegrams on her behalf to the Home Secretary, the Wakefield prison governor and the Bishop

of Wakefield warning them that her brother might commit suicide. Her solicitor, Ian Sheratte, is writing this weekend to the Home Secretary, Roy Jenkins, to inquire why Mr Williams's mental and physical condition, after four years inside, should deteriorate so suddenly."

Are there others like Michael Williams confined to these psychological torture cells? Are there some who have no relatives to discover their plight? Or who forgot to bring a pen? What will be found in these tiger cages when the socialist revolution tears down the walls of Britain's prisons? □

Support to Pretoria Provokes Clash in Labour Party

Protest Mounts Over Wilson's South Africa Moves

By Tony Hodges

London

A major row has broken out in the ruling British Labour party following two decisions by Harold Wilson's government to give British backing to the racist South African regime.

On October 14, eleven British navy vessels sailed into Cape Town, South Africa, for a joint series of exercises with the South African navy. Two weeks later, on October 30, Britain joined the United States and France in casting a triple veto in the United Nations Security Council against a resolution calling for South Africa's expulsion from the UN.

These pro-South African moves, in flagrant violation of Labour party conference decisions, roused a storm of protest within the party and prompted Wilson to threaten to dismiss three government ministers for joining in the outcry.

British military and diplomatic collusion with South Africa is designed to protect British capitalism's huge economic interests in that area. In 1970, Sterling Area investments in South Africa totalled nearly 2,000 million pounds [one pound sterling equals about US\$2.30], and in 1971 more than 500 British companies had associates or subsidiaries there. Well over 50 percent of foreign investments in South Africa are British-owned.

With a much greater stake in South Africa than even Washington, British imperialism is also on the alert to the threatening advance of the African revolution following the victories of the liberation fighters in the Portuguese colonies.

The imperialists are particularly worried that the Black workers of South Africa

will be inspired by the successes of the liberation movements in the Portuguese colonies to struggle for their own rights, thus reinforcing the strike wave which has swept South Africa since January 1973. Already, students at Turfloop and Durban have held rallies, which were violently broken up by police, to demonstrate their support for Frelimo [Frente de Libertacao de Mocambique—Mozambique Liberation Front], and thousands of gold miners, many of them contract workers from Mozambique, have struck for higher wages.

Despite hypocritical criticisms of some of the more legally aberrant aspects of South Africa's apartheid restrictions, the British Labour government has remained firmly committed to defending British capitalism's holdings in the country. Its only action has been to apply—hesitatingly and inconsistently—a ban on arms sales to South Africa. Successive Labour governments have upheld the 1955 Simonstown Agreement with South Africa and held joint military exercises with the racist regime's armed forces.

The Simonstown Agreement gives British warships use of the Simonstown naval base, the only base between Gibraltar and Singapore which provides all the naval docking, repairing, and refuelling facilities required by the British navy. James Margach, writing in the November 3 London *Sunday Times*, noted that supporters of the agreement "argue that it provides the West with a vital base from which to protect general sea traffic to Africa and tankers bringing Middle East oil to Europe around the Cape of Good Hope."

The right-wing Labour leaders, who are totally committed to continuing British support for NATO, also put the strategic interests of the imperialists in southern Africa, the Indian Ocean, and the South Atlantic before the interests of the workers and peasants of southern Africa.

Opposition to the Labour government's South African policy first surfaced in September when nine warships arrived in South African waters for joint naval maneuvers with Pretoria's navy. This was the biggest demonstration of British sea power in the area for some years, and it sparked a protest from Frank Allaun, a Labour member of Parliament and a member of the party's National Executive Committee (NEC). Allaun called on the government to cancel the exercises. In a letter to the London *Times*, the leaders of nine trade unions—including Jack Jones, general secretary of the Transport and General Workers Union, and Hugh Scanlon, general secretary of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers—called on the government to end all military collaboration with South Africa.

At that time, the protests were muted. The London *Times* noted October 15 that this subdued tone "was thought to be due to the impending election, and a desire not to split the Government's ranks at such a time."

The October exercises were on a grander scale than the September ones—and they brought on a much bigger response.

The display of British-South African friendship could scarcely have come at a more opportune moment for the Pretoria regime. On September 30 the General As-

sembly of the United Nations had voted that South Africa's credentials were unacceptable in view of its repeated violation of the charter and principles of the UN.

Four days after the British flotilla's arrival in Cape Town, the UN Security Council opened a debate on South Africa's membership in the UN. On October 26, three African members of the council moved a formal resolution for South Africa's expulsion. The delegates of Mauretania, Cameroun, and Kenya supported the call on the grounds that South Africa's apartheid laws are contrary to the principles of the UN charter, that South Africa had repeatedly broken the UN sanctions against Rhodesia, and that South Africa had refused to uphold UN orders to withdraw from Namibia.

So the British navy's visit, as Michael Knipe put it in the October 22 London *Times*, "proved a timely counter in Cape Town to the indignities of the attacks on the Republic at the United Nations, and served, if only to a degree, to indicate that the Republic is not entirely friendless."

The South African government took maximum propaganda advantage of the joint exercises, Knipe reported, and to avoid embarrassment, it relaxed apartheid restrictions for Black British sailors. They were treated as "honorary whites."

The Labour government's next pro-South African move came October 30. Along with the United States and France, Britain vetoed the Security Council motion to expel South Africa. Once again the Labour leaders showed that they valued British capitalism's links with the apartheid regime over the interests of the Black masses of South Africa.

Many Labour members of Parliament, members of the party's NEC, and even some government ministers were taken aback by the cabinet's decision to give such open support for South Africa. What would be the reaction in Africa as a whole to these latest demonstrations of friendship between Britain and the Pretoria regime? And what would be the response from the Labour rank and file?

Foreign Secretary James Callaghan revealed these doubts and worries in a speech delivered October 25. "Clearly, if it is an important British security interest to maintain the [Simonstown] agreement," this proimperialist Labour statesman argued, "then we must do so."

"But," he cautioned, "we have also to consider the political embarrassment it causes us throughout the world." Callaghan said that the agreement should be allowed to "wither on the vine" if its military advantages were outweighed by the political damage.

Frank Judd, the navy minister, stressed the same dangers for the Wilson government in a speech on November 2. "It is necessary," he said, "to evaluate how far the Simonstown agreement may actually

provoke an expansion of Communist influence in Africa and the Indian Ocean basin.

"But even more significant is the whole question of the fundamental credibility of



WILSON: Threatens to dismiss three cabinet ministers.

the Labour movement, both in Britain and abroad."

Some Labour leaders were evidently worried that the government's blatant collaboration with the South African racists might spark an outcry in the workers movement like that unleashed last spring by Wilson's decision to supply the Chilean junta with frigates and submarines. At that time, union members banned work on Chilean war goods, and 10,000 marched through London in protest.

There has been a strong feeling in the British population about South Africa for many years, but no mass action has yet followed the government's decisions. The potential for a big response is there, however, and the many Labour MPs and leaders who have built their "left-wing" image as opponents of oppressive foreign regimes like South Africa know it. Their motive throughout the dispute has been to work to head off mass mobilisations and to warn Wilson that his policy entails too many risks. They have carefully avoided any calls to action, confining their criticisms to a purely verbal plane.

The contradictions confronting the Labour leaders were well expressed in an editorial in the October 25 London *Times*. "The Government's attitude towards the Simonstown Agreement," the editors wrote, "has long resembled that of a man who is not only trying to cross the Niagara Falls on a tightrope, but has forfeited his pole in midstream. Not quite sure whether to go on or back, he stays where he is in the middle and wishes the crowd would stop looking."

One of the biggest headaches for the

Labour cabinet was that its decisions to hold joint naval manoeuvres and bail out South Africa in the UN Security Council were taken in complete disregard for the decisions made by the Labour party at its own conference in October 1973. This conference passed a resolution supporting the liberation struggle in southern Africa and favouring the end of British collaboration with the South African regime.

Labour's Programme 1973, which was passed by the conference, declared that "the next Labour Government will withdraw from all relationships resulting from the Simonstown 'Agreements' and all military exchanges, visits and technical arrangements will be terminated."

This was the context in which the Labour party NEC voted unanimously on October 30 to deplore the government's decision to sanction the naval visit. The NEC, which also called on the cabinet to "ensure that the Ministers concerned do not repeat this gross error," is the highest leadership body of the Labour party and is elected by the annual party conference. In voting against the government, the NEC members were upholding the party's conference decisions against their own party members in the cabinet who had arbitrarily decided to disregard the party's position on southern Africa.

Among those voting for the NEC resolution were one cabinet minister, Tony Benn, the secretary of state for industry; and two ministers of non-cabinet rank—Judith Hart, the minister for overseas development; and Joan Lestor, parliamentary under-secretary at the Foreign Office. The next day Wilson sharply rebuked them for their votes against the cabinet's stance. Wilson threatened to dismiss them if they voted against government policy again.

Wilson's sharp rejoinder brought the issue of party democracy to the fore of the dispute. Wilson had not only violated the decision of the party conference to halt all forms of military collaboration with South Africa. Now he was telling ministers who were members of the NEC, the extra-parliamentary leadership of the party, that they would be dismissed if they voted against cabinet decisions in the future.

Norman Atkinson, a leading member of the *Tribune* group of "left-wing" Social Democrats, attacked Wilson's warning in a speech on November 1. "Democracy inside the Labour party is one of its most cherished aspects," he said. "The letters of complaint written by Harold Wilson challenge the very base upon which our party is built. At present 11 of the total 28 members comprising the executive are Government Ministers.

"For too long the Labour Party has suffered a leadership of submissive placemen—the very essence of elitist government—in fact, the very issue which should

clearly separate the Labour Party from its political opponents."

Atkinson went on to propose that if the Wilson doctrine was not rejected, government ministers should not be elected to the NEC, since they would not be able to participate freely in its decision-making functions. "Later this month," he said, "the party will elect its new executive. Each nominee must be asked if he or she accepts or rejects the new doctrine. And, unless there is a withdrawal of the Wilson qualification, the matter will have to be voted upon by conference as a whole."

Atkinson's fear that Wilson's obstinacy would provoke such a clash at the party conference slated for the end of November was revealed in his final statement: "I personally hope that this situation will not arise, for it would raise a leadership confrontation of the wrong kind."

What are the wider implications of this row? First, it seems that Wilson has chosen deliberately to affirm at this early stage of his new government that the cabinet is not bound by the constitutionally voted decisions of the party conference, and that ministers will be expected to place their loyalty to those decisions in second place to their loyalty to the principle of cabinet "collective responsibility."

"The sharpness of Mr Wilson's rebuke and the strenuous retorts it has inspired," wrote the London *Times* editors on November 2, "suggest that there is more at stake than three ministers stepping out of line about a naval visit to South Africa. And indeed there is."

"We are witnessing preliminary moves, a sort of sizing-up dance round the ring, before battle commences on the issue of authority within the Labour movement. The battleground will be the renegotiation of the terms of entry into the European Economic Community, and then the referendum and after."

It is widely considered that the Wilson government, after negotiating a few token changes in Britain's relations with the Common Market, will recommend a "yes" vote in the referendum on continued British membership which has been promised by the Labour government. Such a recommendation appears bound to provoke uproar in the labour movement, where opposition to the probusiness European Economic Community has been powerful ever since Britain's application to join was handed in by the Tories.

Nora Beloff, political correspondent of the *Observer*, wrote November 3 that "if James Callaghan re-negotiates Britain's Common Market terms to his satisfaction, he will insist that Harold Wilson recommend a 'yes' vote in the coming referendum, regardless of screams of agony from the anti-Market majority at the Labour Party Conference and in the National

Executive." In Beloff's view, "the prospective uproar over Europe is only part of the crisis of authority now coming to a head inside the Labour Party."

Beloff is probably right. Speaking in Parliament on October 30, Callaghan gave a rather good clue to the government's thinking. "There was," he stated, "a greater sense of realism in the Community. Britain's presence had given a nudge in that direction."

Wilson may also be attempting to tighten ministerial solidarity in preparation for unpopular economic decisions forced by the deepening crisis of British capitalism. Many observers believe that the Labour cabinet may be forced to introduce a wage freeze in violation of the party's pledges and programme, a turn-around that would unleash a heated clash between the unions and the government and within the party.

These attempts to subvert the rights of the party conference to set Labour policy must be met head on by members of the party. Wilson and company must be told forthright that the Labour government has no right to stage naval exercises with South Africa, recommend a "yes" vote in the Common Market referendum, or introduce statutory wage controls in violation of the party's conference decisions. The government ministers and members of Parliament must be accountable to the party and its democratically voted policy decisions.

Such a campaign for democratisation must also seek to remove all bans and proscriptions against organised political groupings which support the party, bans which in the past have been one of the key ways in which the Labour bureau-

crats have denied the right of left-wing supporters of the party to freely air their views and resist the right-wing positions of the leadership.

A second lesson is that every effort must be made to build a mass movement to force the Labour government to honour the party's conference decisions and cut off all links with South Africa, whether military, economic, or political. As Ray Alexander put it in the October 31 issue of *Red Weekly*, newspaper of the International Marxist Group, the British section of the Fourth International:

"The Labour movement must solidarise with their oppressed black brothers in South Africa, and warn Callaghan and his like in no uncertain terms that Labour's present policies are totally unacceptable. The Labour Government must be forced to:"

● End all diplomatic support for South Africa—in the UN and elsewhere.

● End the Simonstown military agreement, and all forms of military aid to white South African racism in Africa.

● End all British trade with, and investment in, the white racist regimes."

Callaghan has announced that the Simonstown Agreement is now under review. But there is nothing to review! It should be scrapped immediately, along with all other forms of British complicity with South African racism. Callaghan's announcement, made in Parliament on November 4, is designed to lull critics of the government's pro-South African policies while giving the Wilson administration more time to work out a less obtrusive deal for military collaboration with the South African government. □

Thousands Die in Bangladesh Famine

In Rangpur, the district worst hit so far by Bangladesh's spreading famine, many thousands of persons have already died. Official estimates range between 15,000 and 25,000, although some administrators admit, off the record, that 50,000 have perished. The president of the local Jatiya Samajtantrik Dal (JSD—National Socialist party, the largest opposition party) put the figure at 100,000. Everyone, however, agreed that with the onset of cold weather and without sufficient relief aid, the number of deaths will triple before the famine ends.

Famine has also struck heavily in parts of Mymensingh, Faridpur, Noakhali, and Khulna districts. "It is Rangpur, however, which has become the nation's central death-trap," Lawrence Lifschultz reported in the November 15 *Far Eastern Economic Review*. As early as mid-August, peasants had already begun to flee their

villages and stream into Rangpur city and other towns in the district. By the beginning of September, the refugees started dying on the streets.

Northern Bengal has traditionally been a food deficit area, but each year trains carried rice to the region. This year, however, no grain shipments arrived in Rangpur during September and October, despite the fact that the losses caused by the flooding were made up through foreign aid commitments. District officials blamed Dacca for the failure to provide food for the area.

The shortages of food drove the poor and middle peasants into desperation. Many of them were forced to sell their cattle, unharvested crops, and even land to get enough money to buy rice. The Rangpur Treasury Office estimated that more than 100,000 acres of land in Rangpur were sold in the past three months at half the normal price. □

Behind the Diego Garcia Buildup

By Peter Green

"What is involved here is simply a desire for putting a little 'gas station,' if you will, down here in the center of the ocean. . . ."—Samuel S. Stratton, U.S. House of Representatives, April 4, 1974.

What the congressman referred to so deprecatingly—the construction of a U.S. naval base on the Indian Ocean island of Diego Garcia, about 1,000 miles south of India—appears to be going ahead. The Pentagon has requested \$32.3 million to expand the present communications center there into a well-equipped naval base capable of handling aircraft carriers, nuclear submarines, and B-52 bombers.

More than 200 navy personnel are currently stationed at the communications facility on Diego Garcia. Roads have been constructed, the harbor has been improved, and an 8,000-foot runway has been built. According to the May 27 *Far Eastern Economic Review*, construction work on the expansion had already begun. Eight hundred U.S. Navy Seabees (civilian construction engineers attached to the navy) were engaged in a dredging operation in the lagoon of Diego Garcia, it reported.

The deepened harbor will allow aircraft carriers to enter and a sizable fleet to anchor there. The runway will be lengthened from 8,000 to 12,000 feet. Other construction includes hangars; a 750-foot pier for berthing tenders, tankers, carriers or nuclear submarines; oil storage tanks; and additional quarters to house 600 full-time military personnel.

The full cost of the expansion was estimated by the navy at \$75 million. However, a report by Judith Miller in the May 19 *Washington Post* said that \$65.3 million had already been spent on building and operating the current communications station, and that the navy would be asking for another \$115.5 million for construction, equipment, Seabee pay, and support for the facility.

That's a big price tag for a "little gas station." Facts that emerged during the congressional debate on ap-

propriations for the expansion revealed that the base's operations will include more than fueling a few ships now and then.

Under questioning in the Senate Armed Services Committee on March 12, Admiral Thomas Moorer, then chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, admitted that the longer runway would permit the landing of the giant KC-135 tanker planes used to refuel B-52s. He also admitted that it would be possible to land B-52s themselves there.

The admissions caused a certain stir in the Pentagon and State Department, and Moorer returned that afternoon with a "clarifying statement." He had misheard the question, he said, and although the stationing of B-52s on Diego Garcia had been discussed, the plan had been rejected. Diego Garcia would not be suitable for "continuous operations" of B-52s. Asked whether he thought it was desirable to station B-52s there, Moorer said he "would like to see that happen."

In later testimony, Air Force Major General Loving admitted that he envisioned the possibility of stationing eight swing-wing F-111s on Diego Garcia. These planes have a range of 5,600 miles and can carry nuclear warheads.

Although the House of Representatives approved the navy's request, the Senate voted to pare down the allocation and make it contingent upon the president's certifying "in writing" that the project was "essential to the national interest of the United States."

On August 28, at his first news conference after becoming president, Ford stated his support for the Diego Garcia buildup. The final details of the allocation are now up to a joint Senate-House conference committee.

Strategically located in the center of the Indian Ocean, Diego Garcia would provide an ideal command post for a U.S. military intervention anywhere in the vast area bordering the Indian Ocean. It sits astride vital seaways, especially the tanker routes from the Arab-Persian Gulf to Europe and the United States and Japan. Warships

based at Diego Garcia would be only a few days' sailing time away from any of the countries bordering the Indian Ocean.

Furthermore, the island is tucked away from the prying eyes of the rest of the world and has no local population that might agitate for the removal of the U.S. base. At least, there isn't a local population now.

Britain bought the Chagos Archipelago (of which Diego Garcia is a part) from Mauritius in 1965 for \$5.5 million as part of the deal for Mauritian independence. Once the deal was completed, the 500 local inhabitants were shipped more than 1,000 miles away to Mauritius.

Technically, Britain still owns the island. Agreements were signed with the U.S. in 1966 and 1972 to make it available as a base, and an understanding was reached with the Heath government earlier this year permitting the expansion. After the Labour party won the February elections, it announced that the Diego Garcia expansion was subject to the outcome of an overall review of British overseas military commitments. U.S. State Department officials are confident, however, that it will be approved.

In pressing its case for the Diego Garcia buildup, the Pentagon tried to downplay the importance of the base, referring to it as a "modest support facility," a "gas pump" where U.S. ships could "occasionally, from time to time," come in to fill up.

But this low-key assessment of the advantages of Diego Garcia was contradicted by some of the details that filtered out and by the persistence of the Pentagon's attempts to expand the base.

As far back as 1969 Pentagon planners were trying to get funds for the project—an "austere naval facility," as it was referred to then. When Congress, which had already voted huge outlays for the Vietnam war, refused to appropriate the money, Admiral Moorer complained that the decision would have an "adverse strategic effect of major importance." Diego Garcia, he said, was "the Navy's number one

priority of all items" in that year's military construction program.

To try to justify the planned buildup, the Pentagon resurrected the "Soviet menace" theme during the congressional debate this year. There had been a massive Soviet buildup in the Indian Ocean, it claimed, with permanent Soviet naval bases established in the area.

However, testimony by retired Rear Admiral Gene LaRocque before a House Foreign Affairs subcommittee had previously exposed the falsity of this argument. LaRocque, now director of the Center for Defense Information, told Congress that the U.S. already had a substantial advantage over the Soviet Union in terms of "capability to support and deploy naval forces overseas without extensive base support"; and that, unlike the U.S., the Soviet Union had no nuclear-powered ships in the region.

The main purpose Washington has in mind for Diego Garcia is clear. It is intended as a base for quick intervention against any unfavorable developments that may occur in Asia, Africa, and the Middle East.

In testimony before a House Foreign Affairs subcommittee, Admiral Elmo Zumwalt revealed what the Pentagon really thought were the key issues.

"... the rationale for Diego Garcia," he said, "... would exist independently of anything the Soviets are doing. We have very important interests in the area. It has become a focal point of our foreign and economic policies and has a growing impact on our security." (*Congressional Record*, April 4, p. H2620.)

Zumwalt stressed the impact of "recent events such as the Arab-Israeli war, the oil embargo, and the worldwide economic dislocations which flowed from that embargo and ensuing price rises. . . ." These events "served to focus attention on the Indian Ocean area."

"In the judgment of many observers," he continued, "the Indian Ocean has become the area with the potential to produce major shifts in the global power balance over the next decade. It follows that we must have the ability to influence events in that area; and the capability to deploy our military power in the region is an essential element of such influence. That, in my judgment, is the crux of the rationale for what we are planning to do at Diego Garcia."

Ford and Kissinger have already

pinpointed what they consider to be a particularly inviting target for U.S. military intervention — the oil-producing countries of the Arab East. In addition, the impetus given to the Af-



Zumwalt: "Zone of peace" idea is "a very dangerous concept."

rican revolution by the ending of direct colonial rule in some of the former Portuguese colonies gives the strategic location of the Diego Garcia base an added importance in the eyes of Pentagon planners.

Diego Garcia also has an important part to play in the Pentagon strategy of "limited" nuclear war that has been unveiled by Defense Secretary James Schlesinger. Schlesinger revealed the existence of Pentagon plans to target its nuclear missiles at enemy missile sites, airfields, and antimissile defenses as an alternative to massive retaliation against cities. The idea is to give Washington the option of a first strike in a nuclear war it intends to "win."

To launch a first-strike attack on the Soviet Union, the Pentagon has developed missiles with a high enough degree of accuracy to hit Soviet missile silos. These weapons include MARVs (maneuverable reentry vehicles) and MIRVs (multiple independently targetable reentry vehicles). To deliver these bombs more accurately, the nuclear force needs to operate further from the U.S. but closer to Soviet missile silos than before. Under this scheme, the U.S. Navy will play a greater role in any nuclear confrontation.

The Diego Garcia base becomes of importance in plans to bomb the Soviet Union or China. From the Indian Ocean, U.S. submarines can release missiles at targets in either the Soviet

Union or China. Whether the Pentagon ends up stationing B-52s or F-111s on Diego Garcia remains to be seen, but the installation will certainly be vital for the operation of their submarine- and carrier-based nuclear strike force.

Rather than the Soviet Union, it has been Washington and its allies that have escalated their military forces in the Indian Ocean and have woven a formidable network of bases in the region.

Iran is emerging as one of the strongest local military powers. In 1973 the shah spent \$4 billion for arms from Washington and this year has ordered eighty Grumman F-14 jets, 209 Phantom jets, 500 attack helicopters, 700 tanks, and six destroyers. Iran has built up the world's largest Hovercraft fleet, capable of landing a battalion of troops on the Arab side of the Arab-Persian Gulf in twenty-five minutes.

U.S. planes use Iranian airfields, and the shah has allowed the U.S. to set up an important electronic listening post on the island of Abu Musa, strategically located at the mouth of the Gulf. He is currently building a string of military bases along Iran's coast. The largest is a \$600 million naval-air complex being constructed under a shroud of secrecy by U.S. contractors at Chah Bahar, near the Pakistani border.

Washington is also extending the agreement for its base on the Gulf island state of Bahrain. Two destroyers and a converted amphibious landing craft, equipped with sophisticated communications gear that monitors military traffic throughout the area, are currently stationed there. During the October 1973 Arab-Israeli war, Bahrain ordered the U.S. to quit the base within a year. This decision was rescinded following a visit to the area in September by two top U.S. officials. Pressure from Iran and Saudi Arabia also apparently helped persuade the Bahraini government to change its mind.

Recent revelations about Washington's plans for military links with the racist South African regime, part of a plan conceived several years ago and code-named "Tar Baby," show that South Africa also plays an important role in the Pentagon's military strategy for the Indian Ocean. Washington already cooperates with South Africa in the operation of a superse-

cret communications station there.

In other parts of the Indian Ocean, the Pentagon has built a giant naval base at Sattahip for Thailand; the Australian government has allowed Washington to set up on Australian territory secret communication facilities that guide U.S. nuclear submarines in the Indian Ocean; France has agreed to a U.S. base on the island of Reunion; and the U.S. Navy has been quietly putting secret funds into refurbishing Indonesia's harbors and extending covert aid for the rebuilding of its navy.

