

Intercontinental Press

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Fighting in Cambodia

Pentagon Doubles Airlift Operation to Pnompenh

French Army Draftees Fight for Rights

'Irish Republican Socialist Party' Formed

'Officials' Split Over Stalinist Power Play

'Troops Out of Ireland,' Say London Marchers

Tim Wohlforth

Workers League and the International Committee

Ford WINS Queen

President Ford's campaign to Whip Inflation Now (WIN) never got off the ground in the United States. But it seems to have swept the Queen of England off her feet. The royal clothes-horse asked Parliament on February 12 to boost her living allowance by \$1 million a year.

Inflation, according to the queen, has eaten into her annual \$2.35 million budget to such a degree that she can no longer make ends meet. The solution? WIN, obviously.

Prime Minister Harold Wilson told the House of Commons that the queen needed the dough. In real terms, he explained, to meet the queen's request meant no increase at all in her pay because it would only make up for what inflation had taken away.

The new leader of the Conservative party, Margaret Thatcher, drew cheers when she welcomed the queen's plea for help. The royal household, she said, "is our most precious asset."

Jeremy Thorpe, leader of the Liberal party, spoke understandingly of the queen's plight. "Inflation," he said, "inevitably hits any head of state in whatever system it is operated."

Left-wing members of the Labour party responded to Wilson's message with hoots, jeers, and catcalls. William Hamilton, a Member of Parliament from Scotland, went to such extremes as to say that he would propose legislation to "nationalize the Queen."

That he would actually do anything that radical was doubted. It was just his way of talking.

Buckingham Palace reported that the royal staff at the end of 1974 consisted of 463 hands. Among these are ladies in waiting, butlers, grooms, stable hands, cooks, footmen, private secretaries, financial officers, and public relations experts.

Besides the \$2.35 million pin money she receives from state funds, the queen has a tax-free income from 52,000 acres of royal estates. In 1970, the last time her income from this source was made public, the take was \$720,000.

The size of the queen's fortune has never been made public. Estimates range from \$120 million to \$240 million. □

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French Army Draftees Demand Democratic Rights

By F. L. Derry

Paris

"If the army was not affected by the events of 1968," Francis Cornu said in the January 7 *Le Monde*, "it was only a brief respite. The young draftees of 1974 have lived the heritage of 1968 in the high schools, at their places of work, and, having obtained the right to vote,¹ are full citizens. They no longer accept having their rights and civil liberties temporarily suspended, if only for twelve months. In their view, military regulations and discipline are all the more intolerable since the principles and tradition being pressed on them seem outmoded and irrelevant: Why is there a need for military service? What kind of defense? . . . Forced conscription has been abolished in a number of foreign countries, and its retention in France has for a long time been the object of discussion inside the military high command."

Nearly 275,000 soldiers—half of the French armed forces—are draftees, and the protest movement that has been spreading rapidly through their ranks has aroused fear among both military officers and government officials. Neither the carrot nor the stick, neither appeasement nor repression, seem able to contain the growing protest, which was recently focused on a military courtroom in Marseilles.

On trial January 7 and 8 were three young draftees—26-year-old Robert Pelletier, 21-year-old Alex Taurus, and 20-year-old Serge Ravet. All faced serious charges under Article 71 of the Military Code of Justice for "incitement to commit acts contrary to duty and general discipline."

The three were accused of being the ringleaders of the September 10 "demonstration at Draguignan," during which 200 draftees at the small military base near Draguignan in southern France took to the streets in the first public demonstration of soldiers against the oppressive conditions, rampant racism, and restrictions on

democratic rights that are the mark of military life in France.

A broad and impressive movement in defense of the "200" stalled the government's retaliatory measures for more than two months. It was only in November that the government felt confident enough to arrest the three soldiers. The arrests touched off one of the broadest political defense efforts in recent French history. It was a movement that grew, at long last, to include many locals of the CFDT,² the CGT,³ and the FEN.⁴ It received backing even from the PCF⁵ and PS.⁶ The extent and seriousness of this defense were registered emphatically in the verdict: Taurus was acquitted and Pelletier and Ravet received one-year sentences, mostly suspended, and they have already been released.