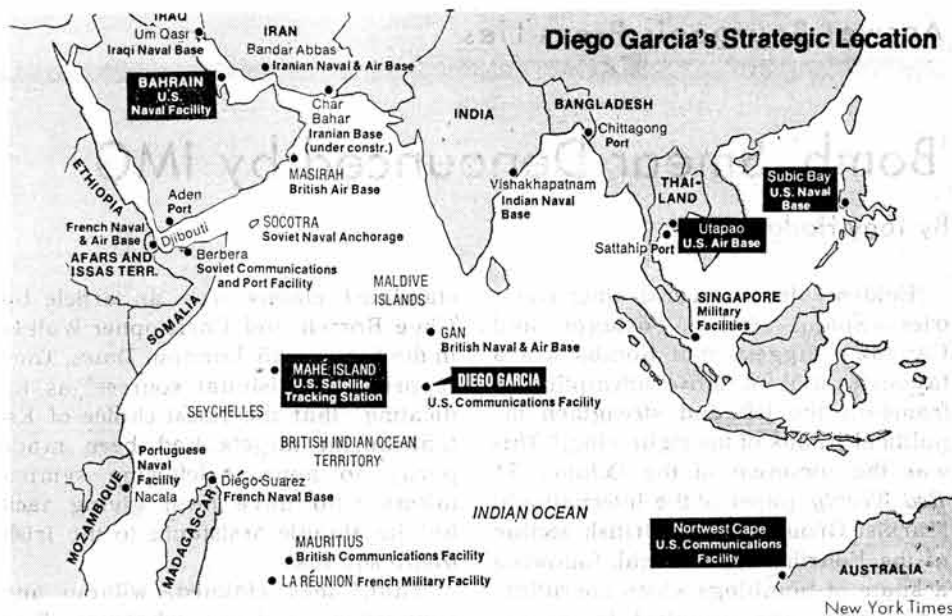
According to the November 12, 1973, *Far Eastern Economic Review*, Washington has "been planning a coordinated reconnaissance network linking South Africa with Australia, Indonesia, Malaysia and Britain." Washington also has sophisticated equipment stationed in the Seychelles for military communications and the processing of intelligence reports, as well as a communications facility in Asmara in Ethiopia. In addition, other bases available to Washington include the French installation at Djibouti, at the mouth of the Red Sea, and the British base on the Cocos Islands.

Governments of many states in the Indian Ocean area have protested Washington's plans for Diego Garcia. Australia's minister for foreign affairs, Donald Willesee, criticized the buildup on February 7 and said that Australia favored "neutrality" in the Southeast Asian area. Norman Kirk, then New Zealand's prime minister, said that his country supported the concept of the Indian Ocean as "a zone of peace, free from great-power rivalry, tensions, and military escalation."

The United Nations General Assembly in three resolutions since 1971 declared the Indian Ocean a "zone of peace." It called for a halt to military escalation in the area and demanded that the area be kept free from nuclear weapons. (Admiral Zumwalt attacked the "zone of peace" idea as "a very dangerous concept.")

Indonesian President Suharto said on February 9 that the U.S. plan was "clearly negative to our wish and will not be favorable to peace in this region." A joint Indian-Maldives communique on March 14 expressed "full support for the concept of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace. . . ." Protests also came from Sri Lanka, Malaysia, Tanzania, Madagascar, Kenya, and Mauritius.

A storm of public indignation over



the Diego Garcia base erupted in India after some particularly crass remarks by U.S. Ambassador Daniel Moynihan. He told journalists on March 4 that U.S. interests in Diego Garcia were "more important" than those of India, which had no "fundamental concern" in the island. "Why call it the Indian Ocean?" he asked. "One may call it the Madagascar Sea."

The blowup came just a few weeks before Henry Kissinger was scheduled to visit India, and it severely embarrassed the Indian government. But the event did serve to point up the hollow nature of the protests from the bourgeois regimes around the Indian Ocean. For public consumption they might sound off and protest, but in private they gave assurances to Washington that they welcomed the U.S. military presence.

"Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and her government are anxiously trying to let the United States know in advance of Kissinger's trip that while they are opposed to a major power buildup in the Indian Ocean, they are not overly upset with the Pentagon's plans for Diego Garcia," reported the March 8 *Washington Post*.

"Senior Indian government officials make the point privately that they are prepared to live with an increased number of U.S. Navy ships, submarines and aircraft moving in and out of Diego Garcia."

The same private assurances have been given to Washington by the Australian Labor government. Representative Edward Derwinski told the House of Representatives on April 4

that "out of curiosity," he had called the Australian Embassy. "I was told that although it was official policy of the new government to state their reluctance and unhappiness with the U.S. investments in Diego Garcia, that it is not their policy to oppose any U.S. entree; that what they are opposed to is superpower escalation. They are not opposed to U.S. investment per se."

Derwinski pointed out that Labor governments like the ones in Britain and Australia "cater to left-of-center constituents. It is far better for them to take a polite public posture against the United States hoping however and keeping their fingers crossed that our Congress in its wisdom will support our investment in Diego Garcia. Officially they are saying, 'We have some doubts,' but unofficially they are saying, 'Please move in there because we cannot.'"

Representative Robert Sikes told the House August 9 that he had "been informed in recent days by highest U.S. authority that some foreign governments say they have to object publicly to some extent to military buildups in order to appease the more liberal elements in their country, but in reality they expect the United States to go ahead on Diego Garcia."

The same might also be said for some of the protests from certain liberal members of the U.S. Congress. In this light, any limitations imposed by Congress on the expansion can be seen as just a little camouflage for a buildup that is steadily forging ahead. □

'Bomb' Smear Denounced by IMG

By Tony Hodges

"Evidence from several other countries—Spain, Italy, Portugal and Canada—suggest that bombs are a favourite tool of those attempting to frame-up the left and strengthen the political hands of the right-wing." This was the comment of the October 31 *Red Weekly*, paper of the International Marxist Group (IMG), British section of the Fourth International, following a spate of bombings which the ruling-class press has exploited to the hilt in an attempt to discredit supporters of the Irish freedom struggle.

On October 5, explosions ripped through two pubs in Guildford, Surrey, killing five and injuring sixty-five persons, many of whom were soldiers recently returned from Northern Ireland. A series of other attacks followed in quick succession. On October 11, two London military clubs—the Victory Ex-Service Club and the Army and Navy Club—were bombed. On October 22, two persons were injured when a bomb exploded in Brook's Club in the West End of London. The next day, a bomb went off outside the exclusive private school Harrow. One day later, gelignite was discovered attached to the car of a Birmingham magistrate.

Five days later, on October 29, a Labour minister seemed to be the target. A bomb exploded under a car belonging to Denis Howell, secretary of state for sport. Howell was not in the car at the time.

"So far, the Provisionals have scrupulously refused to claim responsibility for bombings in England," reported Robert Fisk in the *London Times*, October 10, following the Guildford explosions. The Provisionals have not claimed responsibility for any of the recent bombing incidents. But the bourgeois press and the Conservative and Labour parties have launched a wave of hysterical denunciations of the Irish republican movement, accusing the Provisionals and other left-wing groups, without a shred of evidence, of responsibility for the bombings.

Typical of these slanderous, unsub-

stantiated claims was an article by Clive Borrell and Christopher Walker in the October 25 *London Times*. They reported "Provisional sources" as indicating "that the latest choice of Establishment targets had been made partly to appease left-wing sympathizers who have been giving tacit but invaluable assistance to the Irish bomb squads.

"That," they claimed, without any supporting evidence whatever, "has come mostly in the form of providing safe houses and strategical advice, including the detailed geographical planning needed for making attacks in the heart of London."

The intention of these two bourgeois journalists was clearly to discourage support for a London demonstration held two days later by the Troops Out Movement and the British Peace Committee, an action that had the backing of a broad spectrum of the British left, including six Labour members of Parliament. "The Army," the *London Times's* correspondents continued, "is convinced that the latest spate of bombings in London has been deliberately timed to coincide with the new move in the Labour Party for a military withdrawal, and more specifically, the huge demonstration planned for Sunday [October 27] in favour of pulling the troops out."

The police used the bombings as a pretext to raid houses and apartments throughout Britain in the early hours of October 26. "More than 50 people," reported the October 26 *London Times*, "were roused before dawn and questioned while their homes were searched."

"Many of the homes searched," the paper remarked, "are occupied by Irishmen and known sympathisers of the Irish Republican organizations.

"Mr Danny Ryan, national organizer in Britain of Clann na h-Eireann, a political wing of the republican movement, was questioned for more than three hours while police searched his home in Brislington, Bristol."

The IMG was accused on several occasions in press, radio, and tele-

vision reports of involvement in the bomb attacks, following telephone messages to the media by persons taking responsibility for the bombings and claiming to be members or ex-members of the IMG. Beginning Thursday October 10, news broadcasts by London Broadcasting Company (LBC) and Independent Television News (ITN) attributed responsibility to the IMG for the bombing incidents in Guildford, at the Victory Ex-Service Club, and at the Army and Navy Club. These slanders were repeated in the *London Daily Telegraph* on October 11 and in the *London Evening News* on October 12.

The IMG's Political Committee stated October 15 that "following all the news reports which came to our attention, the IMG immediately informed each agency making the report that the IMG was in no way associated with any of these bomb incidents. Neither were any members or sympathisers of the IMG involved. We utterly repudiate any reports purporting to be from members of a 'splinter group' of the IMG claiming responsibility of these bomb incidents."

The Political Committee noted that "none of the news agencies which published these allegations contacted the IMG to check their truth or to enquire our opinion on the telephone calls slandering the IMG. A number of news bulletins broadcast by LBC continued to report the same allegations without any mention of our denial. It was only after we had issued several denials to the news media that by the end of the weekend, reports began to carry our repudiation of any alleged involvement in bomb incidents. The IMG condemns the totally irresponsible behavior of LBC in giving currency to this slander."

The statement concluded: "We can repeat that if these bombings have been carried out by the Provisional IRA, which is not at all known, that we stand unconditionally by the Irish people in their struggle against British Imperialism, whatever form that struggle might take. We defend the

right of the Irish Republican Movement to carry out armed actions against British Imperialism. However, we do not think that these bombings fit into an overall strategy to mobilise mass forces against British Imperialism at the present time. We believe these bombings are a tactical mistake if the IRA is responsible, but remain totally committed to helping to build a movement in this country for the withdrawal of British troops from Ireland which will both aid the Irish revolution and strike a blow against the ruling class in this country."

Both Stan Newens, Labour member of Parliament for Harlow, and Alan Sapper, general secretary of the ACTT, the cinema and television technicians' union, condemned LBC and ITN for their unfounded allegations against the IMG.

A further attempt to implicate the IMG followed on October 24, when a group calling itself "Red Flag 74" telephoned the Press Association to claim responsibility for the Guildford bombings and the attacks against the three London clubs. According to the October 25 London *Guardian*, the caller "said the group's members originally belonged to the International Marxist Group, but had now split from it. There were about 40 members in the London area, and others all over the country."

Suspicions that "Red Flag 74" might have been created or invented by a right-wing group were aroused by the caller's clumsy message that "we are militant Left-wing and we intend pushing the country by force to the Left," a message that seems purposely designed to discredit and do damage to the left.

The *Guardian* reported in the same issue the IMG's repudiation of the new allegations: "The IMG, which is campaigning for the withdrawal of British troops from Northern Ireland, later denied any connection with Red Flag 74. A statement issued last night said: 'The IMG reiterates that it is in no way implicated in any of the recent bombings. We have never heard of Red Flag 74 and no such group has ever been in the IMG. This statement is another step in a systematic campaign to smear the IMG and to create an atmosphere in which political repression against our organisation can be carried out.'" □

Mexico

A New Party, the PMT

By Ricardo Ramos

[The following article appeared in the October 1974 issue of *El Socialista*, monthly newspaper of the Liga Socialista (Socialist League), a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International in Mexico.

[In 1972, some of the leaders of the 1968 student movement, who were imprisoned for a time, joined with Demetrio Vallejo, leader of the 1948 and 1958 railroad struggles and currently the central figure in the Movimiento Sindical Ferrocarrilero,¹ in organizing the Comité Nacional de Auscultación y Organización² with the stated aim of forming a workers party.

[In a short time, however, an internal struggle broke out between the better-known leaders of the committee and a group of younger members, most of whom had been student activists. A split took place in July 1973, when the young elements walked out of the CNAO and held a National Assembly to Consult and Draw a Balance Sheet.³ At the assembly they called for the formation of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores.⁴

[The other group maintained the name CNAO until September 9 of this year. On that date they held the founding conference of the Partido Mexicano de los Trabajadores.⁵

[The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

The Partido Mexicano de los Trabajadores was formed in September, when the CNAO was converted into a party. About 300 regular and fraternal delegates attended the congress, in-

1. MSF—Railroad Union Movement.

2. CNAO—National Preliminary Organizing Committee.

3. Asamblea Nacional de Balance y Consulta.

4. PST—Socialist Workers party.

5. PMT—Mexican Workers party.

cluding [Mexican President Luis] Echeverría's son, who participated publicly as a fraternal delegate. The number of delegates to the PMT congress seemed very small to us, since they claim to have about 45,000 members. If the PMT had so many members, we think there would have been many more than 500 delegates—the number the PST had at their congress in July of last year.

The main point, however, is to draw a critical balance sheet of the PMT's program and statement of principles, which appeared in a display advertisement in *Excelsior* September 20.

It is very important that the left discuss this program on the basis of its planks and not simply resort to an epithet like "liberalizers" as a substitute for political discussion. Insulting Heberto Castillo (president of the PMT) does not help at all in one of the most important tasks facing the Mexican left—political clarification. If there is criticism, it must be criticism of the program.

It is encouraging to note that, unlike the PST, the PMT does not call for a "people's revolutionary alliance" with "progressive" elements of the bourgeoisie.

It is important to stress that the PMT does not propose alliances with any sector of the national bourgeoisie. There is no formation more fatal for the working class than these class-collaborationist popular fronts. This type of formation has brought on so many defeats in the history of the workers movement that it is imperative to take a clear stand on it.

The defeat in Chile is ascribable precisely to the class collaborationism of the Unidad Popular [Popular Unity].

The worst betrayal is to tell the working class to trust its class enemy—the bourgeoisie. We hope that the compañeros of the PMT will take a position on this extremely important question.

In the introduction to their statement of principles, the compañeros of the PMT tell us that they will raise

"the banners of Hidalgo, Morelos, Flores Magón, Villa, Zapata, Cárdenas, and all Mexicans who have defended the rights of the poor and who have stood with them against those in power. . . ."

It is permissible to speak in a political statement of "following the tradition of Hidalgo, Morelos, Flores Magón, Villa, and Zapata," although none of them had a Bolshevik program.

But with Cárdenas⁶ it is a matter of principle to take an unequivocal position. He was a leader of the bourgeoisie—and not just *any* leader of that class, but the leader who shaped the Mexican state as we know it today.

With the help of Lombardo Tolledo⁷ and the PCM,⁸ Cárdenas was able to get the working class to back the bourgeois state. The effort was not in vain: the Mexican working class has been among the most passive, if not the most passive in all of Latin America.

Using Cárdenas, the Mexican bourgeoisie was able to deceive the working class and the peasants, thus enabling them to consolidate their recently formed state.

There is no worse defeat for the working class than when it is robbed of its class-struggle consciousness, when the workers voluntarily give in to their class enemy. It is worse than a massacre, in which the workers are defeated but retain their class consciousness. We cannot put too much stress on this point. If the workers once again trust a reformist government like that of Cárdenas, it will mean the defeat of the workers movement. Cárdenas can be viewed only as a banner bearer of the bourgeoisie, not of the workers.

The PMT's statement of principles and program tend to be ambiguous. There are points that lead one to think they support the struggle for socialism, but there are also points supporting the continuation of capitalism:

In the second point of the statement of principles they say that "no human being has the right to exploit the labor

of other human beings for his own benefit."

Moreover, in the fifth point of the same statement, they say, "Human labor is the source of all wealth. That wealth must be controlled by the workers of hand and brain in the countryside and the city. They are its real owners."

In general, it would be difficult for a revolutionist to oppose these points.⁹

However, point No. 11 of the statement of principles says, "Imperialist firms make huge profits in Mexico without solving the growing problem of unemployment. Many appear to be Mexican because of the anonymity of shares of stock. Stocks of the companies must bear the owner's name to put an end to name-borrowing."

We can't be concerned with the details of capitalist stock shares. What concerns us is that the companies be controlled by the workers. A revolutionary program provides solutions for the workers of the city and the countryside, for the peasants, and even for the petty bourgeoisie. But it never provides solutions for the bourgeoisie.

There are some valid points in the PMT's statement of principles and program, some not so valid, and some unnecessary. But the fundamental problem lies in the method of proposing a revolutionary program.

For example, it is vitally important to make the methods of struggle clear—only the independent mobilization of the proletariat and its allies can bring them to power. It must also be noted that even minimum and dem-

9. We say "in general" because some formulations are imprecise. For example, in the Marxist view, wealth is not only a product of human labor. In the first chapter of Volume I of *Capital*, in the section on commodities, Marx explained:

"... the bodies of commodities, are combinations of two elements—matter and labour. If we take away the useful labour expended upon them, a material substratum is always left, which is furnished by Nature without the help of man. The latter can work only as Nature does, that is by changing the form of matter. Nay more, in this work of changing the form he is constantly helped by natural forces. We see, then, that labour is not the only source of material wealth, of use-values produced by labour. As William Petty puts it, labour is its father and the earth its mother." (Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Co., 1906, p. 50.)—Note by the editor of *El Socialista*.

ocratic demands cannot be granted by a capitalist state that is underdeveloped and in a deepening economic crisis. To meet these demands a workers and farmers government must be established.

On the other hand, the program never mentions the word socialism. It could be argued that it is not necessary to make explicit what is already implicit in the other points we have mentioned. However, we must speak clearly to the masses and call things by their right names. If we hope to bring socialism into being, we must say so. We have nothing to hide. To think that speaking about socialism will separate us from the masses is to underestimate them.

Another point that must be emphasized is the PMT's proposal on nationalizations and expropriations. It is correct to propose this but the matter cannot be left at that. It is essential to propose workers control of nationalized industry. Otherwise, the bourgeois state will end up controlling it.

A political program always implies a corresponding government to put it into effect. If we are convinced that the way to solve the problems of the exploited masses is to change the social and economic structures of the country, that the means and tools of production should be social property and not the property of the bourgeoisie, then it is necessary to state what type of government we propose and what class will direct it.

That is why it is necessary to reaffirm the need for a workers and farmers government with a program of demands for the exploited classes in struggle against the exploiters.

The positions of the PMT compañeros are rather ambiguous. We hope that a serious discussion will clarify still more the politics of this movement. □

Chilean Inflation Outstrips Paltry Pay Increases

The Chilean military junta has announced a 15% wage increase, effective in November, "to alleviate the effects of inflation." In October, workers received a 24% increase, and another pay hike is scheduled for the end of December to adjust for fourth-quarter inflation. The extent of "alleviation" these increases provide can be gauged from the fact that Chile's inflation rate for 1974 is estimated at more than 700%.

6. Lazaro Cardenas, president of Mexico from 1934 to 1940.

7. The central Stalinist leader who organized support for Cardenas.

8. Partido Comunista Mexicano—Mexican Communist party.

Antonio Maldonado Murdered in Tlaxcala

[The following statement was issued November 17 by the Secretariat of the Liga Socialista (Socialist League), a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International in Mexico.]

* * *

Our comrade Antonio Maldonado Franco and two other students of the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de Puebla [UAP—Autonomous National University of Puebla] have been murdered in Tlaxcala City by a gang known as "Los Gavilanes" [The Hawks]. One of the students was Guillermo Ramírez; we do not yet know the name of the other compañero who was murdered.

The three were teaching in the Rafael Ramírez normal school in Tlaxcala City, which has been subjected to repeated attacks by the "Gavilanes," who represent a faction in the PRI (Partido Revolucionario Institucional—Institutional Revolutionary party), the government party in Mexico.

The "Gavilanes" serve as a goon squad and have been trying to drive radical activists out of the Rafael Ramírez normal school.

The first victim was Guillermo Ramírez, who was kidnapped at the end of October. Later he was found dead. His funeral was marked by a mass demonstration in the city of Puebla.

The second and third victims were our comrade Antonio and another student at the UAP. They were kidnapped on October 24 during a "demonstration" organized by the government. It was one of the traditional rallies organized by a faction of the PRI to back its candidate for the gubernatorial nomination. The approach of elections for the governorship of Tlaxcala has unleashed a wave of violence in various parts of this state.

When the "demonstration" passed near the Rafael Ramírez normal school, the thugs grabbed Antonio and the other compañero from the UAP. The details remain unclear, since the news only reached us many days later by way of activists from the normal school who brought the report to Puebla.

We did not know what had hap-

pened; our comrade had simply vanished. However, one of those kidnapped on October 24 had to be Antonio, since the description fitted him perfectly (the clothes he was wearing that day, the description of him, etc.).

After being kidnapped, Antonio was taken to the building of the Instituto de Estudios Superiores [IES—Institute of Advanced Studies], which had been seized by the "Gavilanes." We do not know how he was killed. When the police went into the building on Nov-

U.S. Abstention Sways Waverers

Divided OAS Fails to End Cuba Blockade

A resolution to end the economic and political blockade imposed on Cuba ten years ago was defeated November 12 when it fell two votes short of the required two-thirds majority of members of the Organization of American States.

Twelve of the Organization's member governments voted to end the sanctions. Three—Chile, Uruguay, and Paraguay—voted to retain them. The United States, Bolivia, Brazil, Nicaragua, Guatemala, and Haiti abstained.

The Cuban question was the main item on the agenda of the OAS foreign ministers meeting, held in Quito, Ecuador.

Washington's decision not to back the move to end the sanctions was generally recognized as the major factor in the resolution's defeat. Bolivia, Guatemala, and Haiti had been expected to vote for repeal of the blockade, but at the conference they lined up with the White House position.

U.S. Secretary of State Kissinger, who has been calling for "a new dialogue" between Washington and the Latin American governments, declined to attend the Quito meeting. The U.S. delegation "maintained a stone-faced silence through most of the five-day conference, attending the discussions but seldom participating in the debates," *New York Times* correspondent Jonathan Kandell reported November 13.

Costa Rica's foreign minister, Gonzalo Facio, criticized Washington's "negative role" in the conference.

"All I know is that when the United States is interested in accomplishing something, it puts all its weight behind it even

ember 12, it was reported unofficially that two bodies were found. So far the authorities have tried to cover up this crime. The police have not even allowed the bodies to be identified. Nonetheless, it is obvious to all that Antonio Maldonado and the other compañero were murdered.

Comrade Antonio Maldonado Franco was eighteen years old. He went to work in the Rafael Ramírez normal school as a volunteer instructor when the state authorities withdrew the teaching staff, claiming that there was "no money in the budget" to pay them. The repressive government bears the full responsibility for his murder.

In Puebla the UAP activists have mobilized to demand punishment of those guilty of these three murders. □

if the majority is against it," Facio said.

"In this case, a majority of the O.A.S. members are behind us," he continued.

The vote against lifting the blockade on Cuba does not signify an increase in Cuba's isolation. "The vote means that more Latin-American countries will flout the O. A. S. prohibitions and establish ties with the Government of Premier Fidel Castro," Kandell wrote. "Seven members—Argentina, Peru, Panama, Mexico, Trinidad and Tobago, Jamaica and Barbados—have already done so."

Washington's stance was widely criticized in the leading U.S. newspapers. The *New York Times* editors held that the defeat of the resolution to end the sanctions "seriously compromises" the authority of the OAS.

Wall Street Journal reporter Everett G. Martin described the impact of the Quito conference:

"The end result here has left the OAS badly divided. . . .

"In the opinion of many, Panama's foreign minister, Juan Antonio Tack, was right when he said, 'The only winner is Cuba.'" □

10,000 Women March in Rome

Ten thousand women marched through the streets of Rome November 13 chanting "enough of exploitation" and demanding reform of Italy's family laws. The reforms would give wives full equality under the law and ensure legal rights for illegitimate children. They have been stalled in parliament since 1967.

Wilson Faces Wave of Wildcat Strikes

By Ray Davis

Glasgow

A series of major strikes erupted in Scotland around the time of the October 10 British general election. By the end of the month, more than 20,000 workers, not counting the teachers who staged a one-day work stoppage, had participated in these actions.

Among the most prominent strikes were those by the sewerage workers, the refuse truck drivers, and the municipal bus and underground transport workers in Glasgow, as well as by the teachers and lorry drivers Scotland-wide.

These actions made an impact not just because of their timing but also because of the militancy and the democratic forms of organisation adopted by the workers involved. In every case except that of the teachers, these strikes have occurred without the backing of the unions concerned and despite the hostile attitude of the union officialdom.

The 7,000 lorry drivers who had been out on strike since early October were demanding that their wages be raised to minimums ranging from £35.50 to £40 [£1 equals about US \$2.30] for a forty-hour week. Their walkout had an immediate and powerful effect on Scottish industry. It brought about the closing down of glass factories and foundries, layoffs in the car manufacturing industry, and reductions in newspaper printing. "The strike is biting deep in many parts of Scotland," the *Glasgow Herald* reported October 25. "Nearly 700 men at Carron Iron works in Falkirk were laid off from last night because of a shortage of raw materials.

"About 1100 employees of CPC, Ltd., Paisley, are being laid off from today. Chrysler (UK) at Linwood laid off 1600 men at lunchtime because pickets were turning away deliveries of components normally brought by road. The India Tyre factory at Inchinnan have already laid off their 750 production workers.

"British Leyland laid off 400 more

employees at the Bathgate truck and tractor plant. About 1400 production workers are now idle."

By October 28 the situation had deteriorated so much that the Haulage Operators were forced to concede to most of the drivers' demands. A mass meeting in Glasgow of 3,000 workers voted overwhelmingly in favour of accepting the offer. In the west of Scotland, drivers went back as soon as individual bosses signed the agreement.

In the east of Scotland, however, hundreds of drivers remained on strike in sympathy with other drivers not covered by the Haulage bosses' agreement. They have said they will not return until their fellow drivers get the same settlement. About 800 of the drivers concerned, who work for the nationalised National Freight Corporation (NFC), were already on strike and have returned to work pending the outcome of national wage negotiations scheduled for early November. Delegates representing 3,000 NFC workers met in Glasgow October 30 and decided to call for a strike if the negotiations did not yield the expected £42.29 for a forty-hour week.

The target of most of the disputes is the Labour party-controlled local government authority, the Corporation of Glasgow. Its miserly attitude towards workers is notorious. In dispute with the Corporation are 380 refuse truck drivers, 120 sewerage manual workers, and more than 3,000 transport workers.

The sewerage workers, out since October 7, are demanding an immediate £10 a week wage rise. Their strike has resulted in the daily pumping of approximately one million gallons of untreated sewage into the river Clyde. While the Labour administration of the Glasgow Corporation claims that it cannot grant the wage rises to the sewerage workers, it nevertheless has found enough money to spend £500 a day pumping oxygen into the Clyde to protect marine life.

The refuse truck drivers returned to work October 28 after a four-week strike. They were also asking for a

£10 a week rise. Their return to work followed promises by union leaders to get them at least £12 through national negotiations. The truck drivers said that they would go back on strike if the union officials failed to keep their word. These workers were also victims of the hypocritical attitude of the Glasgow Labour administration. During the strike, Corporation officials spent £18,000 on plastic bags for storage of excess refuse.

The Glasgow transport workers went on strike October 21 for an interim across-the-board rise of £5 a week, to be followed by immediate negotiations for an £8 a week rise. This stoppage by the 3,000 workers brought to a standstill all public transport in Glasgow except suburban train services. The Glasgow Corporation has taken a "tough" attitude towards their demands.

Provincial bus workers employed by the Scottish Omnibus Group were also in dispute. On October 11, the day after the general election, workers in several bus depots went on unofficial strike. A ban on overtime work is being applied by many depots, ending bus service over the weekend.

The response of the officials of the Transport and General Workers' Union (TGWU) has been to try to block all unofficial activity. Typical of the trade union bureaucrats' reaction to militant rank-and-file actions was the threatening speech made by Phillip Jenkins, Scottish passenger group secretary of the TGWU. The October 11 *Glasgow Herald* quoted him as saying, "The strikes and overtime ban have not brought forward by one minute the meeting of the national council to discuss wages and conditions.

"I will want to know tomorrow why a small minority have been encouraging unconstitutional action by making misleading statements at meetings."

On October 31, an estimated 30,000 teachers went on their first Scotland-wide one-day strike for better pay. The teachers, members of the main Scottish teachers union, the Educa-

tional Institute of Scotland (EIS), are demanding an immediate interim wage rise of 10%.

The problems of poor facilities and accommodation, low wages, overcrowded classrooms, and big teacher shortages have resulted in the widespread introduction of part-time education for many school students in Scotland and have long been sources of deep discontent among teachers. The EIS leadership has sought all along to keep the lid on this discontent. Attempt after attempt by rank-and-file teachers to force their leadership to call strike action in support of their demands had failed.

Eventually the feelings of the teachers broke through to the surface, and at the start of October they formed the West of Scotland Teachers' Action Group. They demanded an immediate £15 a week rise retroactive to May. Hundreds of teachers stopped work on unofficial strikes on the day after the election in answer to the Action Group's call.

Support for the Action Group and its pay claim has continued to mount. On October 24, 2,000 teachers in the west of Scotland went on a one-day unofficial stoppage which was followed by a demonstration through Glasgow in support of the Action Group's demand. At the same time, teachers in the east of Scotland formed their own Action Group. Following a one-day strike by dozens of teachers in Renfrew for the unofficial pay claim, teachers there too set up their own Action Group.

Under this mounting pressure and with the rejection of their claim for an immediate 10% increase by Labour MP William Ross, secretary of state for Scotland, the EIS leadership were obliged to call the official one-day strike. The 30,000 teachers who responded to the call represented more than 80% of the union's membership.

Many of those who did not stop work were not against a strike. As the November 1 *Glasgow Herald* reported: "Forty-six staff members at All Saints' School, Glasgow, went to work because they felt the 'paltry' 10% claim was not worth striking over. They were ready to strike in support of a £15 a week flat-rate increase."

The Labour government is demanding that the teachers await the outcome of the Houghton Committee inquiry into the educational crisis in Scotland, but the teachers are unwill-

ing to be stalled anymore. Frank McGurk, spokesman of the All-Scotland Teachers' Action Committee formed October 30, announced an initiative to unite all teachers in action. According to the October 31 *Glasgow Herald*, he said, "The All-Scotland Action Committee calls on all Scottish teachers unions to meet with us by November 6th to lay the basis for further action on the necessary and just claim for £15 a week, backdated to May 24th, which has been taken up by members of many of these unions in the past three weeks."

EIS leaders are worried that the government rejection of the 10% claim will generate greater support for the Action Groups. "The Government have unleashed forces which will not readily be controlled," John Pollock, the general secretary designate of the EIS, was quoted as stating by the November 1 *Glasgow Herald*. "What they appear to be saying is that teachers should look at lorry drivers and see how they operate." In response, the union leadership has mapped out a plan for a series of three-day strikes in selected schools throughout the winter.

These disputes take place against a backdrop of a 20% inflation rate and, according to government figures, an average 4% drop in real wages in 1973. But the problems of low and declining wages, slum housing, high unemployment, and atrocious educational facilities facing the working class played no part in the Labour party's campaign in Scotland. In Scotland, as elsewhere in Britain, the main plank of the Labour party's platform was the "social contract." This class-collaborationist scheme is designed to help bosses obtain as much work for as little wages as possible.

The results of the election in Scotland are a clear indication that large numbers of Scots are disillusioned with both the Conservative and Labour parties. The bankrupt policies of Labour's reformist leaders prevented them from winning the support of thousands of voters who turned away from the Tories. It was the Scottish National party (SNP) that benefitted. It claims that if the newly found oil fields in the North Sea, off the Scottish coast, were managed by an independent Scottish capitalist state, all Scotland's ills could be cured.

The SNP increased its number of MPs in Westminster from seven in

February to eleven after the October election. Their vote jumped from 600,000 in the February election to 850,000—30% of the total Scottish vote—in the October election. Their popular vote in Scotland was second only to the Labour party, which polled 36% of the total. Whereas previously the SNP was considered to be primarily a rural party, in the October election it received more than 110,000 votes—roughly 30% of those cast—in predominantly working-class Glasgow.

Labour's only comfort lies in the fact that all the SNP's newly won seats came from the Tories. In Labour-held marginal seats where the average rise in SNP support was expected to result in nationalist victories, the incumbent party managed to squeak through. This shows that despite the disillusionment of many workers in the Labour leadership's policies, their long identification with the Labour party will not be easily broken.

The attitudes of the major parties to the strikes illustrate the line-up of procapitalist forces confronting the workers. For example, the SNP speaks in favour of complete separation of Scotland from England. Those who voted for the SNP might have justifiably expected the party to be fighting for the restriction of Westminster interference in Scottish affairs. Yet, a speech by William Wolfe, chairman of the SNP, indicated quite the opposite. According to the October 23 *Glasgow Herald*, "Mr William Wolfe, Chairman of the Scottish National Party, claimed last night that strikes by public service workers in Glasgow called for urgent intervention but Government Ministers were apparently indifferent."

The Tories' strike-breaking attitude was outlined by Edward Taylor, MP for the Glasgow Cathcart constituency, in the October 21 *Glasgow Herald*. "Mr Taylor said yesterday that he had written to Mr Wilson asking him to call on the Trade Union Congress to use their influence to get the men back to work.

"If such an approach fails, emergency powers should be considered, as the West of Scotland in particular faces an appalling situation this week," he said.

"This might involve using troops in order to provide such essentials as food deliveries and a minimum

transport service for the elderly. Bearing in mind also the health risks caused by the cleansing strike, it is obvious that the situation calls for drastic action."

The Labour government is reluctant to intervene openly in the disputes against the strikers because it does not wish to reinforce the fears of many workers that it will introduce statutory wage controls if the "social contract" fails. This dilemma was highlighted in an editorial of the October 24 *Glasgow Herald*: "What the intervention of

Mr Foot [minister of employment] could bring is a matter of argument. He is not faced with recalcitrant and ungovernable unions. Mr Jack Jones [general secretary of the TGWU], in his call for restraint, has seemingly provoked more union opposition than anyone bargained for. To all this Mr Foot will have to find a solution."

While the trade-union bureaucrats are demanding "wage restraint" from the workers, the Confederation of British Industry, the bosses association,

is demanding that the Labour government abolish all existing price restrictions, minimal as these are, and give them a big reduction in the corporation tax to help them boost their profits. It seems highly likely that the Labour government will grant such concessions to the bosses in the November budget. In this climate it is to be expected that the present wave of strikes in Scotland will be copied and, perhaps, extended by other workers throughout Britain in the months ahead. □

Polish Dockers Reject Gierek's Speedup

Behind the August Strikes in the Baltic Ports

By Olaf Klarnat

[The following article appeared in the October 17 issue of *Inprecor*, a fortnightly news bulletin of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.]

* * *

In the great ports on the Baltic Sea—scene of the workers insurrection of December 1970 [see *Intercontinental Press*, January 11, 1971, p. 12]—several thousand dockers and shipyard workers initiated a strike movement at the end of August to protest against application of a new wage system. After a week of work stoppages and slowdowns, the Polish leaders provisionally suspended these measures, which by tightening up work rules and linking wages to productivity had challenged the wage gains that had been won previously.

Since 1971 the Gierek team has been trying to avoid a new open confrontation with the working class by developing an economic policy that would sacrifice improvements of the standard of living less than in the past. Without being able to do away with any of the factors underlying the precariousness of its power, the Gierek team sought to give the Polish economy a second wind through introducing cautious changes in the system of management and planning. But at the same time, social pressure persisted, as the August strikes, among other things, testify to. The

exact nature of the solutions put forward by the government can be seen more clearly if they are compared to the demands the workers raised in December 1970, demands that still retain all their currency.

Gierek and the 1970 Demands

Immediately after the 1970 workers revolt, the new government team tried for some time to defuse the movement of militancy as quickly as possible. The measure calling for a 30 percent increase in basic foodstuffs was lifted; the crisis was blamed on Gomulka's autocratic individualism; sanctions against leaders of the strike were cleverly postponed (the head of a strike committee was a delegate to the congress of 1972; later he was removed from his job on charges of "drunkenness" and forced into exile).

The first of the fundamental demands of the Polish workers during the 1970 strikes dealt with wage increases and improvements in the standard of living. In fact, concurrently with a new upturn in industrial production (which rose 9.4% in 1971 and 1972 and 12% in 1973), real wages (and certain social services) went up 24% in three years; that is, at a rate greater than the 18% called for during the entire five-year plan. But the real meaning of this progress is limited by the low wage levels that prevailed to begin with in 1970 and is further limited if compared to cer-

tain other official figures released at the fourteenth plenum of the Central Committee in 1974 (figures that must be regarded with some suspicion): the increase in productivity for 1973 was 10.2%; salary increases stood at 5.7%.

The price freeze on basic foodstuffs, continued from year to year after the strikes in Lodz in 1971 [see *Intercontinental Press*, March 1, 1971, p. 175] and Rybnik in 1972, was nevertheless accompanied by partial price increases carried out by substituting one product for another under the pretext of improving quality. And the very high prices of appliances like washing machines, refrigerators, radios, etc., should not be forgotten. Furthermore, although official price increases amounted to only 2 percent a year, food consumption, which still accounts for 50 percent of the budget of the average working-class household, was satisfied thanks only to supplies provided by the private market at "free prices." This was a result of shortages in the state commercial network, especially of meat, dairy products, and fruit. The persistent housing shortage is another index of the difficult material and cultural situation of the majority of the population.

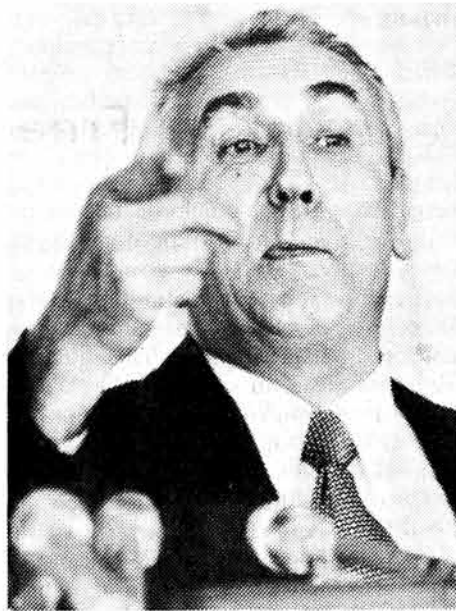
Conscious of all these problems, the Polish bureaucracy proved anxious to hasten to improve living standards, which would provide a safety valve that the regime lacked during the last days of the Gomulka period. The bureaucracy is seeking to link that im-

provement to the growth of the productivity of labor, which is necessary for expanding the economy. Hence, along with the introduction of technical innovations, there has been an extension of piecework wages. Individual consumption is favored at the expense of social consumption, which is less easily adapted to direct material incentives. This wage policy of "socialist emulation" has been accompanied by propaganda boosting an ideal of consumption that points people's aspirations in the direction of acquiring durable goods as symbols of "work well done." A "new look" ideological education drive has been launched aimed at gaining acceptance of the resultant social inequalities and justifying the establishment of a hierarchy of needs based on the varying skills and contributions to the growth of the national income made by different social layers. (In bureaucratic language this is called "the social utility of labor.")

'For Independent and Representative Unions'

The bureaucracy is counting on the atomizing effects these measures will have on the working class and on the development of antagonisms between the workers and other social layers. Since 1970 there has been no change in the ridiculous functioning of the trade unions and the "councils of workers self-management." While the 1970 strike committee demanded representative and independent workers bodies, the trade unions, with their reorganized leaderships (composed of personalities less discredited and more adapted to the new Gierek style), hold privileged control over productivity and labor discipline. As for the "workers councils," while the new labor code evasively refers to their "concrete rights," their role has in fact been reduced to overseeing security and sobriety in the factories.

On the other hand, in order to solidify its social base, the bureaucracy is seeking to attract technocratic layers and the intelligentsia by consistently paying them off for more rational managing by supervisory personnel and factory managers and for improvements in economic output. (The payoff comes in the form of bonuses, housing priority, possibility of making trips abroad, etc.) Anxious to divide



GIEREK: Deplores "lack of labor discipline."

and rule, the bureaucratic caste is throwing overboard the egalitarian principles proclaimed by the shipyard workers, who in 1970 demanded wages for industrial workers equal to those of supervisors and personnel of the party and state apparatus.

'For Regular and Honest News'

The bureaucracy has interpreted this demand of 1970 in its own peculiar way. Euphoria is obligatory in the press, which reports (and exaggerates) only the positive aspects of events that occur. Downright prolix when it comes to some success in shipbuilding or a football victory, the press clamps a blackout on strike movements. At best, it registers embarrassment when the facts manage to break through. *Trybuna Ludu*, for example, reported after the August strikes that the "fleeting difficulties" in the ports were a result of bad weather! The elimination of centralized censorship has only condemned journalists and editors to an even more effective self-censorship. The only notable change under Gierek has been that striking workers are no longer referred to as "hooligans," although they are said to be afflicted with "absenteeism," "lack of labor discipline," or "drunkenness"! Real news and authentic freedom of expression are banned. Hostile propaganda will not be tolerated under the guise of free circulation of ideas, Gierek as-

serted at the Central Committee plenum on youth held in 1973. The writers, a political sector somewhat insensitive to the charms of bureaucratic realism, are currently paying the price.

'The Right to Struggle for Our Just Demands'

In 1970 the strike committee of the shipyard workers denounced the bloody intervention of the army and militia and demanded the right of the Polish workers to struggle for their demands. The bureaucracy, however, counterposes its conception of "socialist labor discipline" to the right to strike, which is recognized by the constitution. The latest of the measures of dissuasion (the law of June 1973) calls for suppression of bonuses—that is, a significant reduction in wages—in cases of participation in "unjustified work stoppages."

Since they directly attack the central power of the bureaucracy, the strikes of the workers have never had a purely "economic" character. The August 1974 strikes in the shipyards, where the workers' wages are higher than the Polish national average, testify to the high level of combativity that has been attained. The opposition to the new wage policy intended to incite workers to greater productivity, which was applied without any reaction from the trade unions or the "workers councils," is indicative of the skepticism of the working class in face of the ambiguities and enlightened pragmatism of the Gierek team. These strikes came shortly after the movements among the Silesian railway workers and the student youth (launched after the bureaucracy regained its control of the youth organizations); they came at a conjuncture during which the standard of living was going up and the economy was developing. The economic concessions the bureaucracy accorded to the students (significant increases in educational grants) and to a part of the intelligentsia testify to its fear of a fusion of the discontent of the various social layers. Such a fusion, coming after the isolated struggles of the youth and intelligentsia in 1968 and of the working class during the past four years, could increase the breadth of the antibureaucratic opposition tenfold. □

'Moroz Will Die If He Is Not Set Free'

[Dissident Ukrainian historian Valentyn Moroz has been on a hunger strike in Vladimir prison since July 1 in protest of his brutal treatment. He launched his hunger strike to back up his demand that he be transferred to a labor camp. He has vowed to continue his hunger strike until January 1, which means probable death, unless he is at least transferred to a communal cell and allowed to work.]

[On November 5, Moroz's wife, Raissa, his son, and his father were allowed to visit him. Details of the visit and information on the state of Moroz's health were made available November 6, when the Toronto-based Committee for the Defense of Valentyn Moroz obtained a telephone interview with Soviet physicist Andrei Sakharov, chairman of the Moscow Human Rights Committee. The following is a transcript of that interview. The translation has been provided by the committee.]

Question. Andrei Dimitrovych, we're calling from Canada. We spoke to you yesterday . . .

Answer. Yes, I can give you the information now. Raissa Moroz (Moroz's wife) arrived in Moscow last night. She had a meeting with Valentyn Moroz which lasted one hour and fifteen minutes. At first, Moroz was permitted to see his father, then his wife with their 12-year-old son. Moroz looked extremely weak—he had lost more than 20 kilograms (approximately 44 pounds) and now weighs 52 kilograms (approximately 114 pounds). After force-feedings he urinates blood. Do you hear me?

Q. Yes, we can hear.

A. He is experiencing great pain in the area of his gastrointestinal tract and stomach. They are planning to stop force-feeding him through his mouth and to begin intravenous feeding; this would probably aggravate his condition. He is having heart seizures, he requires medication for his

heart. The hunger strike is taking its toll; his face was jaundiced, his eyes were deeply sunk. He looked very bad and his wife was unable to talk when she first saw him—she choked at the horrible sight. The guards screamed at her to speak louder. When she gained control of herself, she began to speak up, but it was obvious that this was difficult for her.

Moroz told her that he expects to be able to continue the hunger strike for two months or until the end of the year. He expects to be able to last that long, but not any longer. He stated that he is finishing himself off; he used the words "self-immolation" or "slow death," whichever comes first. He was hoping for the better and yet he was bidding farewell to his family—he is putting his trust in God but bidding farewell to his family. He kissed the hand of his son. At that moment the guards jumped the 12-year-old child, thinking that Moroz passed something on to him with his mouth. After a scuffle, the meeting was terminated. Such a horrible scene. . . .

The meeting was held under highly unusual circumstances: it was not held in the usual place for such visits, but in a room next to the warden's office. There was soft, upholstered furniture and a television set—highly unusual for prison conditions.

Throughout the meeting, some man was taking photographs. They said that this man was a reporter for "AP." We suspect that this will be used as some kind of deception in the West—what a good environment Moroz has and how he is able to meet with his wife beside a television set and all that. . . . But the last scene—when they were pulling the boy away—was not photographed. The reporter had turned away.

Moroz stated that if there was any hope for a compromise he would cease his hunger strike. As it stands, he has been ordered to discontinue his hunger strike unconditionally. He is now in such a state that he cannot possibly be transferred to a labor camp. It is essential that he be set free and taken to a normal hospi-

tal. Otherwise he will die. . . .

Q. Is he now in the prison hospital?

A. He is not even in the prison hospital. He is confined to the cell in which he is conducting the hunger strike, isolated from everybody, where he is daily force-fed through a tube. But this method cannot be continued much longer because they have scratched his esophagus and possibly his stomach.

Q. In a week we will have a meeting with External Affairs Minister Allan MacEachen and will request at that time that the prime minister again intervene on behalf of Moroz.

A. This is absolutely necessary because only the most determined pressure on Soviet authorities will change this situation. Moroz is now on the verge of death, he simply cannot continue any longer and may finish himself off within two months. In other words, his determination is also declining.

His wife went to the Moscow KGB [Soviet secret police]. They told her that they will not promise him anything nor help him. They said that the fact that he continues his hunger strike is his private affair. Most importantly, she was threatened by the KGB, and now she has to be defended. They threatened her and accused her of the responsibility for passing materials to anti-Soviet television—to our enemies abroad, giving material to the CBC [Canadian Broadcasting Corporation]. She replied that that material was regarding the hunger strike of her husband. She now also needs help. One month ago she was threatened by the KGB in Ivano-Frankivsk and this threat was supported by a huge stone thrown through her window, which hit and wounded her in the head. Now she is threatened by a court action.

Q. Would you like to make a statement for the press? We may have a press conference today.

A. I want to tell the press what I just told you. I think that every honest man must be shaken by this cruel treatment of an honest man—Valentyn Moroz. And unless world opinion comes to his defense, he will perish. If he dies, it will be on the conscience of all people and this would be unpardonable.

Q. Thank you very much, we will pass this on to the press. As we told

you, we are having a demonstration tonight in front of the Soviet Embassy, where they will be holding a reception for diplomats to commemorate the October Revolution. We will call you again in two weeks, if you permit.

A. Very well.

Q. Thank you and good-bye.

A. Thank you. Good-bye. □

French Unions Call One-Day General Strike

Militant Postal Strikers Confront Giscard



GISCARD: Refuses to negotiate.

Tens of thousands of workers marched in the rain through Paris November 15 in a demonstration called by France's major unions to protest the police eviction the previous night of pickets occupying post offices.

The demonstrators' banners read "Respect the right to strike" and "No to repression."

The cops' attack on the striking postal workers followed within hours a call by the Conseil National du Patronat Français (CNPFF—National Council of French Employers) demanding that the government set up a "parallel postal system" to overcome the effects of the postal workers' strike, now in its fifth week.

Soldiers are already being used to move some mail.

The Giscard d'Estaing government has refused to negotiate seriously with

the unions involved, claiming that the strike is primarily "political." It has implied that the two major labor federations, the General Confederation of Labor (CGT—Confédération Générale du Travail) and the French Democratic Confederation of Labor (CFDT—Confédération Française et Démocratique du Travail), are simply using the strike to embarrass the government, to the benefit of the Union of the Left, which their leaders support.

The mail strike actually started as a rank-and-file initiative, however. And, to the surprise of the government, it has held firm week after week, despite a fierce campaign of slander against the workers. (For example, the minister for Postal and Telecommunications Services, Pierre Lelong, has publicly called the postal workers "stupid," and said that many of them are lazy.)

The strike by the 250,000 postal workers is the central struggle in a wave of strikes that has swept France in recent weeks. Many of the strikers are government employees, who are generally paid less than workers in private industry.

There have been strikes this fall in the state radio and television network to protest the planned firing of 1,500 employees, in the newspapers and printing trades, by railroad workers, electricity and gas workers, bus drivers, and bank employees. The coal miners in Lorraine also waged a militant strike.