"The trial has demonstrated what a farce the military courts are," was the response of the Comité de Défense des Appelés (Committee for the Defense of Draftees). "They must be abolished, along with the military's security branch."

The January 10 *Le Monde* reported the reaction of the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire, the French Trotskyist organization that has helped spearhead the defense campaign: "The determination and courage shown by the soldiers of Draguignan and the unprecedented mobilization of the entire workers movement have demonstrated that it is possible to block the plans of the bourgeoisie and the military hierarchy."

"The only winner in this trumped-

up affair is Mr. Alain Krivine. . .," claimed the conservative daily *Le Figaro*. "His program for national defense can be summed up in these few words: The bourgeois army must be destroyed. The Draguignan defendants were the first three mines planted by his organization to set off an explosion in the ranks."

But the response of the soldiers themselves was somewhat more dramatic: Within days a "second Draguignan" took place. On January 13, several hundred French soldiers (the military officials say 150; the Comité de Défense des Appelés says more than 300) stationed at Karlsruhe in Germany staged a similar demonstration, holding a general assembly in the morning and then, joined by other soldiers, taking to the streets in a peaceful protest for more than an hour before returning to base. So far, no arrests have been announced.

The three central demands of the Karlsruhe action involved free transportation to allow soldiers on leave to visit their families in France, an increase in the number of leaves granted, and inclusion of soldiers under provisions of the minimum-wage law. Underlying the demands, however, was a questioning by the young draftees of the French army's right to station its troops outside of French borders.

"For several weeks now," *Le Monde* pointed out January 14, "the solidarity committees, for the most part made up of militants close to Mr. Alain Krivine's Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire, have been meeting in the Federal German Republic to lay the groundwork for new forms of protest action in the army."

How extensive is the protest of the soldiers and what support do the soldiers' actions have within the army ranks, not to speak of civilian society as a whole? How, and why, did this movement develop? And, most important, how was it possible to score a relative success in defending these three soldiers?

All young men, at the age of eigh-

1. The voting age in France was lowered to eighteen years in June 1974.

2. Confederation Francaise et Democratique du Travail—French Democratic Confederation of Labor.

3. Confederation General du Travail—General Confederation of Labor.

4. Federation de l'Education Nationale—National Education Federation.

5. Parti Communiste Francais—French Communist party.

6. Parti Socialiste—Socialist party.

teen, face the draft in France. Military service is for one year, although an alternative service called "coopération," involving such choices as teaching in one of France's former (or current) colonies, for example, may take up to two years. The discipline and living conditions are among the most obnoxious of all the imperialist armies. Draftees receive 2 francs a day (one franc equals about US\$0.23) for a total of 60 francs a month.

Many young draftees have families to support, which is obviously impossible for them under these conditions.

Officers can levy fines, to be paid out of the soldier's meager "wage" for such offenses as having a button missing. They can also order the imprisonment of any soldier, without trial, for up to two months. In addition, other, more informal, forms of punishment such as "hazing" are common.

Racism is also a serious problem. This is particularly true for the many soldiers who come from the French colonies in the Antilles. These Black soldiers are often assigned the most menial tasks, such as sweeping floors, and face the most severe punishments. In addition, the soldiers are saddled with an officer caste renowned on a world scale for its reactionary character. This is the grouping that produced not only the "Dreyfus Affair" at the end of the nineteenth century but the Secret Army Organization terror and torture squads during the Algerian war.

Antimilitarist sentiment was on the rise in France even before the massive general strike of 1968. The French colonial wars in Algeria and Indochina, followed by the American military effort in Vietnam, have left their mark, as has the use of the French army to "restore order" in 1968 and break strikes since then.