The key issues in these strikes are wages and job security. Prices are currently rising at a 17 percent yearly rate, and the government reported in October that 534,000 workers were

listed as unemployed. (If allowance is made for "seasonal adjustment" in the official figures, the actual number is said to be around 650,000 unemployed—as many as in West Germany, which has a much larger working population.)

There have been large-scale layoffs in the automobile, textile, and printing trades.

The postal workers have held massive demonstrations in Paris and other cities to back their demands.

These demands include a 200 francs (1 franc equals about US\$0.22) across-the-board minimum catch-up payment; a minimum wage of 1,700 francs a month; the upgrading of auxiliary workers to full status, and an end to the hiring of auxiliary workers; the hiring of more full-time employees to cope with the growing work load; and improved working conditions.

They are also demanding that the Post Office grant full pay for the days lost in the strike, as a precondition to continuing negotiations.

Statistics cited in *Rouge*, the French Trotskyist weekly, indicate the conditions that give rise to the postal workers' militancy. Of the 250,000 workers, about a third are auxiliaries—many of them students working part time—who earn less than 1,500 francs a month and don't qualify for unemployment insurance.

Four-fifths of the 100,000 postal workers in Paris come from the provinces, where jobs are scarcer and wages lower. Post office workers' wages are among the lowest paid to state employees.

An October 28 demonstration by postal workers was the biggest such mobilization Paris has seen. About 20,000 sorters and handlers marched in front of the postal ministry building.

On November 8, other public-sector workers joined with the mail strikers in a demonstration of 35,000.

On November 12, the CGT and CFDT called a one-day general strike for November 19, in solidarity with the postal workers and other strikers. Three days later, immediately following the police attack on the striking postal workers, the 550,000-member National Education Federation (Fédération de l'Éducation Nationale), the largest teachers union, said it would join the November 19 demonstrations "to protest threats to the right to strike." □

Should Federal Troops Be Used in Boston?

By Joseph Hansen

The problem of mobilizing an effective mass defense against the lynch-minded mobs that have resorted to violence in the streets of Boston to put a stop to busing of Black schoolchildren has touched off a debate in the American radical movement. Although other questions are involved, the debate has centered on the question, "Is it principled for revolutionary socialists to support a demand that the laws concerning desegregation be enforced against racist mobs even if this requires the use of federal troops?"¹

Representatives of the Socialist Workers party active on the scene have said, "Yes." Representatives of other currents have said, "No." Some have equivocated or evaded answering.

The question is more complex than might appear on the surface. In the absence of a Trotskyist approach, it is not easy to reach a correct position or even one that is self-consistent, as we shall see.

Contradictory Experience

First of all, let us consider the *experience* of the American working class. This goes back to at least 1877 when President Rutherford B. Hayes used federal troops as one of the means to break a widespread railroad strike.

President Grover Cleveland's use of federal troops in 1894 against a nationwide railroad strike and boycott of the Pullman Palace Car Company had profound consequences in the American labor movement. The extreme violence used in breaking the strike, the bloodshed and witch-hunting, made an indelible impression on the working class. The American Railway Union, which had risen with meteoric speed under the leadership of Eugene V. Debs, was completely crushed, and Debs had to serve a six-month sentence in McHenry County Jail.

One of the outcomes of this experience was quite positive. Debs was converted to socialism and great impetus was given to the rise of a mass socialist movement in the United States.

1. For background material see "Boston Crisis: 'Little Rock of 1974'" and "SWP: All Necessary Force to Stop Racists," which are included under "Documents" in this issue. Also see "Racists Terrorize Boston Black Community" in the October 21 issue of *Intercontinental Press*, p. 1352.

During World War II, the workers gained further experience along the same lines when Franklin Delano Roosevelt sought in 1943 to crush a strike of the coal miners by ordering government seizure of the mines. In a bitter, protracted struggle in which the fate of the union—and the whole American labor movement—was at stake, the "President and Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy" threatened to call out the troops.

The response of the miners became a saying among American workers: "You can't dig coal with bayonets."

Again, during the great upsurge of 1946, Truman toyed with the strategy of using troops to stem the strike wave. He met with the same kind of response from the workers as Roosevelt had received.

The experience gained by the American workers with respect to the use, or threat of use, of federal troops to break strikes is a precious asset in the class struggle. Revolutionary socialists are duty bound to keep this historic memory fresh and alive. It involves nothing less than a correct, if only rough, insight into the nature of the capitalist state and whose interests it fundamentally represents.

Unfortunately for those who find it difficult to get beyond ABC in learning the political alphabet, this does not end the matter. Experience happens to be contradictory in this case as in so many others.

Following the Civil War, federal troops were used for a number of years in the South to safeguard the civil rights of the Blacks. The troops were kept there, in fact, until President Hayes withdrew them as part of the "Compromise of 1877," the reactionary secret deal in which the Northern capitalists handed back rule of the Southern states to the Bourbons. Hayes could be said to have followed the slogan, "Withdraw the troops from the South; use them against the strikers in the North."

The favorable experience of the use of federal troops to uphold civil rights in the South in the aftermath of the Civil War constitutes part of the historic memory of the oppressed in the United States. Some important events in the past two decades have freshened that memory.

One was Eisenhower's decision in September 1957 to send federal troops into Little Rock, Arkansas, where they defended Black schoolchildren against the lynch-minded mobs and state troopers ("National Guard") that had been mobilized by the

reactionary Governor Orval Faubus. The use of federal troops in Little Rock gave great impetus to the Black liberation struggle.

Another was Johnson's deployment of federal troops in Selma, Alabama, in March 1965 to protect civil-rights demonstrators against the attack of state troopers, local police, and mobsters. The action represented a severe defeat for the segregationists throughout the country.

In both cases the federal government overrode the state government. Faubus in Arkansas and Wallace in Alabama used local troops in conjunction with Ku Klux Klanners and other rightist terrorists to repress the civil-rights movement in blood. Eisenhower sought to persuade Faubus to change course. When he failed, he ordered in federal troops. The same pattern was repeated in relation to Johnson and Wallace. In face of federal troops, guns on the ready, the state troops and local thugs backed down in both Little Rock and Selma.

The differences between the federal and state authorities were of course only tactical. In the interests of the American capitalist class as a whole, the federal government—because of the mounting pressure from the Black liberation movement—was following a policy of removing the worst features of the Jim Crow system. Faubus and Wallace represented the benighted sectors that would concede only if clearly compelled to. Minor as the differences were, they were nonetheless real and the outcome was the Little Rock and Selma victories.

It was such cases that the Blacks in Boston had in mind in asking the White House to send federal troops there. They wanted to compel observance of the laws on civil rights, and they understood very well that this would not be done by the city or state governments, which in reality favored the racists and were encouraging them to put the Blacks in "their place."

As the Reverend Rafe Taylor put it in voicing the feelings of the Black community, "We need at least a division of federal troops with tanks, ack-ack guns, machine guns, grenades, and bazookas and everything else—to put down the rock throwing and intimidation."²

This itemizing of materials needed in Boston indicates a mood that is worth

2. Quoted in the October 18 issue of *The Militant*.

thinking over. It is really a kind of requisition designed to fit the realities of the situation. That it was drawn up by someone who is hardly a professional revolutionist makes it all the more significant.

Obviously at the core of the appeal for federal troops is to be found a correct, if only rough, grasp of the fact that the civil rights of oppressed minorities in the United States cannot be assured without the application of force on a scale demanding an army—or its equivalent. Moreover, it is quite clear that the use of force to the degree necessary to assure observance of civil rights would meet with enormous enthusiasm in the Black community.

Anyone in the radical movement who cannot see the implications in the demand by Blacks to use federal troops does not deserve to be called a revolutionist.

We thus come to a tentative conclusion that may appear disconcerting. Something more than mere experience is required for a definitive answer to the question in dispute. Federal troops have been used by the government against the working class to break strikes. They have also been utilized to uphold the civil rights of oppressed minorities composed in the main of working people. While it is not difficult to distinguish between these contrasting cases, obviously we must probe more deeply to find the correct basis for determining a revolutionary-socialist position on the question.

As part of the process, let us consider the stands adopted by some of the groups active in the Boston events.

The Pro-Peking Stalinists

The Revolutionary Union, one of the American Maoist currents, summed up its position with admirable succinctness in a single headline in the October issue of *Revolution*: "People Must Unite To Smash Boston Busing Plan."

That also happened to be the slogan of the lynch-minded mobsters. The coincidence did not appear to disturb these purveyors of Mao Tsetung Thought. They affirmed in a leaflet, "We can't write off all white resistance to the busing plan as just racist."

Blacks likewise, according to *Revolution*, are opposed to busing their children to schools in other neighborhoods: "RU members in Boston have found that quite a few Black parents they have talked to are opposed to the busing and think it's a real hoax."

As *Revolution* sees it, "Without improvements in schools, without more community control of funds, resources and staff hiring and firing, without more bi-lingual programs, etc., the Boston busing plan simply comes down to more Black and white kids being in the same lousy schools

together rather than in different lousy schools."

What, then, is the source of the pressure for busing schoolchildren in Boston?

Here is the answer offered by *Revolution*: "The busing plan pits various neighborhoods and nationalities against one another and creates no real improvement at all in the schools. . . ."

"And the busing/anti-busing controversy is a perfect example of an issue which heightens the contradictions of people of different nationalities, with the goal on the part of the ruling class of getting people to fight each other for educational crumbs."

In a caption to an accompanying photograph of a struggle involving busing of schoolchildren on the West Coast several years ago, *Revolution* declares: "The ruling class has often used busing to sow disunity and discord between people of different nationalities, who need to unite to fight for better education and against national oppression and discrimination."

The Revolutionary Union thus stands on a simple slogan, "Black and white unite and fight." Every revolutionary socialist—and many others besides—can agree on that. Nonetheless, it is evident that there are booby traps to be avoided in carrying out the slogan. The "unity" promulgated by the Revolutionary Union demands that Blacks give way to the most poisonous prejudices of backward white workers.

Consequently, we are able to understand why the Revolutionary Union looks with horror at the demand of the Black community for federal troops: "The RU strongly opposed the idea that the imperialist U. S. government can be a force to fight fascism, as well as with the general characterization of those opposing busing in South Boston as 'fascist gangs.'"³

The position of the Revolutionary Union was so scandalous as to elicit some disapproving comments from the *Guardian*, which represents another current in the United States that lives by the dictum, "Let a hundred flowers bloom, let a hundred schools contend." Carl Davidson, writing in the October 30 issue of the New York weekly, was of the opinion that there are grounds for "suspicions as to whether or not RU has finally sunk both feet deeply into the swamp of white chauvinism. . . ."

On the more controversial issues in the struggle itself, the *Guardian* seeks to remain noncommittal.

"The Black community in Boston has

3. For more on the position of the Revolutionary Union see "Maoists on wrong side of barricades in Boston" by Jon Hillson in the October 25 issue of *The Militant*, and "Maoists join segregationists in Boston" by Dave Frankel in the November 8 issue of *The Militant*.

differing views on busing," Davidson affirmed. "Some support it, from either an integrationist stand or as a means to gain access to better school facilities. Others oppose it and stress the importance of community control and improvement of Black schools."

The *Guardian's* stand on the demand for federal troops followed the same pattern. In a special dispatch from Boston published in the October 16 issue, we read: "The Black community has demanded that the city stop the attacks against them and their children. Two points of view have emerged as to how it should be done. One, led by the NAACP, is to call for federal troops and the national guard to break up the racist resistance. The other, taken up by local community and left groups, is self-defense. Many support both measures."

The editors of the *Guardian* ought to be awarded an autographed copy of the Little Red Book. As was to be expected from serving the people in Maoist style, wisdom has rubbed off on them and they are now able to say of situations like the one in Boston, "Some like it hot; some like it cold; and some like it in the pot nine days old."

'Workers World'

The stand of another Maoist-tainted group should be noted in passing. The October 18 issue of *Workers World* takes the Revolutionary Union to task:

"The Revolutionary Union (RU), a purportedly 'Maoist' organization, has arrived at a thoroughly erroneous line on the situation in Boston. Its newspaper, which bears the title 'Revolution,' states in the October 1974 issue in front-page headlines, 'People must unite to smash Boston busing plan.'"

"Is RU so hopelessly blind that it can't see that the racist mobilizations in Boston are being organized *precisely around this same slogan?*"

"The RU's current delusions on this score don't merely stem from theoretical deficiency but from crass opportunism. They are capitulating to white racism." (Emphasis in original.)

The *Workers World's* criticism of the Revolutionary Union is more vigorously stated than that of the *Guardian*. In other respects, however, the *Workers World* lags behind the *Guardian* in reporting the Boston events. If you had to depend on the *Workers World* for information on the issues at stake, you would never know that the Black community had demanded that federal troops be used in Boston.

This is all the stranger in view of the fact that the *Workers World* appears to suffer from no inhibitions or hang-ups with regard to placing demands on the federal government. The main headline in the November 1 issue, for instance, reads:

"Gov't can stop layoffs—Demand Ford act now!" A headline on another article in the same issue reads: "Demand Ford enforce law for full employment!"

It can be argued that these headlines aim at betraying the working class by inspiring illusions in the possibility of solving the problem of unemployment without overturning capitalism and establishing socialism. I would not level that argument since it is obviously not the intent of the editors of *Workers World* to betray the working class. However, it appears in order to ask them, "If it is correct to demand that Ford enforce the law on providing full employment, why isn't it correct to demand that he enforce the law on civil rights? What is your reason for remaining silent on this question?"

The Pro-Moscow Stalinists

The Communist Party, U. S. A., sought to downplay the events in Boston without ignoring them. There were delicate matters to keep in mind—the detente, "peaceful coexistence" with American imperialism, the plans for a summit meeting between Ford and Brezhnev. On top of this, the confrontation in Boston came on the eve of the elections in which the CP line was to pander to the Democrats. Such things required a low profile and no rocking of the boat.

In Boston, it should be added, the CP supported liberal Democrats who bent to the white racists and did not want to press for enforcement of the busing plan.

This explains why the *Daily World* avoided handling the events in Boston in a dramatic way, why it did not campaign for energetic measures against the racist mobs, and why it offered no more than token support to the demands of the Black community for federal troops.

In an editorial in the October 9 issue, the *Daily World* called on people "all over the country" to demand "that the integration plan be carried out and that Mayor Kevin H. White and the federal government act to protect Black students and whites in participating in this democratic move."

The plan of action for the people all over the country was laid out with extraordinary brevity:

"They can start by sending telegrams to Mayor White, City Hall, Boston, and to Attorney General William Saxbe, at the Justice Department in Washington."

Evidently the editors of the *Daily World* are still living in the thirties when the cost of telegrams was within reason and the CP routinely called for showering them on government officials. A telegram today runs in the \$5 to \$10 range and there is no assurance whatever that it will be delivered.

When President Ford announced at a

news conference October 9 that he intended to do absolutely nothing about the situation in Boston and that he had "consistently opposed forced busing to achieve racial balance," the CP was put on the spot. Gus Hall and Henry Winston (the national chairman) issued a statement denouncing Ford. Here are the final paragraphs:

"The Federal government must act—send in Federal marshals and troops to end the racist terror. The Federal government must cut off all federal funds to Boston and to any other community that permits racism to govern its policies.

"Democracy must prevail in Boston!"

As can be seen, the touchy word "troops" was uttered by the leadership of the CP.

This does not seem, however, to have put much steam into the campaign for telegrams, judging from the quantity and quality of them reported in the *Daily World*. The October 15 issue told about a protest march staged by more than 1,000 Blacks in Boston. The account was featured on page 1, the final part being continued on page 11. In the final paragraphs, the account mentions that a "telegram addressed to President Ford for federal protection against racist violence in Boston was circulated among the demonstrators and was signed by many of them."

The text of this lone telegram, which was issued by Laura Ross, a CP candidate for Congress, was quoted as follows:

"There is no place in Boston for fascists and racists.

"President Gerald Ford, we demand of the Federal Government equal protection under the law for the safety of Black citizens and their white supporters who are being assaulted in the streets of Boston.

"The United States government that spends close to \$100 billion a year for military means against peoples outside our shores should be able to find the means to protect out people here at home."

Neither troops nor marshals are mentioned. It is left up to Ford's imagination to find the "means" to provide "equal protection."

The youth group of the CP, the Young Workers Liberation League, has felt compelled to speak more militantly. The Massachusetts-Rhode Island Section Committee drew up a report that was cited in the October 19 issue of the *Daily World*: "Federal troops are needed in Boston now, the report said. A massing of troops and their highly visible presence is necessary on the streets of the city to enforce Federal statutes against discrimination in the schools, and to impress the fact of that enforcement on racist elements in Boston."

The stance of the YWLL is obviously related to recruitment needs among radicalizing youth and to the stiff competition it feels from other groups, particularly the

Young Socialist Alliance.

The State Capitalists

The International Socialists, whose main tenet is that a "new form of class society" has appeared in the Soviet Union which they call "state capitalism" or "bureaucratic collectivism," took but passing interest in the events in Boston. In the September 17-30 issue of their twice-monthly newspaper *Workers' Power*, they denounced the attacks on Blacks. "Police protection," they noted, "was brutally poor."

"It is unlikely," they added, "that tear gas, nightsticks, cattle prods or other forms of force so often used against blacks will be used to break up these cowardly mobs." (Emphasis in original.)

They attacked the busing of schoolchildren:

"Black people aren't enthusiastic about the busing program themselves. Many fear placing their children in such a hostile environment.

"The program has, by and large, been pushed down the communities' throat by the city's liberal political structure, which supports busing to achieve 'equal' education.

"The result of these several conflicting forces is a vicious attack on black people, particularly children who cannot defend themselves." (Emphasis in original.)

In view of the lack of police protection, which *Workers' Power* appeared to stand for in this article, it might be thought that the International Socialists would support a call for federal troops.

It is true that the article included a sentence, "Black people must defend the buses themselves." But this did not stand in logical contradiction to a demand for federal troops, particularly in view of the emphatic closing statement:

"This racial assault must be met head on by an organized force and soundly defeated."

An editorial "Stop Lynch Mobs!" in the October 17-30 issue eliminated any ambiguities as to the position of the state capitalists. The key paragraphs are worth quoting in full:

"Black and white working people need to join together to force the wealthy few who control the political establishment to produce quality education and a decent living standard for all. But black people cannot wait for whites to join the fight today. Their children are being driven in terror from the schools.

"The leaders of the black community have demanded that the state provide protection by sending in more police or federal troops. While this demand is understandable, it is also a dangerous one. In part it reflects the weakness of the black community in this situation. The history of the civil rights movement in this country showed that police force in this society



Antiracist demonstration in Boston, October 13. A national march on Boston has been called for December 14 by a wide range of Black leaders, trade unionists, student organizations, and others.

is used to preserve the system, to keep black people in 'their place,' not to protect them from racist abuse.

"Federal troops, or police, must not be allowed into the black community. Troops must not be allowed to prevent the black community from organizing to defend itself.

"Black people are being attacked and beaten by gangs of whites on the streets. There has been little organization in the black community, and organized self-defense is a desperate need. The black community will win real gains only by relying on its own strength."

Let us agree right off that there is a "desperate need" for "organized self-defense" in the Black community in Boston. In organizing this self-defense on the scale required, what is wrong with demanding the use of federal troops? Why is *Workers' Power* silent about the cases of Little Rock and Selma which were counted as victories that helped inspire the Black movement nationally? Are the editors of *Workers' Power* incapable of recognizing working-class victories when they see them?

And let us look again at that strange sentence at the beginning of the quotation: "Black and white working people need to join together to force the wealthy few who control the political establishment to produce quality education and a decent living standard for all."

Does *Workers' Power* propose to force the wealthy few to use their government to grant socialism "for all," including the wealthy few? Or is *Workers' Power* merely proposing to demand of the government controlled by the wealthy few that it produce quality education and a decent standard of living for the working class and

oppressed minorities? But if it is completely principled to demand that a capitalist government provide quality education and a decent standard of living for the working class and oppressed minorities, why isn't it equally principled to demand that it enforce civil rights even if it requires the use of federal troops against racist mobsters?

Finally let us note the parallel between the inconsistency of the bureaucratic collectivist *Workers' Power* and the inconsistency of the Maoist-tainted *Workers World*. Both of them call on a capitalist government to end unemployment but are unable to call on it to use federal troops to uphold the civil rights of Blacks.

'The Torch'

Some of those holding the "state capitalist" position might not agree with the stand taken by the International Socialists. Let us consider the arguments of a purer variant, the Revolutionary Socialist League. An editorial, "BOSTON: DEFEND THE BLACK STUDENTS," which appeared in the November issue of their monthly newspaper *The Torch*, provides sufficient material.

As the editors see it, busing is a "total hoax." All it proposes to do is "spread white and black students a little more evenly through rotting schools. The slight and mainly illusory gains it offers to some blacks come at the expense of whites—who are bused *into* the schools the blacks are bused out of."

The busing plan is a reflection of bourgeois morality: "To the moralists of liberalism and their 'socialist' hangers-on it is 'only fair' that whites suffer worsening

conditions to make room for a token reform for blacks." For revolutionary socialists to support such a conception would be a "terrible crime, an acceptance of the limits of capitalism, a capitulation to its divisive strategy."

And who capitulates to this divisive, liberal-bourgeois strategy? The editors of *The Torch* have the list at hand:

"Unfortunately, it is precisely this betrayal of socialism which has been committed by the 'socialist' groups that support the busing program—the Socialist Workers Party, the Workers League, the Spartacist League, the International Socialists, etc."

As for the editors of *The Torch*, they stand forthrightly for the right of Blacks "today to attend school in South Boston and anywhere else." They stand just as forthrightly for "the right of whites to attend the schools of their choice—and not to be forced into worse schools as the price of token black advance. . . ." (Emphasis in original.)

Just as forthrightly, the editors of *The Torch* refuse to give any support whatsoever to the busing program. And, of course, they forthrightly oppose the "claims" of whites to privileges and to "racist exclusion of blacks."

The question of federal troops? It is taken up in the following context:

"We support the rights of blacks to attend school anywhere. We support this through the program of improved, expanded education for all, at the expense of the capitalists. To make these demands meaningful, they must be coupled with the program of full employment through the sliding scale of wages and hours, and the rebuilding of the cities at capitalist ex-

pense, central demands of the Transitional Program. We defend blacks and support their rights in today's specific situation while calling for *this* program to win these rights by revolutionary means.

"Finally, we call for *workers' defense guards* to defend black rights and the black community against racist violence. We call on black workers to form armed defense organizations and to demand in the trade unions the official formation of workers' defense guards. We counterpose this to the Socialist Workers Party's despicable call for federal troops.

"Even today the bourgeois police openly sympathize with the whites while they intervene at the last moment to save the black victim from the white mob. Tomorrow they will again turn their clubs and guns *openly* against the black masses—and against the entire working class, white and black.

"Socialists must call for the working class and the oppressed slaves of American capitalism to defend themselves through their own class power, not the bourgeois police and army. Socialists must call upon them to defend themselves through their own class program, not the bourgeois program. Anything else is a betrayal of socialism, the working class and all oppressed people." (Emphasis in original.)

Of the proposals voiced here, the only one that appears to have any immediate relevance to the current situation in Boston is the appeal to Black workers to form "armed defense organizations." But why is this *counterposed* to demanding that the White House enforce civil rights, using federal troops to put down the racist mobs? Isn't it possible that the demand for federal action can *facilitate* the formation of self-defense organizations?

Such a possibility, of course, is excluded by the Revolutionary Socialist League. As they see it, the capitalist state is a stinking corpse and they do not intend to sully themselves by engaging in twisting its arm. Besides it's dangerous—the arm might twist back.

The purity of the Revolutionary Socialist League is such that although they demand "improved, expanded education for all, at the expense of the capitalists," and, along with this, "full employment," and the "rebuilding of the cities at capitalist expense," they will not, it seems, place these demands on a capitalist government. They will demand them "at the expense of the capitalists" only from a socialist government after capitalism has been overturned.

The Spartacist League

The Spartacist League, headed by National Chairman James Robertson, a talented archivist, has sought to present a critical account of the developments in Boston in the pages of its twice-monthly

newspaper *Workers Vanguard*.

Against the Maoists and the state capitalists, *Workers Vanguard* has defended busing while recognizing that it has nothing in common with a socialist solution to the problems of racism and education. The September 27 issue, for instance, states:

"Several ostensibly socialist organizations have caved in to racist sentiment among white workers by opposing the busing of blacks into largely white districts. In contrast to these spineless cowards, the Spartacist League has called unequivocally for the smashing of the racist anti-busing campaign. We fully support racial integration of the schools and every other area of social life. We support busing. It is, of course, wholly inadequate in terms of real integration and providing quality education for oppressed racial minorities. Nevertheless, busing to achieve racial balance is an elementary, though somewhat artificial, democratic demand."

On the question of defense against the racists, the Spartacist League takes a commendable stand:

"Instead of relying on local or federal government for protection, black people and all working people must depend on their own organizations for defense," declares the October 11 issue of *Workers Vanguard*. "The Spartacist League advocates the formation of a bi-racial defense force, organized by black and community groups and the labor unions, to protect the buses and maintain order in the schools."

However, after this brilliant advance, the Spartacist League slides into its customary sectarian slot. It is absolutely opposed to demanding that federal troops be called into action against the white racists. The November 8 issue of *Workers Vanguard* contains a lengthy article denouncing the position taken by the Socialist Workers party on this question. The gist of the article is contained in the following paragraph:

"The SWP believes that the U. S. government is unwilling to send troops to Boston to enforce desegregation, so demanding that they come will presumably 'expose' the real nature of the government. It is quite true that they will not enforce racial integration, as we have pointed out. But the bourgeoisie may very well send in troops—to *prevent* any organized defense by blacks! By calling for troops, the SWP does not *expose* the class character of the government and its hired guns, but helps *conceal* the fact that these are the enemies of the exploited and oppressed." (Emphasis in original.)

If this is true, doesn't it follow that busing is intended to *prevent* a better solution, and that in supporting it, the Spartacist League fails to *expose* the class character of busing, and helps *conceal* the fact that

it is only a bourgeois sop?

If the Spartacist League answers, "Nonsense!" then what is wrong with demanding that this bourgeois sop be assured through the bourgeois sop of federal enforcement?

The inconsistency of the position of the Spartacist League is demonstrated by other items in the same issue of *Workers Vanguard*. In calling for a battle against unemployment, the editors demand "*nationalization of the auto industry without compensation*." The demand appears to be directed to Gerald Ford and not Henry Ford's grandson.

Robertson may claim that the inclusion of this demand was nothing more than an awkward editorial slipup and that from here on out he will see to it that *Workers Vanguard* hews closer to sectarian norms. All right, but what about the bold headline on page 11 (which we heartily applaud): "End U. S. Economic Blockade of Cuba!"

We would like to know a bit more about the timing. Is the demand directed at the Ford administration governing today in Washington, D. C.? Or does it simply state what the Spartacist League proposes to demand of America's coming socialist government?

If the intent is to help expose the Ford administration or to help wring a concession from it on the level of foreign policy, why is it not correct to proceed in the same way in domestic policy—concretely in the field of civil rights in Boston today?

The Workers League

Let us turn now to the chief rival of the Spartacist League in the field of ultraleft sectarianism in the United States, the Workers League, headed by National Secretary Fred Mazelis.⁴

The Workers League takes an apocalyptic view of the developments in Boston. As described in the twice-weekly *Bulletin*, the capitalist system is crashing economic-

4. Until recently, the Workers League was headed by Tim Wohlforth, James Robertson's sibling rival at one time for the affections of Gerry Healy of the British Socialist Labour League (now named the Workers Revolutionary Party). According to a recent report in *Workers Vanguard*, which seems rather pleased over the happening, Wohlforth has been deposed by Healy. The report has not been confirmed by Healy although there appears to be substance to it judging from the disappearance of Wohlforth's name from the pages of the *Bulletin*. Wohlforth was not mentioned so much as once in an article celebrating the tenth anniversary of the paper he founded. However, Healy may only have reduced Wohlforth to the status of a nonperson for the time being.

ally on a world scale. From which it follows that the capitalist class in the United States can no longer grant any concessions whatsoever to the working class. In fact, the capitalists are preparing to establish a military dictatorship.

Thus in Boston, "The government is consciously creating conditions for racial incidents in a desperate attempt to divide the working class. . . ." The government's purpose is to "pave the way for federal troops or the National Guard to occupy the entire city." (*Bulletin*, October 11.)

"The government and the army are using Boston as a testing ground for the use of troops and for military dictatorship against the entire working class." (*Bulletin*, October 18.)

From which it follows that anyone who calls for federal troops is practically acting as an agent for the Ford administration, and that is how the *Bulletin* views the Socialist Workers party.

"The SWP not only starts with but also seeks to maintain the racial divisions in the working class, and in that way to paralyze it in the face of the capitalists' plans for massive unemployment and inflation. . . ."

"With their call for federal troops, the SWP turns away from the tremendous movement and strength in the working class, and relies on the strength of the ruling class. They are unable and unprepared to fight in the trade unions and among the youth for a policy to defend the working class." (*Bulletin*, October 15.)

The *Bulletin* offers several novel arguments in behalf of this contention. One is the case of Northern Ireland:

"The recent history of the use of troops in Northern Ireland makes absolutely clear what the SWP is advocating—to pin the working class under the weight of troops who are prepared to carry out the repression necessary for capitalism's survival."

This distortion, which is quite characteristic of the school of Healyism, is deliberate. The editors of the *Bulletin* know very well that the Socialist Workers party stands firmly opposed to the deployment of British troops in Northern Ireland and has backed the movement calling for their immediate withdrawal.

On this question, a much better analogy would have been the stand taken by the Socialist Workers party in relation to the use of U. S. troops in Vietnam. In other words, why does the SWP back the demand to send federal troops to Boston against the racist mobs when in the case of the freedom fighters in Vietnam the SWP from the very beginning advanced the slogan, "Withdraw U. S. Troops Now," and succeeded in making it the main slogan of the antiwar movement in the United States?

The editors of the *Bulletin* probably

preferred not to use this analogy in view of their consistent record throughout that struggle of shouting, "Betrayal!"

But Ireland or Vietnam, what can one conclude from their point? Merely that in general an imperialist government uses its troops for imperialist purposes and that it must be opposed in this.

What about the rare cases when it de-



loys troops against racists as a concession to a powerful civil-rights movement?

The casuists of the *Bulletin* have anticipated the question: The appeal for federal troops in Little Rock was "totally wrong" then; and to make a similar appeal now is absolutely dangerous. They expand on this theme in the October 25 *Bulletin*:

"When the Little Rock struggle took place, the US economy was still in a period of relative prosperity and in the early 1960s, the postwar boom was just beginning to break up. . . ."

"Whatever concessions the government made then were only possible because the economic crisis had not yet broken out.

"In 1965, our movement said that the only way the black working class could fight the organized police terror was to arm itself, not to appeal to the government.

"But as wrong as it was in this period to call for troops, it is a million times more dangerous today, at a time of the collapse of the capitalist system internationally."

The fallacies in this answer are rather glaring. If a capitalist government is "able" to make concessions should they be accepted or rejected? If a capitalist government is "unable" to make concessions should they be demanded nonetheless? If a demand is "dangerous"—a nightmare commonly experienced by sectarians—is that any reason not to advance it?

Most glaring of all is the political blindness of the Workers League. It has never occurred to these self-proclaimed "Trotskyists" that America's rulers are capable of making concessions in the use of military force. Wall Street can make concessions not only in withdrawing troops, as in the case of Vietnam, but in protecting Black schoolchildren or in cooling racist mobsters, as in the cases of Little Rock and Selma.

The sectarians of the Workers League are unable to admit this possibility because of their incapacity to use the dialectical method. In their pigeonhole way of thinking, federal troops come under the category of "armed violence against the working class"; and they exclude any other possibility.

If facts prove reality to be richer than their concepts, too bad for the facts and the reality. For a number of years, holding it to be evidence of empiricism or pragmatism, they have ridiculed Lenin's observation: "But facts are stubborn things, as the English proverb says, and they have to be reckoned with, whether we like it or not."

The Why of Little Rock and Selma

Should it be so difficult to see that concessions were made by the federal government in the cases of Little Rock and Selma, and that these concessions were made because of the realities of the class struggle in the United States? What motivated Eisenhower, and later Johnson, was fear of the consequences of the extraparliamentary mass struggle powered by millions of dissatisfied Blacks and their allies in the labor movement and among radicalizing youth.

The White House sought to head off this struggle by granting modest concessions as part of a calculated effort to draw Black leaders into the Democratic and Republican parties and pull the civil-rights movement into electoral channels. The White House strategists also aimed at fostering illusions in the federal government so as to help disarm and demobilize the mass movement, diverting it from taking an independent course that would inevitably move in the direction of revolutionary socialism.

To be noted above all is the fact that the concessions were in reality won by the Black community as a by-product of a mass struggle. Also that the White House

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strategy succeeded to a considerable degree. The current weakness of the Black community in Boston in face of racist violence was one of the consequences. This was a big factor in Ford's decision not to send in federal troops there.

The Latest Bubble

The apocalyptic vision of troops taking over Boston as a test run for setting up a military dictatorship in the United States burst like a bubble when Ford said "No" to federal enforcement of the laws on civil rights. The editors of the *Bulletin* took it in stride. They simply picked up the pipe and blew a counter-bubble:

"If Ford does not yet send troops to Boston, it is because he knows that such action would meet powerful resistance from the working class." (*Bulletin*, October 29.)

The pundits of the Workers League could not foresee and forecast this? A bit more explanation is in order. Precisely what sector of the working class would offer "powerful resistance"? The racist-minded whites? That is not likely. In previous instances where troops have been used to defend Black schoolchildren, the racists have bowed to superior force.

Of course, the thesis of the Workers League is (or rather was) that the troops would be used against both Blacks and whites in a plot for a take-over by the Pentagon. Against that, according to the thesis, there would be a "powerful resistance" because this is a "time when the economic crisis is bringing masses of workers into struggle to defend their living standards and jobs." (The busing issue, therefore, was only part of a government conspiracy.)

A more realistic explanation as to why Ford refused to send in troops is that he was following Nixon's "Southern strategy" of bidding for racist votes. Naturally he won the plaudits of the Boston racists by keeping the troops out. The Workers League is too caught up in Healyite fantasies to think of that.

Fire a Petition at Them!

If it were true that Ford and the Joint Chiefs of Staff plotted to use Boston as a staging ground for the deployment of troops in establishing a military dictatorship in the United States, one would expect that those advancing this thesis would propose a very concrete program of action to meet the emergency. However, the prophets of the Workers League confined themselves to small revisions of what the less visionary sects proposed:

"The issue is not simply busing, or the racial divisions in the working class, but the fight to unify all workers in a common struggle for decent schools, replacement of the dilapidated and inadequate

housing, the creation of tens of thousands of job opportunities, the fight against layoffs and against rising prices. This means the fight for nationalization of industries, for a shorter work week, for billions to be spent on education, health care, and housing. This means the fight in the trade unions for the construction of a labor party to unite all sections of the working class." (*Bulletin*, October 15.)

Is there a city in the United States to which this does not apply—today, yesterday, tomorrow? And is there anything in this excellent general program that precludes placing relevant demands on the capitalist government as part of the process of mobilizing the workers to establish a government of their own?

In the next paragraph, the final one in this exposition of the stand of the Workers League, the *Bulletin* tries to get down to cases:

"While the revisionists are calling for the army to intervene in Boston, the Workers League is fighting for a program of action by the trade unions to defend all youth [the majority of whom are white in the U. S.—J. H.]. A petition drive has been initiated calling on the trade unions to defend the right of all youth to a decent education, to protect black youth from racist attacks [they get honorable mention!—J. H.], to demand that cops get out of the schools and to fight to mobilize all workers politically against the rotten conditions in Boston through the building of a labor party."

The circulation of a petition in Boston that avoids mentioning busing! Nothing less! That action fits the principles of the Workers League to perfection.

The Socialist Workers Party

The course of the Socialist Workers party in Boston is well documented in *The Militant*, which has provided by far the best coverage in the radical movement on the Black community's struggle against the racist gangs and their political backers. Two typical examples of the material to be found in *The Militant* have been included elsewhere in this issue of *Intercontinental Press*. We also recommend the excellent discussion by Peter Camejo "Busing: What Are the Issues? The Racist Offensive in Boston" in the December issue of the *International Socialist Review*.

Because of the mass of readily available material, I will confine myself here to some observations intended to bring out the contrast between the politics of the Socialist Workers party and that of the various groups considered above.

Unlike the Maoists of various stripes, the SWP had no difficulty in distinguishing between racist-minded white workers and victimized Blacks and in taking the side of the Blacks. The SWP was guided by the teachings of Lenin and Trotsky,

particularly on the national question.

Long experience in the class struggle in the United States was also helpful. Prejudiced white workers are participants in the class struggle despite their prejudices. It is fatal, however, to concede in the least to poisonous attitudes that undermine unity, weaken labor's forces, and pave the way for disastrous defeats at the hands of the corporations and their political agents. The prejudices of white workers can eventually be overcome but only by exercising the greatest firmness.

In Boston this has to be demonstrated concretely by meeting prejudiced white workers head on in the conflict over busing. Whatever the inadequacies of busing, the issue has been selected by the class enemy as the battleground and that is where everyone has to stand up and be counted.

The main features in the swiftly developing crisis in Boston were the lack of preparedness of the Black community and the interrelated lack of adequate leadership. The key problem, then, was to overcome these lacks. What course was required to accomplish this?

The sectarians had a ready answer. They preached general truths. Perfectly valid as these truths are for an entire period and for the country as a whole, the sectarians were unable to connect them to the concrete situation in Boston.

The SWP set to work to help those currents in the Black community that sought to mobilize mass forces. In the beginning only small and insufficient actions could be undertaken, but no other road offered any promise of leading to effective defense measures against the racists.

In the Black community itself, sentiment was strong for the use of federal troops. The fact that this sentiment was voiced by leaders enmeshed in the politics of the two-party system might appear to offer grounds for discounting it. The sentiment, in fact, did stem in part from illusions in the federal government. But it also reflected knowledge among the Black masses of how quickly white racists can calm down when faced with bayonets.

To have disregarded this sentiment would have meant refusal to take advantage of a big opening. Of course, if grasping the opportunity meant violating revolutionary-socialist principles, then there would have been no choice but to condemn the demand for federal troops, as the sectarians did.

For revolutionary socialists the essential question came to the following: Is it wrong per se to place demands on a capitalist government as part of the process of mobilizing the masses for revolutionary aims? If it is not wrong in general, are there exceptions to the rule? That is, are there certain demands that must as a matter of principle never be made? If

so, what are they? Is it, for example, principled to demand jobs for the unemployed but unprincipled to demand the enforcement of civil rights?

If the question is thought through to the end, it is clear that the same principle is involved in all of the cited cases. The principle is that demands must be placed on the capitalist government in such a way as to avoid creating illusions in that government and the capitalist system it represents. This is decisive.

Determination of the demand and how to pose it hinges on the concrete situation, on what additional demands are made, what escalation is given to the demands, and what explanations accompany them. The method outlined by Leon Trotsky in the Transitional Program makes it possible to proceed with full confidence in such questions not only in conformity with principles on the level of theory but in conformity with principles on the level of practice.

With such considerations in mind, the SWP found no difficulty in correctly applying revolutionary-socialist principles in the Boston situation. The SWP's central aim was to get mass action going. Through this a strong base could be formed for self-defense. Support for the demand of the Black community that federal troops be sent in to enforce civil rights came within this context. The objective, let it be repeated, was to facilitate organization of effective self-defense.

Thus the course of the SWP contrasted sharply with that of the sectarians who proclaim themselves to be "Trotskyists." At best these sectarians simply paraphrased slogans contained in the Transitional Program, itemizing them in their propaganda like a shopping list drawn up for a trip to the supermarket. They brought their ready-made schemas to Boston and sought to impose them on the situation.

That is why such striking similarities are to be found in their proposals, right down to the inconsistencies, errors, remoteness from the realities, and conviction that nothing could really be done until after the victory of the socialist revolution.

The SWP utilized the Transitional Program in the way Trotsky taught that it should be used—as a guide to action in concrete situations that necessarily differ in important ways from one another. That is why the SWP was so responsive to initiatives taken by the Black community itself, including the demand for federal troops. The initiatives of the Black community were viewed by the SWP as points of departure in fighting for more adequate measures.

* * *

The pro-Moscow Stalinists supported both the busing plan and the demand

March on Boston Set for December 14

Black and trade-union leaders have called for a massive demonstration in Boston December 14 to counter the racist mobilizations against school desegregation and busing. The "Boston Freedom March for Human Dignity" was announced at a news conference in Boston November 14 by William Owens, who was recently elected as the first Black state senator in Massachusetts.

Owens said, "Our voices must be heard and we appeal, therefore, to every individual, every organization, every city, and every state to join with us in a demonstration to let the School Committee and others similarly situated know that we will no longer tolerate the injustices that are being perpetrated on our children."

Owens said the action would declare: "NO to the institutionalized racism, NO to racist mob violence, NO to racism in education, NO to the Boston School Committee."

Among the hundreds of endorsers are William Lucey, president of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists; Clyde Bellecourt, executive director of the American Indian Movement; Kathy Kelley, president of the National Student Association; the Socialist Workers party; and the Young Socialist Alliance.

The protest is being organized by the ad hoc Emergency Committee for a National Mobilization Against Racism, 634 Massachusetts Ave., Room 207, Cambridge, Mass. Telephone: (617) 876-9295. In New York City: 1182 Broadway, Room 701, (212) 532-6980.

that it be enforced by federal troops. However, the position of the Communist party was not the same as that of the SWP. The differences were quite visible in the way the two organizations handled the issues and in the objectives they sought to accomplish.

The SWP aimed at the development of mass demonstrations and the organization of self-defense on a broad scale. The CP aimed at assisting the Democratic party and at holding the struggle within electoral and parliamentary channels.

Thus through its way of supporting the busing plan and the demand for federal troops—a way determined by the aim—the CP sought to foster illusions in the capitalist government and above all in the Democratic party. In supporting the same demands, the SWP did so in such a way as to expose the capitalist government and both the Republicans and Democrats.

Inasmuch as the crisis in Boston came in the last phase of the 1974 election campaign, it was not difficult to bring out the difference in principle between the two approaches. The SWP candidates in the area played a key role in explaining the broader issues and in fitting the struggle in Boston into the context of the class struggle on a national and international level.

* * *

The Boston events are of world importance. A telling sign of this is the concern displayed by the British bourgeoisie, who feared that a success for the Blacks

in Boston could lead to a heating up of the class struggle in Britain. The *London Times*, an authoritative outlet of considered capitalist opinion, declaring that "Busing is not for Boston," sided firmly with the rock-throwers and lynchers in an October 11 editorial.

"Few white parents can feel anything but anger and resentment," said the *Times*, "if their child . . . has to be bused half way across town to another, alien school, where the standards are in all probability much lower; or . . . if their local school is invaded by a crowd of children whose capacity for learning (through no fault of their own) is much less . . ."⁵

In opposition to such class-conscious declarations of solidarity with the Boston racists, proletarian revolutionists everywhere ought to show their solidarity with Boston's beleaguered Black community—and in appropriately demonstrative ways.

At the moment, the struggle in Boston has subsided. The lull, however, will in all likelihood prove to be but temporary. The racists, aware of what Boston can symbolize for the country as a whole, are organizing and preparing new assaults which they hope will definitively lock Black children in their ghetto schools.

The Black community has no choice but to take countermeasures. Any other course would only invite a pogrom of great ferocity. In preparing the defense, the SWP can be counted on to play an effective role. □

5. Quoted by Roy Wilkins in the November 9 issue of the *New York Post*.

Why Public Transport Is Falling Apart

By Jim McIlroy

[The following article appeared in the November 1 issue of *Direct Action*, a revolutionary-socialist fortnightly published in Sydney.]

The present crisis in public and private transport in Australia is one of the best illustrations of a social system which no longer works. Unemployment, inflation, pollution—all these are the chronic symptoms of a capitalist order which is ailing badly. But what can more effectively bring home to ordinary people that something is dangerously wrong with our society than the fact that it is more and more becoming a problem just to get from one place to another.

The development of transport networks was one of the great achievements of capitalism during its early, progressive phase. The spread of railways and sea transport was the basis for the growth of large-scale industry. In the twentieth century, the motor car has been the symbol of "democratic" capitalist affluence. The car and associated oil industries are at the very heart of the world capitalist economy today.

In Australia, the spread of railways under the control of the various colonial (now state) governments during the nineteenth century, was a precondition for the development of a national economy. The foundation for the present transport networks was essentially laid down many decades ago.

In the light of this background which is taken for granted today, the deterioration of transport systems with every year that passes is a disturbing reality.

Consider a few facts:

- 80% of Sydney's trains are more than forty-five years old (as estimated by the present federal minister for transport, Charlie Jones).

- In 1972-73 government buses in Sydney carried only 36% of the passengers that they carried in 1944-45.

- The Victorian state secretary of the Tramways and Motor Bus Employees Union, Sid Edwards, says that Melbourne's public transport is in desperate need of more than 150 new buses just to keep up the present totally inadequate services. He says that there are more than fifty ancient buses which were delivered in 1949 and have done more than 800,000 kilometers (500,000 miles) still in service.

- The estimated loss suffered by the New South Wales Public Transport Commission during 1974-75 will be over \$200 million, compared to \$9 million in 1969-70. The response of the NSW Liberal state government has been to cut down on services and push up the fares, with the result that people have been further discouraged from using public transport.

And so the crisis of public transport continues to deepen, aided by a long-term, conscious government policy of running down public systems to the benefit of privately owned transport—especially motor transport, which is backed by the powerful automobile and oil monopolies.

Yet the system of private transport is itself threatened with paralysis. In particular, the roads have become choked up with private cars and trucks so that no one is getting anywhere—fast. This increasingly impossible situation is reflected in a whole series of seemingly insoluble problems. For instance:

- The average amount of time spent going to and coming home from work in the big cities *increases* every year.

- The constant demand for more road space has resulted in a spate of so-called "freeway" construction. This means the eviction of residents, the wholesale demolition of houses, the destruction of parks and gardens, and the breaking up of neighborhoods. An estimated 100,000 Sydney residents would be displaced if the Department of Main Roads had its way, according to the Save the Public Transport Committee broadsheet, *The Commuter*.

- Parking is increasingly difficult and time-consuming as well as costly. City councils attempt to deter motorists by reducing parking spaces and making parking fines more and more punitive.

- Noise and air pollution from petrol fumes is becoming oppressive and dangerous for city dwellers. This is not to mention the hazards of the vehicles themselves—road accidents are now the third most frequent cause of death.

- The overall costs of car travel and ownership for working people are increasingly burdensome. Prices of cars go up and up, along with the profits of car manufacturers. So do petrol prices under the cover of the bogus "fuel crisis" which the oil monopolies have created to justify their ever-increasing superprofits.

For instance, in NSW the total cost of registration and third party insurance

for a Holden sedan will rise about 60% in 1974-75! NSW Premier Askin's new petrol tax will add about six cents to every gallon of petrol. And GM-H [General Motors-Holden] has just recently been granted an average rise in the price of its Holdens of over 3% to add to the 5.1% boost it was "allowed" by the Prices Justification Tribunal in August.

What all this means is that the problems of owning and driving a private car are mounting alarmingly. Add to this the threat posed by traffic and ever expanding roadways to the life of the cities, and we see a very real crisis developing. How long can this situation be allowed to continue? And what can be done about it?

A whole series of actions have occurred recently which show that a widespread and growing opposition to ruling-class transport policies and priorities is developing. These actions have occurred in response to a wide variety of issues and have been taken by a cross-section of people—including workers, residents, students, transport-users, and many others. A few examples will illustrate this point.

Antiexpressway Campaign

Over the period September 30 to October 2 a series of very militant demonstrations were held in Fig Street, Ultimo (an inner suburb of Sydney), in opposition to NSW Department of Main Roads attempts to demolish houses along the route of the projected North-Western expressway. *The Australian* reported that on September 30 police used smoke flares to disperse demonstrators who consisted mainly of students and members of the Inner City Residents Action Group.

More than 200 people were involved in the September 30 demonstration. Protesters climbed onto rooftops and sat in front of bulldozers in a successful attempt to prevent the destruction from going ahead. Police used brutal tactics in dragging people from rooftops and evicting them from the demolition area. Thirteen demonstrators were arrested.

The protests represent only the most dramatic incident in a continuing broad-based campaign of opposition to freeway construction in inner suburban Sydney.

The demolition work was being carried out by members of the Australian Workers Union, urged on by the right-wing NSW secretary of the AWU, Charlie Oliver, who declared that he was not going to be deterred by "rabble-rousers." The work was a direct attempt to break a "green ban" placed on the expressway demolition by the NSW Builders Laborers Federation.

Thus, the move by the NSW Liberal government to go ahead with the controversial project must be seen in the context of the Askin government's attempt in co-operation with the building employ-

ers to destroy the whole "green bans" and resident action movement, and to break up the militant Builders Laborers Federation. The involvement of the AWU can be seen as a further example of collusion between sections of the trade-union bureaucracy, governments, and employers to defeat the most militant wing of the union movement.

In the broader context of a mounting confrontation between organised labor and big business in the current economic crisis, such campaigns as this assume an added significance. The directly political character of the issues immediately pose broader questions about class rule in capitalist society. The proexpressway policies of the Askin regime, in particular, immediately expose it as a direct agent of the car manufacturers and the oil monopolies.

Pressure on, and within, the Labor party to respond to protests against freeway-inspired destruction of inner suburban areas has been immense. (After all, these areas represent Labor's biggest strongholds of support—with their concentrations of workers, pensioners, students, and migrants; in general, low-income earners, who would face extreme housing problems if forced to move.)