For some years a specifically antimilitarist movement has been growing. In the spring of 1973, massive demonstrations of French high-school students took place against the "Debré law,"⁷ which eliminated students' military deferments. Recently, military documents were published showing that the officers view their main threat today as coming from the "enemy within," that is, students and workers affected by domestic social unrest. It is the growth of this "enemy within"

7. See *Intercontinental Press* April 2, April 9, April 16, April 23, 1973.

that has finally had its impact in the composition of the ranks of the army itself. In December, a group of soldiers at a clandestine news conference in Paris described this process:

"The young Breton peasants from the 'milk war' are in the army. The CET⁸ student strikers of last year are in the army. The high-school students who demonstrated two years ago against the Debré law are in the army. Soon the young postal workers who carried out the strikes in November will be in the army. The young militant workers of the last few years are already there. They are exactly what the military brass has in mind when it talks about the 'enemy within.'"

Appeal of the One Hundred

These forces came together during the presidential election campaign in May 1974 to produce the first significant protest among the soldiers themselves. In the last days before the second round of voting on May 19, a petition addressed to the presidential candidates, signed by 100 soldiers, was made public. The "Appel des Cent" (Appeal of the One Hundred)⁹ called for a free choice of induction date until the age of twenty-five,¹⁰ payment of the legal minimum wage, abolition of arbitrary discipline, and an end to all postings abroad.

In addition, the petition demanded the right of soldiers to read any political material they choose and to freely express their opinions. These rights are denied soldiers whose mail is opened by the SM (Sécurité Militaire, the military police), which confiscates all left-wing journals.

The original signers came from army bases all over the country, and the text had apparently been circulated among many small clandestine groups of draftees associated with the various revolutionary organizations on the French left. But, from the beginning, the Appeal of the One Hundred met with a much broader response than just that of revolutionists. The reasonable nature of the de-

8. *Colleges d'Enseignement Technique—Technical Education Schools.*

9. See text elsewhere in this issue.

10. Instead of the current obligatory induction at age eighteen. This was the central demand in the "anti-Debré law" struggles the previous year.

mands for basic democratic rights was supported by most soldiers. It formed the base for a broad, civilian support movement. Most important, it struck a responsive chord among the draftees. Within three months, 3,000 soldiers had signed the appeal, and the figure is now approaching 5,500.

Thus began what *Le Monde* described as "a movement whose scope must have surprised not only the high command but even the far-left organizations that had launched it, as well as the left-wing parties and trade unions that up until now have maintained a certain coolness toward various efforts to launch a struggle in the army, efforts often judged to be too radically antimilitarist."

As the number of signers of the appeal grew, the government was forced to retreat on its campaign of intimidation and repression with which it had greeted the new movement. The big stick was replaced by the carrot of reforms when Defense Minister Soufflet announced last August a "liberalization" of discipline. For example, some left newspapers from the trade unions, and *l'Humanité*, the newspaper of the French Communist party, would be allowed in the barracks. However, *Rouge*, the revolutionary weekly organ of the French Trotskyists; *Crosse-en-l'air*, the journal of the Committee for the Defense of Draftees; and similar papers were still banned.

"But these measures," Cornu said in *Le Monde*, "were too late and, in any event, too little." The demonstration at Draguignan followed the "Soufflet reforms" by only three weeks.

The Protest at Draguignan

Draguignan itself is a small base with fewer than 1,000 soldiers. Approximately 200 took part in the demonstration and many others would have but were at other locations at the time. If there was any distinguishing characteristic of the Nineteenth RA (Régiment d'Artillerie), Draguignan, it was probably the large number of Black soldiers from the French colony in the Antilles, who are subject to racial abuse on the part of the racist officer caste. The protest against this racism merged with the sentiments voiced in the Appeal of the One Hundred to produce the demonstration.

The Appeal of the One Hundred campaign was organized on the base



Soldiers marched in Draguignan September 10 to press demands for their rights.

by a "soldiers committee" of about thirty members. Activity spread among Black soldiers from the Antilles, who drew up a separate text,¹¹ in addition to the appeal, dealing specifically with the racist treatment they receive.

On September 9, this text was distributed in the form of a leaflet. An additional 100 soldiers, many of them from the Antilles, signed the appeal. That night the committee met with delegates from every barracks and decided to launch a demonstration the next day. In spite of these preliminary preparations, the officers remained unaware of the plans for the action.

As soldiers gathered for lunch the next day, representatives of the committee gave speeches, and virtually all the soldiers present joined in a march to present their grievances to the prefecture—the highest civilian administrative authority in the area. When the prefect refused to accept the list of demands from his 200 uninvited guests, the soldiers decided to march through the streets of Draguignan to emphasize their protest.