The minister for urban and regional development, Tom Uren, described the actions of police in the Ultimo confrontation, acting as they were under the orders of the NSW state government, as "brutal, bullying and utterly stupid." He went on: "It is the mentality of the Askin Government to use this brutality, as they have used it in the past in Vietnam demonstrations when we were in Opposition."

In a joint statement, Uren and the Labor government's minister for transport, Charlie Jones, said, in part: "Not only is the demolition work mindless, but the manner in which it was done is directly opposed to the principle of the Australian Government's urban roads policy." (More on the role of the Labor government later.)

The Ultimo conflict is only one of many in recent times between residents and, particularly, Liberal state governments, over expressway construction. With city traffic becoming ever more chaotic, only very radical changes can resolve the contradiction between the central place of the private car in capitalist industry and the increasing difficulty of using it.

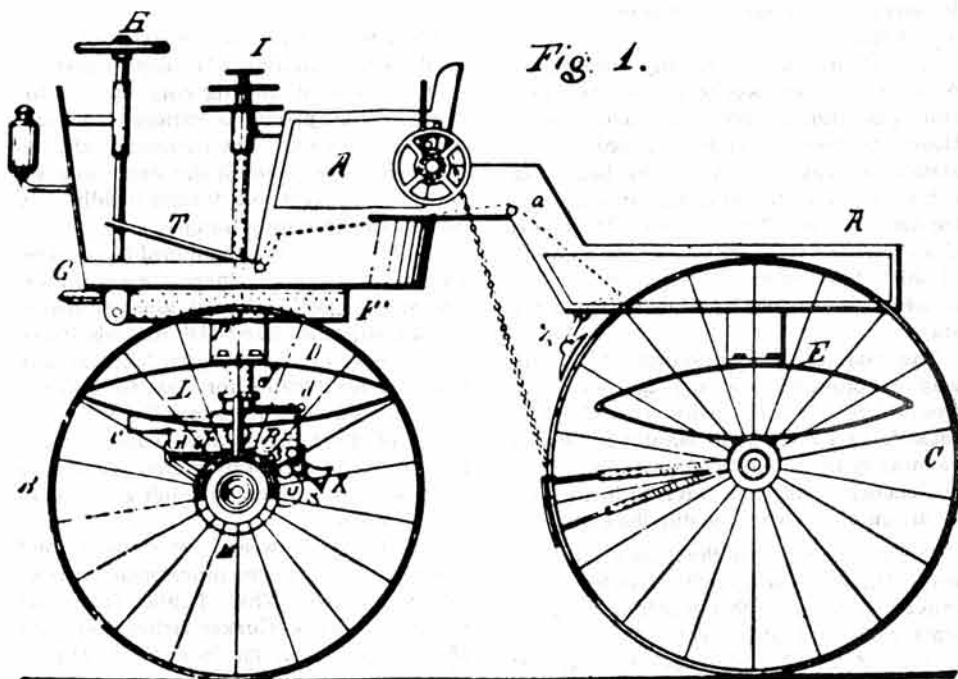
Residents Protest Trucks

The conflict between the transport needs of industry and the demands of residents for tolerable living conditions is further illustrated by the running fight between the residents of Balmain, an inner Sydney suburb, and shipping companies which sent giant container trucks through Balmain's narrow streets. The trucks

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block the streets, causing air and noise pollution and are a constant danger to passersby. (The campaign was brought to a head by the crushing to death of a woman in one incident.)

Residents have held large, angry protest meetings, and been attacked by police while attempting to stop traffic near the container terminal. The NSW transport minister has been forced to make noises of support. Residents have demanded effective alternative action or else have threatened to close off the area to all heavy traffic.

The only result so far has been the offer by the company to cut traffic by one-third. Suggested alternative rail or barge transport has been rejected as "uneconomical." A clear conflict of interests exists. And residents are refusing to accept the profitability argument. The failure of the government to act decisively, and the intransigence of the company involved, is bringing a wider understanding of the need to rely on independent action to defend living conditions which business interests are interfering with.

Truck Drivers Protest

Another example of opposition to existing transport conditions is provided by truck drivers, whose livelihoods depend on the national road system. In general, the condition of Australian roads is a

scandal, and given a society dependent on road transport, there must be roads adequate to handle the traffic.

This is particularly important in the country and for interstate highways. Long-distance truck drivers and other motorists face real dangers on Australian roads, which have been described by *The Australian* as mostly "little more than glorified cart-tracks."

This exemplifies the irrational nature of our capitalist society, which systematically favors private motor transport, yet is incapable of providing the public infrastructure on which motor traffic depends—a good road system.

For truck drivers it is a question of working conditions, indeed, of job safety. A number of them have announced plans to blockade the Hume highway, in protest at the atrocious condition of this "highway"—the main artery between Melbourne and Sydney. In face of police threats to stop the protest, the drivers have said they will wait until the authorities are off guard.

Once again, the contradiction between the demands of private industry for quick profits (which means heavy pressure on transport drivers as well as refusal to allocate resources for public road improvements) and social needs (for a good, safe highway system) is clearly exposed.

At the same time as residents have been mobilising against threats to their living

conditions posed by expressways and heavy industrial traffic, and truck drivers have protested dangerous road conditions, workers in public transport as well as users of public transport services are increasingly up in arms about cutbacks in services and associated threats to employment.

A confrontation is rapidly developing between railway workers and the NSW state government over the government's clear intention to ruthlessly reduce the state's railway system, to the benefit of private road transport companies. On September 11, the NSW Public Transport Commission announced the cancellation of thirty-four railway passenger services a week on sixteen lines throughout the state.

The commission announced that railway employees over the age of sixty would be "compulsorily retired," i.e., sacked, and that 4,000 employees would be initially involved. "Rationalisation" and the "energy crisis" were two fraudulent cover arguments used to justify the cutbacks.

The state council of the Australian Railway Union immediately rejected these moves, stating that they would destroy the state railway system. The state secretary of the ARU, J. Maddox, pointed out that there was already a shortage of staff in all branches of the railways, and that the traffic branch alone was short of 2,000 employees. Further retrenchments could only mean a significant downgrading of the railways as a whole. The only conclusion to be drawn is that the Askin government is intending to hand the bulk of the state's transport over to private "enterprise."

Railway unions have called for a campaign of industrial action to prevent the cutbacks. Already a number of strikes and rallies have been held.

On September 26, railway guards struck for an hour in the middle of the day, bringing all trains in the Sydney metropolitan area to a halt. Three thousand railway workers and other public transport employees rallied in Hyde Park, and then marched to State Parliament, in protest at the cutbacks.

This was one of several rallies against government policy, in addition to mass meetings of railway workers, who expressed militant opposition to retrenchments and reduction in services. Cutbacks in bus and ferry services, too, have led to protests by drivers, conductors, and passengers. On August 1, a demonstration of 1,000 in Hyde Park called for strong action to rebuild the public transport system. Instead, the Askin government is trying to destroy the system.

These actions by public transport workers constitute the beginning of a broad and powerful movement protesting the consequences of capitalist irrationality in modern-day transport, and calling for

radical changes in the direction of a truly efficient, comfortable, easily available, and environmentally sound public transport system.

Big Business

The demands for change grow stronger as the subordination of transport systems to the needs of the big corporations for ever greater profits is exposed to more and more people. The hypocrisy of governments in systematically neglecting social requirements and feather-bedding big business is becoming infamous.

As the previously mentioned broadsheet *Commuter* explains, there are enormous, undisclosed freight concessions granted to giant companies like BHP. And big transport firms such as Mayne Nickless hire whole freight trains for next to nothing. All other services are subordinated to the needs of these companies. These companies overload the trains without hindrance from the authorities, and job safety conditions suffer.

The tie-up between government and business is made even more open when an individual like NSW Public Transport Commissioner McCusker retires and soon after appears on the board of Mayne Nickless. And there are many more ex-senior officers from public transport authorities in the same type of position.

The Commuter explains elsewhere the mystery of the apparent unprofitability of public transport. In fact, the broadsheet points out, both trains and buses make a profit. But, to take the example of the railways, the profit earned actually is diverted to "bondholders"—that is, people who loaned capital to the railways decades ago for the construction of railway lines and trains.

The transport-using public is now forced to pay off interest on these loans made years ago. Worse still, the railways get further into debt by taking out more loans to pay off the old loans. So, the spiralling costs are passed on to the travelling public. Instead of subsidising the railways enough to pay off the capital debt owed to bondholders, the government uses public transport to guarantee profits to them.

Basically, public transport functions as a support and subsidy to private industry. This is what is being increasingly challenged.

Labor Government

A new element has been introduced to the overall situation with the coming to power of a Labor government in the national sphere. Labor has been committed from the start to overhauling the country's transport systems as part of its plans for national co-ordination of urban and regional development.

In the 1974-75 budget, the Whitlam gov-

ernment announced an overall increase of 160% in spending on urban and regional development—the largest increase of all sectors. Charlie Jones, minister for transport, explains in the NSW ALP [Australian Labor party] journal, *The Radical*, the government's plans for spending on transport in particular.

He says the government will be: "Providing some \$60 million (to date) to the States as part of a two-for-one grant to upgrade urban transport systems in the cities as part of a program which will involve the spending of \$500 million over five years.

"● Providing in the next three years \$400m for building and maintenance of national highways, major commercial roads and 'export roads' (roads to air and seaports). This expenditure is part of the Government's decision to make itself completely responsible for this area of road activity.

"● Providing \$700m in the form of grants to the States for roads in other categories."

This is big money. But what is it being used for?

In general, Labor is committed to rationalisation and modernisation of the transport system, in line with the technocratic views of its leadership. They are opposed to the most irrational aspects of the present setup, on the basic grounds that it is inefficient, and, most important of all, *unprofitable*, in the final instance.

Thus, as mentioned before, federal ministers opposed the NSW Liberal state government's expressway demolition at Ultimo, and threatened to cut off all federal funds until it was halted. As Jones put it:

"The Federal Government is committed to a policy of urban public transport while the NSW Government is still committed to expressway policies up to 25 years old."

In addressing a conference of road transport employers, Jones called for co-operation from the private transport sector in setting up a national "total transport" scheme. This involves using sea transport for long distance cargo shipment, rail for medium-haul, and road transport for the short-haul.

Jones said the private freight forwarding industry had shown the use of different types of transport was the most efficient.

He said: "These enterprises have switched from exclusively road transport operations to the point where they now co-ordinate with the railways and run inter-city express freight trains using their own modern inter-modal freight terminals at either end.

"Road transport is thus freed to operate in an area in which it has inherent advantages . . . short-haul feeder operations.

"This has meant a more economic door-to-door transport package."

A consequence of this concept is the offer by the federal government to take over all state railway systems, in order to slot public transport into Labor's plan to "rationalise and co-ordinate the nation's transport system to get the best value from the different systems of moving people and goods."

At all times, the Labor government has the basic motive of making transport, as an integrated system of public and private sectors, serve the needs of capitalist industry. It is a more realistic view in the long term than the destruction of public transport and the sole reliance on private motor transport, as Liberal regimes have seen it. Hence it is likely to receive the approval of the more farsighted sections of big capital, so long as the basic aim of profitability is maintained.

But the challenge to the system is rapidly outstripping its ability to satisfy the great majority of working people and other users of the transport network. Their demands are beginning to go beyond what capitalist-controlled transport can produce. The necessity for a truly socialised system of transport is now being increasingly posed.

Socialist Program

The sorts of demands which are now coming forward are a direct challenge to big business power and interests. A program which expresses the interests of the working people and other low-income transport-users would include these demands:

1. No sackings or cutbacks in public transport services. Massive hirings of new staff and the initiation of new wide-ranging construction work.

2. The establishment of *totally free*, rapid, comfortable, frequent, non-polluting, and easily accessible public transport services on the widest scale.

3. An end to all expressway construction in inner suburban areas. Provision of alternatives to the private car in city areas by establishing free, easily available public taxi and mini-bus services. All highways to be maintained at a safe, high standard.

4. All travel time to and from work to be considered part of the workday. Paid overtime to be compulsory for this period on all employers.

5. The nationalisation under workers control of all transport facilities and private transport companies.

This article has discussed the present crisis in public and private transport, the growing movement of protest against injustices in the area of transport, the role of big business, Liberal and Labor governments, as well as some demands for a socialist program. Important areas,

such as air transport and shipping have been omitted, as they require special consideration. The present discussion is only intended to outline some of the main features of the current situation and some of the major trends for the future.

The contradictions which exist in the organisation of any comprehensive public transport system under capitalism are enormous. The above demands are only a first step in the direction of satisfying society's needs. It will only be in a

planned, socialist society that we will be able to even begin to rationalise this essential service and to try to tackle such questions as safety, speed, comfort, and of course the pressing problem of pollution of the environment.

Only a socialist society would be free of the stranglehold of oil and car manufacturing monopolies and the inverted priorities of capitalist governments, and have as its primary concern the interests and needs of people. □

Saw Watergate on Television

High Political Score for Children in USA

By Steven Warshell

"Either the government must stop its increasing corruption, or the people will revolt and the system will die from its own institutions and the evil doing that they have done to the people."

Is this a quotation from Jefferson? Danton? San Martin? No, it is from a fifth-grade student in Richmond, Virginia.

According to a series of recent studies of eight- through eleven-year-olds in the United States, the statement is an accurate reflection of the views of children of that age. It is considered to be a direct result of their familiarity with the facts of the Watergate scandal, which they followed on television.

It was with a somewhat alarmed tone that Paul Duke summarized the results of a few of the surveys in the October 19 *Washington Post*:

"The principal problem faced by children is reconciling what they have been taught with facts. Numerous studies have shown that a child's first awareness of the political system is of the President. The model has universally been that of a man seen as virtually infallible, who protected the country against all evil."

While not quite "universal," this does indicate the model that was formerly held up to children in the United States. In 1969, two political scientists from Midwestern universities polled 12,000 children across the U. S. on their attitudes toward the chief executive. They reported that they were unable to find a *single one* who did not hold the president in the "highest esteem."

According to Duke, those days are gone forever:

"In contrast, an updated post-Watergate survey . . . revealed a startling reversal in attitudes. . . . The response was totally negative. The children regarded Mr. Nixon's conduct as disgraceful and by an overwhelming majority advocated his impeachment."

Another survey quoted by Duke disclosed that elementary- and junior-high-school pupils had paid close attention to news accounts of the Watergate events:

"A series of essays . . . revealed detailed knowledge of such things as tape gaps, illegal bugging, legal maneuvering and Mr. Nixon's taxes."

The end result: Politicians at all levels are seen as "more selfish, less intelligent, more dishonest and less likely to keep their promises."

"The real cost of Watergate," Duke quotes one pollster as saying, "is that children will grow up believing the system itself is corrupt as well as the people who run it."

Or, as one fifth-grader in Chesterfield, Virginia, put it, "It seems our whole government is a crook in some way or another." □

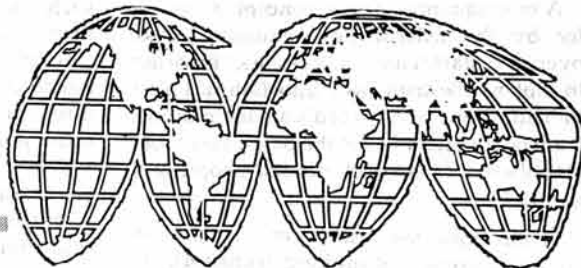
Anti-Semitic Remarks by General Were 'Ill-Advised,' Ford Says

General George S. Brown, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, vented a few anti-Semitic remarks October 10 at Duke University. In reply to a question about Washington's policy in the Arab East, Brown said that if another Arab oil embargo were imposed, the U. S. population might "get tough-minded enough to set down the Jewish influence in this country and break that lobby. It is so strong, you wouldn't believe, now."

He then went on, "They own, you know, the banks in this country, the newspapers. Just look at where the Jewish money is."

Brown later apologized for his comments (he couldn't deny them; they were on tape). The White House issued a statement November 13 saying that President Ford had found Brown's remarks "ill-advised."

AROUND THE WORLD



Eight Asian Countries Face Malaria Epidemics

Unleashed by shortages of insecticides and drugs, malaria is spreading in at least eight Asian countries. Officials in New Delhi predict that between three million and four million Indians will contract malaria this year, an alarming jump from an estimated two million cases in 1973 and about 100,000 cases ten years ago.

According to the World Health Organization's regional committee for Southeast Asia, malaria is reappearing "in epidemic form . . . particularly in Bangladesh, Burma, India, Indonesia, Maldives, Nepal, Sri Lanka and Thailand."

SAVAK Arrests Iranian Writer

The Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran reported October 21 that another prominent Iranian writer, Dr. Gholamhossein Sa'edi, editor of *Alefba* (Alphabet, a literary magazine published in Tehran) and a well-known author of more than twenty books, has been arrested by SAVAK, the shah's secret police organization. Dr. Sa'edi's arrest, which occurred in June, followed the imprisonment of five other Iranian writers and intellectuals, two of whom were tried in a secret military court.

According to the Iranian Writers Union, Dr. Sa'edi was arrested while on a research tour of the city of Semnan, about 100 miles east of Tehran. After his arrest, Dr. Sa'edi's home was searched for what SAVAK called "misleading books." For almost a month no one knew where he was being held, and it was only during the second month of his imprisonment that his family was given permission to visit him. He is still confined in Evin prison, under interrogation by SAVAK.

Lack of Worker Members Embarrasses Soviet CP Brass

The Central Committee of the Soviet Communist party has issued an internal circular instructing district party committees to recruit four or five workers for each intellectual or administrator. The party brass is apparently embarrassed at the continuing failure to attract workers to membership.

In October 1973, *Pravda* reported that 44.6% of the party's fifteen million mem-

bers were in the white-collar, administrative, or intellectual category; another 14.7% were collective farmers; and only 40.7% were said to be blue-collar workers. Campaigns to increase the proportion of industrial workers in the membership both before and after that survey have failed.

In fact, the actual number of worker members is probably overstated in official figures. Young people hoping to increase their opportunities to enter the party and advance in the bureaucracy are reported to have taken temporary jobs in industry or to have joined while serving in the armed forces, where induction into the party is easier.

Moreover, the leading officials in the party—including the top Kremlin bureaucrats—continue to list themselves as workers, although most of them haven't worked in industry for forty or fifty years, if ever.

Ethiopia Indicts 35 Former Officials

Former Ethiopian Premier Aklilou Abde Wold and thirty-four persons who served under him in the government are to stand trial by a military tribunal for official neglect in connection with the disastrous famine in Wallo Province, Ethiopian officials announced November 13. Former Premier Endalkachew Makonnen, who held office for four months this year, is among those to be tried.

Armenian Nationalists Jailed by Kremlin

Eleven young Armenians have been given sentences ranging from two to seven years under statutes banning "anti-Soviet activity" and participation in "anti-Soviet organizations," according to Soviet dissident Andrei Sakharov. They were sentenced in at least three separate trials this year for participating in the banned National Unity party of Armenia. According to Sakharov, the National Unity party favors the unification of Armenia with the Armenian regions of Turkey and the Soviet Republic of Azerbaijan.

Since August, the eleven were held in the cellar of the investigative jail of the Soviet secret police in Yerevan. The cells were infested with scorpions and were so cold that the prisoners had to wear over-

coats. According to a chronicle compiled on the case, the trials were completed in October.

The eleven imprisoned nationalists were reported to be Ashot Navarsadyan, Azat Arshakyan, Razmik Zograbyan, Razmik Markosyan, Anait Karapetyan, Kadzhik Saakyan, Levon Badelyan, Samvel Martirosyan, Norik Martirosyan, Gagik Arekelyan, and Kostan Karapetyan.

In addition, Sakharov reports that two other Armenians were tried and sent to labor camps last June for their nationalist activities, and last month nine more, some of them teachers, were also arrested.

Dissident Yugoslav Professors Face Renewed Attacks by Regime

Dissident Marxist professors and their student supporters at the University of Belgrade are under renewed attack from Yugoslav political authorities.

The Belgrade City Committee of the League of Yugoslav Communists (the Communist party) began in early October a campaign to regain control of the faculty of philosophy, which has given overwhelming support to eight professors on its staff that the Tito regime is trying to fire.

The Belgrade party committee is seeking to recall all twenty of the nonuniversity members of the faculty's governing council and to nominate in their place twenty new members. The committee has declared its intention to suspend the professorial staff and to dismiss the eight dissident professors.

The professors are Mihailo Markovic, Ljubomir Tadic, Svetozar Stojanovic, Zaga Pesic, Miladin Zivotic, Dragoljub Muncunovic, Nebojsa Popov, and Triva Indjic.

The party's moves appear to be in retaliation against the faculty's resistance to the attempts to remove the dissident professors and suppress their supporters.

Early this year the Yugoslav government adopted legislation on the political and ideological "fitness" of teaching personnel, stating that professors must agree with the program of the League of Yugoslav Communists.

Following its adoption, the eight professors were charged with engaging in "anti-self-management" and "anti-socialist" activities.

The faculty of philosophy responded by forming commissions of inquiry that unanimously declared the accused fit to hold their teaching posts. The governing council of the University of Belgrade approved these findings by a large majority.

Instead of acceding to this pressure, however, the regime proceeded on September 27 to sentence five philosophy students and one professor to ten months' imprisonment after they had drafted a motion of support to the persecuted professors.

Three more students have since then been summoned to appear before the court.

Chilean Constitution to Ban All Marxist Parties—Forever

The new Chilean constitution will permanently ban all Marxist parties, according to Enrique Ortuzar Escobar, a former minister of justice who is now head of the commission drafting the new constitution.

Also banned will be "those parties which, through ideology or the behavior of their members, are opposed to the democratic regime."

The ruling military dictatorship plans a national referendum in three or four years to adopt the new document. Meanwhile, it will have to prepare new voting lists to replace those it destroyed in August.

No Evidence Killing of Judge Was Revenge for Meins's Death

On November 9, Holger Meins, an alleged member of the Baader-Meinhof group, died in a West German prison after a hunger strike lasting nearly two months. On November 10, the president of West Berlin's Supreme Court was shot and killed by a group of six or seven men who carried out a raid on his home.

Although police speculated that the killing of the judge, Gunter von Drenkmann, might have been retaliation for Meins's death by members of the Baader-Meinhof group, they admitted they had "no concrete indications" or immediate evidence linking the killing with the group.

Confucius Strikes Back

The campaign against Confucius and Lin Piao that swept China during the first half of this year created "major weaknesses" in the economy, according to "Document 21," a secret report published July 1 by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist party. Excerpts from the document were made available by Taiwan's Central News Agency and were published November 14 in the Chinese-language *Hong Kong Times*. Diplomatic analysts in Hong Kong said the material appeared to be genuine.

The existence of the report became

known soon after it was issued. Before it was published factory managers had been one of the targets of the anti-Confucius campaign. Afterward, the campaign was toned down and Peking put stress on the need for party unity and higher production.

The document listed specific factories where the ideological campaign had disrupted production most severely. Some factory managers had been so intimidated by mass criticism that they didn't turn up for work. "The leading cadres who left their posts without permission must return to work within two weeks after this notice is reported to them," the document declared. "If they don't do so, their salary will be suspended. If after that they still don't return, they may be severely disciplined by the masses or dismissed."

The document also said that railway congestion and a drop in coal production caused by the campaign had "forced many enterprises to cease or reduce their production." As a result, the production targets for steel, iron, nonferrous metals, chemical fertilizers, cement, and armaments were all "not being fulfilled well."

Britain Triples Gasoline Tax

The British government announced November 12 that it was tripling the tax on petrol (gasoline) from 8 percent to 25 percent. The tax hike raises the price of a gallon from \$1.06 to \$1.20.

UN General Assembly Bars South Africa

A victory in the international campaign to isolate the racist South African regime was won in the United Nations November 12 when the General Assembly suspended South Africa from participation in the current session. The vote was 91 to 22.

The campaign had been led by African UN representatives who at first sought to have South Africa expelled. That effort was blocked by the vetoes of the United States, Britain, and France in the Security Council October 30.

The suspension means that the South African delegation will not be allowed to take its seats, speak, make proposals, or vote in the General Assembly scheduled to end December 17. It was the first action of its kind in the United Nations' twenty-nine-year history.

Like the Second Coming of Peron?

The body of Eva Peron was flown to Buenos Aires November 16 from Madrid to be housed in a giant shrine called the "Altar de la Patria." The political prob-



La Opinion

Eva Peron: Still "most powerful force in Argentina," according to some.

lems of the Peronist government, an AP report speculated, motivated the regime's decision to bring back the body at this time.

A spectacular public funeral, it might be hoped, would pump some new life into the Peronist legend, bringing Peron's widow Maria Estela, now serving as president of Argentina, into closer association with the legendary "Evita."

Peron's venerated wife Eva died of cancer in 1952. Her body was stolen from the headquarters of the Confederacion General del Trabajo (General Confederation of Labor), where it had been placed in state, by the supporters of the 1955 military coup that ousted Peron from power. It was moved from hiding place to hiding place until 1971, when it was returned to the general as one of the first moves in the military's rapprochement with the old populist leader.

"Evita" is a special hero of the Peronist left, some of whose leaders called for the repatriation of her body as an answer to the attacks of the right that began with the massacre at Ezeiza airport in June 1973. At that time, one left Peronist said that Evita's corpse would be "the most powerful force" in the country.

No Jobs for Soviet Dissident

Valentin Turchin, a Soviet physicist and mathematician who has publicly defended Andrei Sakharov and other dissidents, was dismissed from his research post in July and has been unable to find steady work since. He was branded "politically unreliable" by Soviet authorities, receiving what is known as a "wolf's ticket"—bad marks in "social behavior" on his work record. In effect, he is blacklisted from future research employment.

Huelgas de Agosto en Puertos Bálticos

Por Olaf Klarnat

[La siguiente es una traducción del artículo "Behind the August Strikes in the Baltic Ports", que aparece en este mismo número de *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

En los grandes puertos del Mar Báltico, escenario de las insurrecciones obreras de diciembre de 1970 [ver *Intercontinental Press* del 11 de enero de 1971, página 12] varios miles de estibadores y obreros de los astilleros iniciaron una huelga a fines de agosto, para protestar contra la aplicación de un nuevo sistema de salarios. Después de una semana en la que se produjeron interrupciones del trabajo y disminución del ritmo de producción, los dirigentes polacos suspendieron provisoriamente estas medidas que invalidaban los aumentos anteriores de salarios, al hacer más duras las normas de trabajo y ligar los salarios a la productividad.

A partir de 1971 el equipo de Gierek ha estado tratando de evitar un nuevo enfrentamiento abierto con la clase trabajadora, desarrollando una política económica que sacrificara las mejoras del nivel de vida en menor grado que anteriormente.

Sin poder eliminar ninguno de los factores esenciales que motivan la debilidad de su poder, el equipo Gierek vió la posibilidad de dar a la economía polaca un poco más de aire a través de introducir discretos cambios en el sistema de administración y planificación. Pero al mismo tiempo, la presión social persistía como lo demuestran, entre otras cosas, las huelgas de agosto. La verdadera naturaleza de las soluciones presentadas por el gobierno se puede ver más claramente si se comparan con las reivindicaciones que los obreros levantaron en diciembre de 1970, y que aún mantienen su vigencia.

Inmediatamente después de la revuelta obrera de 1970, el nuevo equipo de gobierno trató durante algún tiempo de apagar la combatividad del movimiento obrero, cuanto antes.

Se levantó la medida que proveía un aumento del 30 por ciento en los comensales básicos; se culpó de la crisis al individualismo autocrático de Gomulka; las sanciones contra los dirigentes de la huelga fueron inteligentemente postpuestas (el dirigente de uno de los comités de huelga fue delegado al congreso de 1972; más tarde fue despedido de su trabajo bajo el cargo de "ebriedad" y forzado al exilio.

La primera de las reivindicaciones fundamentales de los trabajadores polacos durante las huelgas de 1970 se refería al aumento de salarios y mejoras del nivel de vida.

De hecho, conjuntamente con un nuevo aumento de la producción industrial (que fue del 9.4 por ciento en 1971 y 1972 y del 12 por ciento en 1973), el salario real (y algunos servicios sociales) se incrementó en un 24 por ciento en tres años; es decir, en una proporción mayor que el 18 por ciento que estaba previsto para todo el plan quinquenal.

Pero el verdadero significado de este progreso está limitado por los bajos niveles salariales que prevalecieron a partir de 1970, y es aún más limitado si lo comparamos con otras cifras oficiales que fueron reveladas en el décimo cuarto plenario del Comité Central en 1974 (cifras que deben ser vistas con cierta sospecha): el aumento de la productividad en 1973 fue del 10.2 por ciento; el aumento de los salarios fue del mismo 5.7 por ciento de los años anteriores.

El congelamiento de los precios de los comestibles básicos, continuó año tras año a partir de las huelgas de Lodz en 1971 [ver *Intercontinental Press*, del 1 de marzo de 1971, página 175] y de Rybnik en 1972, pero fue sin embargo acompañada por un aumento parcial de precios puesto en práctica a través de sustituir un producto por otro bajo el pretexto de mejorar la calidad. Tampoco deben olvidarse los altos precios de los artefactos como ser las máquinas de lavar, las heladeras, radios, etc. Además, a pesar de que los precios oficiales aumentaron sólo un dos por

ciento anual, el consumo de comida, que todavía representa el 50 por ciento del presupuesto de una familia obrera media, fue satisfecho sólo gracias a los suministros provistos por el mercado privado a "precios libres." Este fue el resultado de la escasez en la cadena estatal de comercios, especialmente de carne, productos lácteos y fruta. La persistente escasez de vivienda es otro índice de la difícil situación material y cultural de la mayoría de la población.

Consciente de todos estos problemas, la burocracia polaca se apresuró a tratar de mejorar el nivel de vida, para proveer una válvula de escape de la que carecía el régimen durante los últimos días del período de Gomulka. La burocracia está tratando de ligar esa mejora del nivel de vida al crecimiento de la productividad del trabajo, que es necesario para expandir la economía. Por lo tanto, junto con la introducción de innovaciones técnicas, ha habido un aumento del trabajo a destajo.

El consumo individual se ve favorecido a expensas del consumo social, que se adapta menos fácilmente a los incentivos materiales directos. Esta política salarial de "emulación socialista", ha sido acompañada de propaganda que fomenta un ideal de consumo que orienta las aspiraciones de la gente hacia la adquisición de bienes durables como símbolo del "trabajo bien hecho." Se trata de introducir una nueva imagen por medio de la educación ideológica, para lograr que se acepten las desigualdades sociales resultantes y para justificar el establecimiento de una jerarquía de necesidades basada en los diferentes grados de especialización y contribuciones al crecimiento del ingreso nacional de los diversos estratos sociales. (En el lenguaje burocrático se llama "utilidad social del trabajo").

La burocracia cuenta con los efectos atomizantes que esas medidas tendrán en la clase trabajadora y en el desarrollo de los antagonismos entre los obreros y los demás estratos sociales.

Desde 1970 no ha habido cambios en el ridículo funcionamiento de los sindicatos y los "consejos obreros de autoadministración". Aunque el Comité de huelga de 1970 exigió que se crearan organismos obreros representativos e independientes, los sindicatos, con sus direcciones reorganizadas (compuestas por personalidades menos desacreditadas, más adaptadas al nuevo estilo Gierek), preservaron el control privilegiado sobre la productividad y la disciplina laboral. En cuanto a los "consejos obreros", si bien el nuevo código laboral se refiere con evasivas a sus "derechos concretos", su papel se ha reducido de hecho a vigilar la seguridad y sobriedad en las fábricas.

Por otro lado, para solidificar su base social, la burocracia busca atraer capas tecnocráticas y a la intelectualidad a través de pagarles consistentemente por una administración más racional del personal de supervisión y administradores de las fábricas y por mejoras en la producción económica. (La retribución se hace en forma de bonos, prioridad de viviendas, posibilidad de hacer viajes al extranjero, etc.).

Ansiosa de dividir y gobernar, la casta burocrática echa por la borda los principios igualitarios proclamados por los obreros de los astilleros, que en 1970 exigieron salarios para los obreros industriales iguales a los de los supervisores y personal del partido en el aparato estatal.

La burocracia ha interpretado esta exigencia de 1970 en su propia y peculiar forma. La euforia se hace obligatoria en la prensa, que informa (y exagera) sólo los aspectos positivos de los sucesos. Se esmera especialmente cuando se logra un éxito en la construcción de barcos o una victoria en el football, pero no dice nada sobre los movimientos huelguísticos. A lo sumo, denota desconcierto cuando los hechos se descubren. *Trybuna Ludu*, por ejemplo, informó después de las huelgas de agosto que las "dificultades pasajeras" en los puertos eran resultado del mal tiempo! La eliminación de la censura centralizada sólo ha servido para condenar a los periodistas y editores a una más efectiva autocensura.

El único cambio notable que se ha producido desde que Gierek entró en funciones ha sido que los huelguistas ya no son catalogados como "delinquentes", aunque se dice que están afec-

tados de "ausentismo", "falta de disciplina en el trabajo" y "ebriedad". Las noticias veraces y una auténtica libertad de expresión están prohibidas. No se tolerará la propaganda hostil bajo el disfraz de la libre circulación de ideas, afirmó Gierek en el plenario del Comité Central de la Juventud llevado a cabo en 1973. Los escritores, un sector público menos sensible a los encantos del realismo burocrático, están actualmente pagando el precio.

En 1970, el Comité de Huelga de los astilleros denunció la sangrienta intervención del ejército y la milicia, y exigió el derecho de los trabajadores polacos a luchar por sus reivindicaciones. La burocracia, no obstante, contrapuso su concepción de "disciplina socialista del trabajo" al derecho de huelga, que está reconocido por la constitución.

La última de las medidas de disuasión (la ley de junio de 1973) consiste en la supresión de los bonos (o incentivos), esto es, una significativa reducción de los salarios, en casos de participación en "interrupciones de trabajo no justificadas."

A partir de que atacan directamente el poder central de la burocracia, las huelgas obreras nunca han tenido un carácter puramente "económico." Las huelgas de los astilleros de agosto de 1974, donde el salario de los traba-

jadores es más alto que el término medio nacional polaco, atestiguan el alto nivel alcanzado en el grado de combatividad.

La oposición a la nueva política salarial destinada a incitar a los obreros a aumentar la productividad, que se ha aplicado sin ninguna reacción de los sindicatos o los "consejos obreros", es un índice del escepticismo de la clase trabajadora ante las ambigüedades y el manifiesto pragmatismo del equipo Gierek. Estas huelgas se dieron poco después de los movimientos de los obreros ferroviarios de Silesia y la juventud estudiantil (lanzados después de que la burocracia recuperó su control sobre las organizaciones juveniles) y se produjeron en una coyuntura durante la cual el nivel de vida estaba aumentando y la economía se estaba desarrollando. Las concesiones económicas que le otorgó la burocracia a los estudiantes (aumentos significativos de las becas) y a una parte de la intelectualidad, demuestran su temor de que produjera una fusión del descontento de los distintos estratos sociales.

Esa fusión, de producirse, a partir de las huelgas aisladas de la juventud y la intelectualidad en 1968, y de la clase obrera durante los últimos cuatro años, podría aumentar la extensión de la oposición antiburocrática diez veces más. □

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Situación en las Prisiones Franquistas

[La siguiente es una reproducción de la declaración emitida por los prisioneros políticos en España que son miembros de ETA,¹ PCE,² LCR-ETA(VI),³ FAC,⁴ y algunos independientes.

[Esta declaración fue publicada en *Inprecor*, órgano quincenal del Secretariado Unificado de la Cuarta Internacional, el 31 de octubre de 1974.]

* * *

La dictadura, durante su existencia, no ha cesado de demostrar su sino tiránico y represivo. Enfrentada a las clases trabajadoras, bachilleres y a universitarios (últimamente con la ley de selectividad, en un intento de rentabilización capitalista de la enseñanza) a médicos y profesores, a sectores campesinos y populares y a las nacionalidades del Estado Español oprimidas por el centralismo, no ha encontrado otra repuesta que la represión: las cárceles, los asesinatos, los tribunales militares, la guardia civil y la brigada político-social. Un régimen explotador, carente de libertades políticas, dominado por una oligarquía reaccionaria que ha implantado el terror sistemático para mantenerse en el poder.

Dentro de este contexto represivo, en estos últimos años, la dictadura franquista ha abierto una nueva sala en el tribunal de Orden Público, para aumentar la persecución de los "delitos" político-sociales, se ha hecho cotidiana la celebración de Consejos de Guerra con condenas que oscilan entre los 20 y 40 años, ha inaugurado dos nuevas cárceles para presos políticos (Zaragoza y Pontevedra) ha asesinado a obreros en manifestaciones (úl-

timamente en Carmona por pedir agua), revolucionarios vascos e, inclusive, "legalmente" a Salvador Puig Antich. La represión se ha manifestado por otra parte, con despidos de trabajadores en fábricas y tajos, de profesores y estudiantes en universidades e institutos, inhabilitaciones, expedientes. . . . En especial, debemos mencionarla represión que se abate sobre Euzkadi, tomada militarmente (incluidos doce barcos de guerra), con cientos de detenciones torturas y procesamientos, controles y registros policíacos, y donde la guardia civil parece haber levantado la veda para la caza del hombre.

El carácter represivo de la dictadura se extiende también a las cárceles, creando para los presos políticos un régimen de vida totalmente primitivo. Toda la oleada de combates registrados desde el verano pasado en las prisiones (huelgas de hambre, plantas, motines, Zamora . . .) ha sido la lucha de los presos políticos contra el régimen inquisitorial implantado por la DGP (Dirección General de Prisiones). Los últimos protagonizados por los compañeros de Zaragoza, declarados en huelga de hambre, por los presos políticos de Martutene (San Sebastián) ante un traslado nocturno sin ninguna garantía de seguridad de a dónde les llevaban y para qué, por los presos políticos de la cárcel de Basauri ante la libertad dada a sus compañeros para entregarlos a la policía que, tras cinco días de tortura en comisaría, los trasladó nuevamente a la cárcel, son ejemplo de ello.

A continuación, pasamos a hacer una breve exposición de las circunstancias represivas en las que se desarrolla la vida de los presos políticos:

● Un punto fundamental es la dispersión de los presos políticos en diferentes penales de la península. Existen independientemente de las cárceles provinciales de prevención, doce prisiones en las que están repartidos los presos políticos. En Cáceres, Cartagena y Córdoba se encuentran algunos del Proceso de Burgos, aislados del resto de sus compañeros y en condiciones especialmente duras. Cartagena es una cárcel para "irrecuperables" y Córdoba para "delitos de

sangre." Los demás presos políticos están distribuidos en otras nueve cárceles (Soria, Segovia, Jaén, Lérida, Palencia, Zaragoza, Pontevedra), reservando la cárcel de Zamora para clérigos y la de Alcalá de Henares para las compañeras políticas detenidas. La única finalidad de esta división es evitar las aglomeraciones para impedir respuestas generalizadas a la injusticias que se dan en las cárceles.

● Otro aspecto muy importante es la censura y la intervención de las comunicaciones. Existe censura sobre periódicos, revistas y libros de libre circulación en el país. La prensa diaria sufre, en diversas cárceles, numerosos recortes, o bien es retirada totalmente. Existe, además, un "índice inquisitorial" de publicaciones prohibidas. Están entre otras, las revistas *Cuadernos para el Diálogo*, *Triunfo*, *Mundo Social*. . . .

● Las comunicaciones tanto orales como escritas, se restringen a los familiares de primer grado. Estas comunicaciones son intervenidas por funcionarios, resultando insopportables. Algunos directores de cárcel, al pedirles un alivio de estas condiciones no tienen reparo en confesar que al condenarnos a nosotros se condena también, "lógicamente", a nuestras mujeres y a nuestros hijos, a nuestros padres y amigos. Está rigurosamente prohibido el uso de las lenguas catalana, gallega y vasca. En la junta de dirección de las cárceles y en el equipo censor está adscrito un sacerdote por lo que a las razones políticas de la censura se suma el integrista religioso de algunos capellanes.

● En cuanto al capítulo de condiciones sanitarias, higiene y alimentación diremos que sigue las características generales. La sanidad se reduce a una inyección antitífica y antivariólica para evitar epidemias a la entrada de los centros penitenciarios. La asistencia médica es deficiente: llevada por un médico en cada cárcel que, en ocasiones, debe atender en una hora decenas de pacientes. Casi ninguna prisión tiene dentista y oculista, haciéndose especialmente graves los casos que requieren dicha atención. El hospital general penitenciario, único que puede acoger a los detenidos, resulta pequeño, con escasez de camas, baja asistencia posoperatoria y condicionada además a la situación pecuniaria de los enfermos.

1. Euzkadi ta Azkatasuna.

2. Partido Comunista Español.

3. Liga Comunista Revolucionaria-ETA(VI), una organización simpatizante de la Cuarta Internacional en España.

4. Forces d'Alibrement de Catalunya— Fuerzas de Liberación de Cataluña.

La medicación, en muchos casos, debe ser abonada por los presos. El presupuesto es de 35 pesetas diarias por recluso que, extraídos los gastos generales de luz, limpieza . . . y depreciado por la inflación, da como resultado una comida muy escasa, deficiente en proteínas y vitaminas, sin verduras ni frutas, a base de hidratos y féculas. Esto origina la aparición de frecuentes enfermedades a medio plazo.

● El sistema de clasificación de los detenidos por grado de peligrosidad, la redención de penas por el trabajo y la libertad condicional son aplicados como medidas de coacción o represión. La redención de la pena supone complementar tres días de condena por dos de trabajo, es decir, una condena de tres años se podría cumplir en dos de trabajo. La libertad condicional supone satisfacer la última cuarta parte de la condena supletoria por vía administrativa. Todo este tipo de beneficios para la disminución de la pena están condicionados al "buen comportamiento" del preso dentro de la cárcel y, el último además, a que "ofrezca garantías de hacer vida honrada en libertad". Como el preso político ni se mantendrá expectante ante las injusticias de la cárcel ni dejará de luchar contra la dictadura, si saliese a la calle, se vería privado de estas medidas que vienen a aligerar un tanto las monstruosas condenas.

La vida en la cárcel se da en circunstancias particularmente angustiosas. Las celdas están mal acondicionadas, sufriendo calores en verano y fríos de bajo cero en invierno, tienen el retrete incluido, lo que produce malos olores, acentuados cuando existen, y se da con frecuencia, restricciones de agua, los patios de tamaño reducido, deben servir para la expansión de medio centenar de presos políticos. El derecho a la intimidad personal y familiar está en absoluto violado y fiscalizado con censuras, registros e intervenciones. Los castigos en celdas especiales son frecuentes y por hechos nimios. Esta situación se hace más grave porque en el afán de reprimir, las direcciones de las cárceles transgreden el propio Reglamento creando unas condiciones de castigo inhumanas: la mayoría de las veces se prohíbe salir de la celda, se retira el colchón y la cama, no se permite fumar ni leer . . .

● Los penales tienen además ta-

lleres penitenciarios, en los que se supone rehabilitan a las personas por el trabajo y contribuyen a reducir la condena por el beneficio de redención ya citado. En realidad los talleres se convierten en auténticas fábricas de explotación de trabajo obligatorio, donde los salarios no llegan ni al mínimo y sometidos a una disciplina draconiana, cualquier falta, o mero error, se sanciona con celdas de castigo. El trabajo se hace en una ausencia total de medidas de seguridad, siendo frecuentes los accidentes y cuyo ejemplo más grave fue el incendio de un taller en la cárcel de Alcalá que originó la muerte de doce personas.

Contra esta situación, dirigimos nuestros esfuerzos, contra la dispersión, la censura, la discriminación del uso de las lenguas vernáculas, las celdas de castigo, los malos tratos . . . en una palabra, contra la represión en las cárceles.

En esta lucha pedimos solidaridad activa, que todos los sectores interesados en las libertades democráticas y en el socialismo, en el desarrollo auténtico de Euzkadi, Cataluña y Galicia, contribuyan con su combate solidario a detener las acometidas del régimen franquista en las cárceles. Combatamos contra la represión allí

donde se manifieste. Ni una provocación (juicios, despidos, asesinatos, situación punitiva de las cárceles) de la dictadura sin una respuesta de masas para frenarla.

Por último, tanto las características represivas generales, como las que padecemos en las cárceles, no hacen sino demostrar la debilidad de un régimen dictatorial, sin ninguna base social, que ha transformado el país en un campo de concentración, en el que toda reivindicación o idea de progreso es perseguida y abortada. Con todo, los momentos que atraviesa el régimen son muy difíciles. No sólo se enfrenta a un aumento espectacular de la lucha de clases, sino ve agonizar a Franco, dictador durante 35 años y prepara con premura la perpetuación del status establecido en la monarquía juancarlista. Inútilmente pretende mantener un sistema basado en la ausencia de libertades, sojuzgamiento de las nacionalidades, en la explotación capitalista, en las cárceles y en exilio, mandado todo ello por un rey en lugar de Franco. Hoy, más que nunca, se hace necesario redoblar los esfuerzos por la consecución de la amnistía, por la libertad de los presos políticos y la vuelta de los exiliados, por terminar, de una vez para siempre con la dictadura. □

Asia Tiene el Récord de Presos Políticos

El 5 de septiembre se reunió en Vejen, Dinamarca, el Consejo de la Organización Internacional de Derechos Humanos. Esta organización agrupa a participantes de cincuenta y siete países.

En esa reunión destacó la presencia de Eric Baker, vicepresidente de Amnistía Internacional, la organización privada, con sede en Londres, que denuncia la represión contra los disidentes políticos. Baker dijo que "la situación en Chile y Portugal subraya la necesidad de que continuemos preocupándonos por la suerte de los presos políticos", según una noticia aparecida en el periódico mexicano *Excélsior* el 6 de septiembre.

El informe seguía diciendo que "Baker pidió a las Naciones Unidas que designe un alto comisionado 'investido de amplios poderes', para que pueda hacer investigaciones en los países donde se ha denunciado la violación sistemática de los derechos del

hombre."

El vicepresidente de Amnistía Internacional afirmó asimismo, que su organización se ocupa en estos momentos de la suerte que corren 3,640 presos políticos en "todo el mundo." Sin embargo, aclaró, "hay cientos de miles de reos políticos cuya suerte ignoramos."

Baker informó que el continente donde hay más personas encarceladas por razones políticas es Asia, destacando especialmente Vietnam del Sur, Indonesia y Bangladesh.

Excélsior informaba también que "El Consejo anunció hoy que había invitado a su sesión inaugural al representante de un grupo de disidentes soviéticos, pero el ciudadano ruso, quien no fue identificado, no pudo viajar aquí porque su gobierno le negó el pasaporte." Este grupo de disidentes soviéticos fue identificado con el nombre de "Grupo 73." □

Obreros Españoles del Automotor Salen a Huelga en Varias Plantas

Por Judy White

[La siguiente es una traducción del artículo "Spanish Auto Workers Press Demands", publicado en *Intercontinental Press* el 28 de octubre].

* * *

"Ahorren más, consuman menos y hagan un esfuerzo personal para mantener el nivel de los salarios y los precios."

Mientras el Ministro de Comercio español Nemesio Fernández Cuesta decía esto el 5 de octubre, en la ceremonia de inauguración de una exposición de comercio en Madrid, se informaba que 3,000 trabajadores estaban en huelga.

Nuevos convenios colectivos de trabajo serán renegociados en toda España en las próximas semanas. Teniendo en cuenta el congelamiento salarial que existe desde enero, y una inflación que se espera que llegue al 20 por ciento para fin de año, muchas de las demandas se centran en puntos económicos.

Los trabajadores de la industria automotriz, punta de lanza en la huelga actual, exigen un aumento del salario mínimo y que se paguen las horas extras.

También se han extendido las demandas por mejores condiciones de trabajo y por la democracia sindical.

El semanario español *Mundo* informó sobre la mayor de esas huelgas en su número del 12 de octubre:

Más de 13,000 trabajadores de Fasa-Renault en Valladolid hicieron asambleas en septiembre, en las que exigieron una reducción de la semana de trabajo a 44 horas, con las tardes del sábado libres, manifestaron su disconformidad con la falta de información sobre las negociaciones que se estaban llevando a cabo, y presionaron para que se reemplazara a los representantes oficiales del sindicato por comités de negociación elegidos en asambleas de planta.

Una "interpretación" de los códigos de trabajo por el gobierno federal, el 24 de septiembre, provocó la ola de

huelgas.

El decreto del gobierno hizo virtualmente imposible para los trabajadores de la Renault ganar la semana de 44 horas, y entonces votaron comenzar la huelga el 27 de septiembre. La empresa respondió cerrando la fábrica.

Alrededor de 5,000 obreros que trataron de realizar una asamblea cerca de la planta Renault fueron atacados por policías armados el 1 de octubre. Impedidos de continuar la asamblea, los trabajadores se dirigieron al centro de la ciudad. La policía cargó sobre los manifestantes, hiriendo gravemente a varios. Un trabajador murió la semana siguiente. Ocho fueron arrestados.

El mismo día, 145 trabajadores fueron notificados de su despido. Otros se enteraron de que había acciones legales pendientes contra ellos.

El 3 de octubre, día del funeral del sindicalista asesinado, el número de trabajadores arrestados había llegado a veinte. Sin embargo, 2,000 trabajadores se reunieron para marchar al cementerio de la ciudad. La policía armada cargó contra la multitud. Más tarde disolvieron otra reunión donde los trabajadores de los hospitales estaban planificando una campaña para ampliar el apoyo a los trabajadores de la industria del automóvil.