For the next two hours as the soldiers marched, the local residents (most of whom are immigrant work-

ers and also subject to racist abuse) indicated their support. Finally, with perfect discipline, the 200 returned to the base, where they engaged one of their commanding officers in a one-hour public discussion on the conditions at the base. After obtaining a promise that the conditions would be "investigated," the soldiers returned to their barracks.

Defense Against Army Crackdown

The repercussions were considerable. Within a few weeks, a similar attempt to stage a demonstration at an army base near Strasbourg was broken up when the officers were given advance notice by an informer they had planted in the ranks. Nine soldiers at Draguignan were put under detention without trial. Further repression was forestalled, however, by a broad united effort to defend the draftees.

"The undersigned organizations, meeting September 11, 1974, affirm their solidarity with the draftees of the 19th RA of Draguignan" began one of the many leaflets of support circulated after the demonstration. "These organizations declare their readiness to mobilize for and defend the draftees in the face of any sanctions that may be taken against them

by the military authorities."¹²

Among the signers were the reformist mass workers organizations such as the Communist and Socialist parties, trade unions such as the CFDT and the FO,¹³ as well as revolutionists such as the FCR. Such broad unity is rare in France, where the Communist party refuses to have any relations with the Trotskyists—indeed they refused to sign any subsequent joint statements. Nevertheless, this unity in defense of the soldiers, no matter how briefly achieved, successfully halted further repression for several months.

Suddenly, without warning, Pelletier, Ravet, and Taurus were arrested November 10. Pelletier, on his way home while on leave, was illegally arrested on the train platform by civilian police and kept in a civilian jail in isolation from his fellow soldiers.

The two months from the arrests until the trial on January 7 saw the development of the broadest defense effort on behalf of the soldiers movement. For the first time, important sectors of the trade unions were involved. The Comité de Soutien aux Soldats de Draguignan et Tous les

12. See full text elsewhere in this issue.

13. Force Ouvrière—Labor Force.

11. See text elsewhere in this issue.

Soldats Emprisonnés (Committee to Support the Draguignan Soldiers and All Imprisoned Soldiers) was formed as an ad hoc group of notables to organize the defense. This committee included revolutionists such as Pierre Frank and Alain Krivine of the FCR, representatives from *Lutte Ouvrière* and *Revolution!*, and both wings of the PSU.¹⁴ Major intellectual figures such as Jean-Paul Sartre and Simone de Beauvoir were also sponsors.

However, significant by their absence were the leaders of the Communist party and the major figures in the Socialist party such as François Mitterrand. Nor did the national leaderships of the CFDT and CGT support the defense committee. It is important to note that several councils (Union Local) of the CFDT, which include all CFDT branches in a city, and even one Union Départementale, which includes all CFDT units in a department, i.e., many ULs, adhered to the committee.

Stalinist Hatchetmen at Work

This illustrates one of the central political problems in France—the extreme difficulty in getting the Communist party, without doubt the most powerful organized force in the French workers movement, to work in a common front around even the most limited activities with revolutionists such as the French Trotskyists. This is even true in areas where the CP has a certain self-interest—such as stopping the repression in the army which extends to its own members. The CP's sectarianism may go to extreme lengths and be very damaging to a common defense effort, as the following example will clearly show.

When the Committee to Support the Draguignan Soldiers was formed, the UL-CFDT in Gennevilliers near Paris was one of the sponsors; it agreed to use its address as a "postal drop" for the committee. Roger Pelletier is a member of this local and its endorsement was considered quite a breakthrough for the defense effort. However, a letter was soon received from the CGT local for the same area, attacking the CFDT for joining the committee on the grounds that Krivine and Sartre were members of the committee. The CGT local then withdrew

from a previously agreed upon joint public meeting with the CFDT in defense of the soldiers. Why? Because, said the Stalinist labor officials, the CFDT was allowing to enter "through the window the grouplets that the CFDT should, in our opinion, have thrown out the front door." Needless to say, the Stalinists were absent from the rally of nearly 3,000 at the Mutualité that launched the defense committee just as they were absent from the slightly larger demonstration in Paris just before the trial began.