La huelga se extendió a Michelin, Nicas y otras compañías de Valladolid. En cada caso los obreros expresaron su solidaridad con los trabajadores de la Renault y levantaron sus propias demandas. Una huelga general parecía posible.

No obstante, el 9 de octubre, "la fecha en la que los jefes de Fasa-Renault habían anunciado la reapertura de sus fábricas, la situación laboral que conmovió a la ciudad había vuelto a la normalidad", informó *Mundo* del 19 de octubre. Los patronos no aceptaron reintegrar a los trabajadores despedidos, reducir la semana de trabajo ni discutir el pago de las horas extras.

A pesar de que la huelga había con-

tado con amplia simpatía, de acuerdo al corresponsal de *Mundo* F. Valiño, la feroz represión gubernamental y la falta de dirección habrían llevado a su fracaso.

En Barcelona, los obreros de la industria automotriz respondieron rápidamente al ataque del gobierno. Cerca de cuarenta dirigentes obreros se reunieron para discutir las negociaciones en SEAT (Sociedad Española de Automóviles de Turismo), la planta industrial más grande de España.

Quando ellos fueron arrestados el 5 de octubre, entre 2,000 y 4,000 trabajadores hicieron una manifestación de protesta.

SEAT había participado en las negociaciones laborales, y la empresa se había enfrentado con demandas económicas que consideraba inaceptables, según informaba Henry Giniger en el *New York Times* de 16 de octubre.

Las demandas tenían dos orígenes: la CNS (Central Nacional Sindicalista) y las comisiones obreras clandestinas. Giniger informó que la propuesta de las comisiones obreras, además de hacer demandas económicas de largo alcance, también planteaba "cambiar la estructura laboral tanto en la planta como en el país."

Las demandas hechas por la comisión obrera de SEAT eran casi idénticas a las que se levantaron en Fasa-Renault.

Una explicación del problema de dirección que enfrentan los trabajadores de la industria automotriz, se da en un volante impreso en septiembre por la Liga Comunista (una organización simpatizante de la Cuarta Internacional en España).

El volante aclama a los trabajadores de SEAT como vanguardia en la lucha de los sindicatos metalúrgicos. Destaca la importancia de las acciones de SEAT el último verano en solidaridad con los obreros despedidos en el Bajo Llobregat (ver *Intercontinental Press* del 5 de agosto, p. 1064, donde aparece un relato de esta huelga), y la rapidez con que desarrollaron su propia plataforma de reivindicaciones.

No obstante, señala la Liga Comunista, los obreros del Bajo Llobregat fracasaron en sus demandas porque "su lucha no se generalizó y su estrategia se centró en presionar al comité de negociación para un acuerdo interprovincial, subordinando la acción independiente de los trabajadores metalúrgicos a una serie de firmas y

asambleas en la CNS." (La serie de firmas se refiere a la campaña de peticiones para ganar apoyo para la propuesta de las comisiones obreras).

A partir del periodo de vacaciones, dice después el volante, los trabajadores de SEAT han desplegado una creciente combatividad.

El próximo problema a ser confrontado, señala la LC es que "contra lo que dice la tendencia mayoritaria de la comisión obrera de SEAT (el PSUC) [Partido Socialista Unificado de Cataluña], el impulsar la lucha por las reivindicaciones en el marco cerrado del convenio, haciendo confiar a los trabajadores en las posibilidades de éste, es desarmar a los obreros ante el ataque frontal que va a imponer. . .

" . . . se trata de negociar, pero lo que debiera hoy negociar la comisión obrera de SEAT y todas las comisiones obreras es la lucha por las reivindicaciones, *contra el convenio de SEAT y todos los convenios que niegan las aspiraciones de los obreros, haciendo dimitir a los enlaces honrados, negociando directamente éstos a través de la única comisión negociadora elegida desde las asambleas de fábrica y donde estuvieran representadas las empresas más importantes.*"

Otra cuestión esencial para poder ganar la lucha es la decisión de parte de todas las demás industrias de que la huelga no quedará aislada, afirma la Liga Comunista.

El incipiente movimiento que se está gestando en esta dirección, es sin duda una fuente de preocupación para algunos sectores de la clase capitalista. El diario parisino *Le Monde* lo dice con toda franqueza en su editorial de primera página del 14 de octubre:

"No sólo que las huelgas ya no son tabú en España, sino que las autoridades no pueden hacer un esfuerzo serio para detenerlas. Por supuesto, luego viene inevitablemente la represión. Pero esto es porque el régimen en su desmoronamiento, si no descomposición, continúa golpeando por inercia."

Lo que se necesita y es "esperado por la mayoría de los españoles", continúa diciendo *Le Monde*, "es el establecimiento, lo más rápido posible, de las relaciones normales entre los trabajadores asalariados y sus patronos".

Le Monde hace notar que un sector de la burguesía está a favor de liberalizar las relaciones para evitar

un giro de los acontecimientos, como sucedió en Portugal.

Los editores de *Mundo* hablan en el mismo tono en el número del 19 de octubre de su semanario.

"La falta de canalización de una reivindicación laboral degenera en muchas ocasiones en graves alteraciones del orden público. Al carecer de canales adecuados se producen deso-

GMR Opina Sobre el Domingo de Trabajo

[La siguiente declaración fue emitida por el Grupo Marxista Revolucionario en Lisboa, el 6 de octubre. Esta es una traducción del portugués. La traducción al inglés apareció en *Intercontinental Press* el 4 de noviembre].

* * *

Camaradas:

La victoria sobre las fuerzas reaccionarias es ante todo un mérito de la clase obrera y de todos los trabajadores que se movilizaron para formar los piquetes de vigilancia, en los últimos días de septiembre. Es necesario que la clase obrera exija el castigo de los antiguos gobernantes o elementos de las fuerzas armadas y los capitalistas, que una vez más mostraron que no desisten de tratar de aplastar al movimiento obrero y de cercenar los derechos de los trabajadores. ¡Ahora que la reacción sufre esta derrota, no podemos tener ilusiones de que todo está solucionado!

Tenemos que continuar vigilantes contra todas las formas de reacción, por ejemplo cualquier ley que cercene el derecho de reunión de los trabajadores, de "purgar" a sus opresores, de hacer huelgas, de manifestar en las calles, en fin, de luchar por sus intereses. Si nos quedamos quietos más fácilmente se reorganizará la reacción. Los capitalistas son aún los dueños de las ganancias que producimos; mientras que los trabajadores no están armados y organizados para responder firmemente a sus enemigos.

Ahora nos piden que demos un domingo de trabajo. Pero nosotros sabemos bien que en este sistema capitalista los únicos que obtienen ganancia de nuestro trabajo son los capitalistas. No podemos dejar ir nuestro dinero a los bolsillos de aquellos que, tan pronto como

orientaciones e intentos de manipulación de las urgencias de la clase trabajadora con fines políticos. Estamos recogiendo la cosecha que hemos sembrado por no acertar a regular a tiempo unos conflictos que, por mucho que nos esforcemos por ignorarlos, existen en la realidad y deben ser contemplados con equidad por nuestra legislación." □

puedan, intentarán de nuevo aplastar a clase obrera. ¡Pero la Intersindical resolvió apoyar el domingo de trabajo sin consultar la opinión de la mayoría de los trabajadores!

A pesar de que la decisión de la Intersindical no ha sido democrática, es un hecho que la mayoría de los trabajadores está ya movilizada para este domingo de trabajo, y sería provocar una división entre la clase trabajadora si, *en este momento*, llamáramos a no participar de esta campaña.

Lo que sí proponemos es que se aproveche una parte de este domingo para hacer reuniones de esclarecimiento (en los lugares de trabajo) con el fin de clarificar a quién sirve el día de trabajo.

Las victorias de la clase obrera siempre se conmemoran con días de lucha contra el poder de los patronos. *Este domingo debería ser una jornada de combate principalmente para que los capitalistas comprometidos con el golpe fuesen expropiados*, es decir, para que les fuesen quitadas las ganancias, las fortunas, las herencias y las propiedades!

Que el producto de este día de trabajo sea en su mayor parte para los trabajadores. Hagamos asambleas de fábrica para discutir los problemas que han aparecido últimamente. En cuanto al dinero que recibamos, debemos destinarlo a la ayuda de los compañeros que están en huelga, o aquéllos que después de librar duras luchas, se encuentran ahora en situaciones difíciles, o para los fondos de huelga de nuestras fábricas y de nuestros sindicatos.

¡Por la Democracia Sindical!

¡Contra la Ley de Huelgas Antiobrera!

¡Que el Salario de los Domingos Sea Para el Fondo de Huelga! □

Boston Crisis: 'Little Rock of 1974'

[The following excerpts from a speech made by Willie Reid in St. Louis were published in the November 15 issue of *The Militant*. Reid ran as the candidate of the Socialist Workers party in the First Congressional District in Illinois.]

Boston, Mass., the so-called cradle of liberty, has become the Little Rock of 1974.

Deep-seated racism among working-class whites has expressed itself in violent reactions to Black students being bused into white schools. Boston today recalls the South in the 1960s when the system of Jim Crow was being put to death. A Black child being bused into an all-white community in Boston today is greeted in the morning by the same kind of mobs of whites filled with hatred.

The racists showed their opposition to desegregation from the very first day of school by organizing a boycott. In South Boston the resistance took the active form of physical attacks.

Angry mobs of whites came out early in the morning to meet the buses before they reached the schools. Rocks, bottles, and iron pipes were thrown at the buses, breaking windows, injuring children, bus drivers, and bus monitors.

When the Boston police force was called in, they did little to quell the racist mobs and protect the Black students.

Black students were attacked in their classrooms and even in the school corridors by white adults who just walked into the schools. There were police present, but they didn't apprehend or restrain the roving whites. They apprehended or restrained the Black students.

Downtown at city hall, the Democratic mayor, Kevin White, wrung his hands in anguish over this "unfortunate situation." But out of his lying mouth, he expressed his "understanding" for those who oppose desegregation.

Antibusing forces all across the city were revitalized by this capitulation to the racist mobs. They began to rally city-wide.

At the head of the racist resistance was the city council, including Louise Day Hicks, well known for her long-standing opposition to busing. Alone with them was the Boston school committee, which has been maintaining the segregated status quo in the schools.

With this kind of high-level approval, racists from across the country joined in. The Ku Klux Klan came to Boston.

They held a rally of more than 600. People in the audience shouted that forced busing isn't the problem—the real prob-



Laura Gray in *The Militant*, October 11, 1954

David and Goliath

lem is "niggers."

The vermin of racism came out into the open more and more. Black people working in South Boston were attacked on their way to or from work. Groups of mad whites roamed the subways, jumping on trains late at night, attacking isolated Black passengers, and jumping off before the doors closed.

In Columbia Point, which is located on a peninsula that can only be reached by going through South Boston, the residents are predominantly Black and Puerto Rican. They became target practice for rifle-toting white night riders.

When residents of Columbia Point formed observation patrols to counter this, the police were called to stop the self-defense efforts.

The first night that I was in Boston, the antibusing forces organized a motorcade in response to a demonstration the Black community held the day before. A thousand cars assembled in South Boston and drove around the city honking their horns.

Louise Day Hicks headed up the caravan with a sound system. She led the motorcade to the Sheraton Hotel where Edward Kennedy was speaking at a fund-raising dinner.

Really kind of sickening, isn't it? And that great white liberal father, Kennedy, has done absolutely nothing throughout this entire vicious campaign against the Black community but offer his prayers.

The increased incidence of violence created an atmosphere that nearly led to the lynching of Jean-Louis Yvon, a Black Haitian. He works as a janitor in a bakery in South Boston. His wife also works in South Boston.

On Oct. 7, he was following his every-

day routine. On his way to pick up his wife from work, he came upon a mob waiting to attack the school buses. The mob spotted him. Frustrated because the buses had been rerouted, they figured he was just as good as any other "nigger."

With shouts of "Get the nigger," the mob set upon Yvon. He was beaten and clubbed—in the face, all about the head, necks, and his back. When he fell, he was stomped and kicked. Finally one policeman fired his gun and halted the mob long enough for additional police to come in and lead Yvon to safety.

His wife had to quit her job and days afterward, Yvon was still confined to his bed. His speech was incoherent, and his face looked unbelievable.

City hall certainly had to make a better move now. So Mayor White bounced the ball of responsibility to Judge Arthur Garrity. Garrity bounced it right back. So did President Ford, who said he was against busing too. And that ball has been bounced around many times since the struggle began.

Finally Governor Francis Sargent sent in some state police about equal in numbers to the Boston police who had already shown their inability to protect the Black students.

The first morning I was there six busloads of special police were in South Boston, and the Black children were escorted to school.

I was on one of the school buses as a monitor. Considering all the violence that had gone before, the quiet was kind of unbelievable. But you still saw all the signs saying "Kill niggers," as the bus passed by. You knew that the calm was only temporary. And inside the schools whites are still provoking fights.

When you read the daily newspapers you get the impression that this rash of violence in the schools was initiated by Black students, while the whites were only defending themselves. As a matter of fact, some of the Black students I talked to told me that the first couple of weeks every Black student was searched on the way into school—but not the white students.

When incidents of violence broke out and police had to be called into the schools, they found white students with chains and cans of Mace. Their explanation was that they had to "protect themselves" from the Afro picks that Blacks wear on their heads!

You may wonder how the Black community is fighting back in Boston. Needless to say, the parents are angry, and they're a little bit frightened because of the odds against them. In comparison with New York, Chicago, Washington, D.C., and Detroit, the Black community in Boston is small.

Naturally they held community meetings to express their protest and demand some kind of action, especially after the

near lynching of Jean-Louis Yvon. They were very insistent that protection be forthcoming with "all deliberate speed." They demanded federal troops. They have organized some demonstrations too.

On the campus, Black student groups, professors, and revolutionary socialists in the Young Socialist Alliance are organizing to tell the story of what's happening in Boston.

The trade-union movement there is like the trade-union movement in most of our cities. It is dominated by bureaucrats who aren't interested in doing anything. But some have spoken out. The civil rights committee of the Massachusetts AFL-CIO state labor council came out in support of busing to desegregate the schools.

What can you do about Boston? If you are in a union, put a resolution on the floor to get your union to take a position in support of the busing. Encourage your union to notify Ford of how important it is that he protect the democratic rights of the Black students there.

If you are a student, get your student government to take a stand in support of the Black students in Boston. Organize teach-ins on your campus to get the story out about what's going on in Boston. Organize your community groups, your church groups, your social groups. Tell the story about what's going on.

Liberals in the government are backing down on desegregating the schools today. That's because it's not just a matter of abolishing a system of Jim Crow laws. To bring about real desegregation today poses the question of reorganizing a society that should have been reorganized a long time ago.

Desegregation today means not only desegregated schools but desegregated housing, desegregated jobs—and the whole struggle for a decent life for Black working people.

We cannot expect liberals like Kennedy, or any other Democrats or Republicans, to stand up and do anything about the situation in Boston or any other problem working people have.

So we have to put forward the idea of independent mass action to stop the racists. It is only going to be our collective organized force that's going to make the difference.

Organize picket lines or demonstrations in solidarity with the Black community in Boston. This isn't just a Boston situation. It demands national attention. The white racists understand that clearly. They figure if they can win in Boston they can win in other cities. So we have to demonstrate that there is a force that's just as strong as the white racists running rampant in South Boston.

And if you haven't been able to get the story in detail, pick up some copies of *The Militant*. Take them out and sell them to your friends and anyone you can. Join us in telling the truth. □

SWP: All Necessary Force to Stop Racists!

[The following statement was issued October 9 by Donald Gurewitz, the Socialist Workers party candidate for governor of Massachusetts, and Ollie Bivins, the SWP candidate for lieutenant governor of Massachusetts. The statement touched off a sharp debate in the American radical movement.]

* * *

We completely support the demands made by leaders of the Black community that federal troops be sent to Boston immediately to protect Black students from the escalating racist violence.

We condemn Judge Garrity's refusal to send even the woefully inadequate contingent of 125 federal marshals requested by Mayor White. In light of White's public statement that he can no longer guarantee the safety of Black children, Judge Garrity's refusal to act amounts to an open invitation to the racist lynch mobs to engage in further attacks on Black youth and the Black community as a whole.

We also wholeheartedly support the march and rally called by the legislative Black Caucus for this Sunday (Oct. 13) at 1:30 p.m. at Carter's Playground. We will participate in the demonstration and we pledge to use our access to the public as candidates to help make the demonstration as big and broad as possible.

The near-lynching of Jean-Louis Andre Yvon by a howling mob on Monday illustrates the murderous escalation of the racist mobilization. Anti-Black hysteria has reached a fever pitch. Bands of hoodlums are assaulting Blacks.

In this atmosphere, federal troops must be sent immediately to uphold the desegregation order and to protect the Black students who are implementing it. All necessary force must be used to smash the racist offensive and guarantee the safety and constitutional rights of Black people in this city.

In light of the complete failure of the city and state officials to provide protection to Boston's Black community, and in light of the continued refusal of public officials to take decisive action to protect Black students, we completely support any steps taken by the Black community to organize its own self-defense. The residents of Columbia Point recently found it necessary to organize their own observation patrols to protect the community from racist white vigilantes and to watch every move the cops make.

Far from ending racist violence, the cops have been rampaging through the Black community carrying out vicious attacks on Blacks. We fully support the right of Blacks to take measures to de-

fend themselves against all racist attacks.

The racists claimed that the protests are simply "for neighborhood schools." This is a lie. The events in Boston have torn the facade from the "antibusing" movement and exposed it for what it is everywhere: a racist, violent campaign to maintain white privileges in the schools and reverse any motion toward guaranteeing the constitutional rights of Black citizens.

The elected Democratic and Republican politicians share responsibility for the racist campaign in Boston. Their failure to act to halt it, their continued efforts to downplay the extent and significance of the racist offensive, and their adoption of the antibusing rhetoric of the racists have all served to embolden the mobs.

Especially scandalous is the role of Senator Kennedy, which epitomizes the treachery of the liberals. Kennedy, who is quick to voice support for civil rights marchers in Alabama or in Mississippi, has refused to throw his considerable authority unequivocally on the side of the right of Boston Black students to attend school.

While he has "deplored violence," he refused to make a firm and unambiguous appeal to all residents of Boston to mobilize against the racist offensive and defend the rights of Black children to go to school.

The Democratic and Republican politicians have urged the Black community to "keep cool" and not to do anything that could "provoke trouble." This has made it easier for the racists to mobilize with complete impunity.

What is needed to begin to change the atmosphere in this city is for the Black community and all supporters of civil rights to take the offensive.

The gains of the civil rights movement were the result of mass actions, exerting moral and political pressure on the government to act to stop racist attacks. The major civil rights battles of the 1950s and 1960s—in Southern cities such as Little Rock and Selma—became the focus of national and international attention and concern.

Boston is the Little Rock and Selma of 1974.

We appeal to backers of civil rights and opponents of racism throughout the entire country to take action in solidarity with the Black students here, and in support of the demand issued by Black leaders for federal troops.

We appeal to students across the country to support the struggle—as they did the civil rights movement of the 1960s.

And we appeal especially to the labor movement to throw its strength on the side of the rights of the Black people

of Boston.

The stakes in Boston are high, and getting higher. The outcome of the struggle

here will have an impact far beyond the city of Boston. The time for action is now. □

hundreds of political trials that have taken place since 1969, and that if they did, such requests were granted?

Are you satisfied that the conditions for incarcerated communists and socialists meet the standards set by law (although it was amended in 1973 to give more power to the jailers), that political prisoners have no stricter a regime than criminals have, that they are being fed adequately, do not suffer from avitaminosis, enjoy full medical care, that their elementary educational needs are taken care of, and that, conversely, they are not being hermetically isolated in order to liquidate them through mental breakdowns?

We all live in the same country, and are all aware of the real state of its affairs. Though every one of its citizens is responsible, your responsibility is greater by virtue of your greater knowledge, and by virtue of your greater capacity to change or alleviate the situation. Besides, we feel, on the basis of numerous personal experiences, that your organization is hardly representative of the bulk of Czechoslovak lawyers.

Your resolution in defense of civil rights in Chile and in opposition to the Chilean fascist junta is hypocritical, and your voice rings false. We, Czechoslovak political prisoners of the first half of the Seventies, are indeed linked by tight bonds of solidarity and affinity or proximity in ideology and action with Chilean socialists, communists, revolutionary Marxists, Christians, and other democrats, in line with our own diverse political orientations.

You, however, have nothing in common with them, and hypocritical words can hardly mask that. Your own task is merely to defend, through propaganda, the situation in your own country, complete with the lively trade between Czechoslovakia and the Chilean fascist junta, and with Czechoslovakia's refusal to offer political asylum to Chilean refugees.

We have confidence in the future victory of the just struggle of our Chilean comrades, friends, and brothers against fascism and terror, for democracy, freedom, and socialism. We want them to know that in Czechoslovakia, they have many true allies.

Signed by former political prisoners, of the years 1969-1974:

Karel Bartosek, Rudolf Battek, Ivan Binar, Jan Dus, Karel Fridrych, Ladislav Hejdanek, Jiri Hochman, Karel Kaplan, Vavrinec Korcis, Anna Koutna, Bohumir Kuba, Vit Lepil, Jan Lestinsky, Vladimir Nepras, Jan Schopf, Josef Stehlik, Jaroslav Suk, Jan Svoboda, Jan Sabata, Vaclav Sabata, Hana Sabatova, Pavel Sremr, Zdenek Sumavsky, Petruska Sustrova, Alex Richter, Zuzana Richterova, Petr Uhl, Zdenek Vasicek, Premysl Vondra, Radko Vyoralak. □

Former Political Prisoners Pose Cases of Chile and Czechoslovakia

[The following letter, signed by thirty former Czechoslovak political prisoners, was addressed to the official Union of Czechoslovak Lawyers. The text is taken from the October 31 *New York Review of Books*.]

* * *

On June 14, 1974, the Czechoslovak press published a resolution of your Union of Czechoslovak Lawyers protesting events in Chile. The document stated that the Union follows with great apprehension the daily flow of news concerning illegal measures and the escalating terror directed against all progressive and patriotic forces in that country. It further stated that the Union condemns the persecution, torture, and mass executions of Chilean patriots. In its resolution, the Union of Czechoslovak Lawyers called for the restoration of constitutional and democratic freedoms in Chile and observed that leaders of the Chilean people are quite deprived of their civil rights and legal protection. The Union demanded that it be allowed to participate in the defense of Luis Corvalan, and of other patriots, during their trials.

We believe it is a matter of all progressive people all over the world to do all they can for Chilean revolutionaries and democrats and to offer full material and moral support to their just struggle for a democratic society and for socialism. We can say so only now, however, for many of us had no earlier opportunity. We declare at this time that we, former political prisoners of Czechoslovakia during the Seventies, are in complete solidarity with the struggle of Chilean progressive forces, and that we unequivocally and energetically condemn the terror of the fascist junta.

We feel we have the full right to express such solidarity; for we are linked with progressive Chileans through common ideals, common goals, and frequently through common fates. However, we deny the right to express such solidarity to you, gentlemen of the Union of Czechoslovak Lawyers, for we are not aware of a single instance in which your Union would have come forth in defense of human rights, civil liberties, or adherence to legality in your own country—Czechoslovakia. Or do you perhaps really believe it correct, from the point of view of justice and its role in society, that dozens of thousands

of our fellow citizens have in recent years been forced out of their positions and had to take jobs incommensurate with their training and qualifications?

Do you believe it correct that children of so-called "rotten" parents may not study at high schools and colleges?

Do you believe it correct that numerous fellow citizens have been vilified in the press for their recent political activity (i.e., during 1968-1969), with no chance to defend themselves?

Do you, gentlemen from the Union of Czechoslovak Lawyers, really believe that in your own country there exist ample guarantees of freedom of speech, of the press, of assembly and association, the freedom of movement, even of leaving one's own country and coming back, the freedom of scientific inquiry?

Do you believe it correct, from the point of view of criminal justice and its role in society, that in Czechoslovakia, the death penalty may be meted out to those who conduct "especially dangerous activity against the foundation of the Republic . . . if it results in particularly detrimental consequences," especially in the light of recent experiences which demonstrated that any political activity not favored by our ruling group can be interpreted as dangerous to the order of the Republic?

From the point of view of the role of criminal justice: is it really proper that in the summer of 1972, forty-seven communists and socialists were sentenced to long years (up to six and one-half) in prison, in line with stipulations that were more moderate than those prevailing today? The defendants included Milan Hubl, the former President of the High Party School, University Professors Jaroslav Meznik and Antonin Rusek, Regional Communist Party Secretaries Alfred Cerny, Jaroslav Sabata, and Jaroslav Litera, Jan Tesar, the historian, Jiri Muller, the student leader, and many others.

Are you confident gentlemen, that these trials were conducted in strict accordance with the law, that during investigation, the secret service (the StB) applied no psychological pressure, and that physical torture was not applied in a single instance? Are you satisfied that stipulations concerning the participation of the public in such trials were met? Are you sure that no foreign lawyers from democratic associations requested to take part in the