Campaign Rolls On

In spite of the Stalinists' sabotage of a united defense campaign, support for the soldiers mounted. A small trickle of CFDT locals began to issue statements defending the soldiers. Some of them endorsed the united defense committee. The trickle became an important stream and finally included locals and even national federations of the CGT itself. The Communist and Socialist parties were forced to issue statements in support of the three soldiers (while refraining from joining the defense committee). Both organizations sent witnesses to testify on behalf of the draftees.

Support came mostly from small union locals and shop committees, particularly from CFDT branches among postal and hospital workers, bank workers, insurance company clerks, and teachers.

However, support also came from steelworkers, electricians, and railroad workers in the CGT. The national congress of the Union Syndicale de l'Aviation Civile, a CGT union, passed a statement defending Pelletier, Ravet, and Taurus ("even though the first of these three Draguignan draftees is close to the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire," *Le Monde* pointed out).

"Just a few months ago," Francis Cornu said in the January 7 *Le Monde*, "the opposition political parties and the unions maintained an attitude of reserve, if not complete hostility, toward the antimilitarism of the leftist groups, calling it 'puerile' and 'demagogic.' Since that time they have learned that the movement set off by the 'Appeal of the One Hundred' has reached not only a number of young people who were in no way 'leftists,' but even their own members . . . and, an important fact, young people who

had never before taken part in any movement. . . .

"In this regard, it should be noted that many young Communists were among the first to sign the Appeal of the One Hundred."

Soldiers Press Ahead

In addition to the broad and impressive defense effort, the soldiers movement has itself grown.

In December a clandestine news conference was held by soldiers from thirteen bases of the French army stationed in Germany. Wearing masks to hide their identity, they said in front of the German television cameras that there were now more than twenty soldiers committees and a dozen clandestine journals among the 60,000 French troops (half of them draftees) stationed in Germany. ". . . the Appeal of the One Hundred has changed everything in the barracks. It forms the basis for discussion on the demands of draftees. Draguignan has shown, despite the repression, what it is possible to do in the barracks, that it is possible to open your mouth."

The next week a similar news conference was held in Paris by representatives of twenty soldiers committees based in France. "It is true, of course," the representatives said, "that the membership of these committees makes up no more than an active minority on the bases. But this minority can easily win the recognition and support of the majority, as was shown by the Draguignan demonstration, to take one example. The majority recognizes its common interests with the committees, with their demands, even if it does not take the important step leading to clandestine organizing in the barracks. . . ."

"It is often the Appeal of the One Hundred that gives isolated individuals the idea of forming a group to get something done. . . ."

It seems clear that in the soldiers movement today there are at least several dozen more or less stable functioning soldiers committees, publishing clandestine journals, organizing the Appeal of the One Hundred, and occasionally organizing demonstrations. Each of these committees has a real possibility of developing at least a solid relationship with other soldiers—a relationship in which these committees are able to provide leadership for a serious struggle for democratic rights in the army.

14. Parti Socialiste Unifié—United Socialist party.

The type of relationship developed with the ranks will depend on many things—the ability of these committees to take advantage of limited openings under adverse conditions and extreme repression, their ability to avoid unnecessary victimization of their own members and of their fellow soldiers, and the extent to which they can develop effective civilian support. Without such support, there is little likelihood of the soldiers' movement surviving for long.

No bourgeois army can tolerate a truly democratic internal regime. An imperialist army relies on military

police and the jurisdiction of special military courts and judges. To allow the free and unhampered functioning of political parties and trade unions in the army would make it very difficult to break strikes and fight colonial wars in the future. To question the right of an imperialist army to assign its troops at will, where it wants, anywhere in the world is objectively to question the right of imperialism to exist. To question the need for a bourgeois army by demanding democratic rights very quickly leads in the direction of questioning capitalist society itself. □

Singapore Police Make 'Example' of Student Leader

Tan Wah Piow Victim of Frame-up Charges

By Peter Conrick

[The following article appeared in the February 7 issue of *Direct Action*, a revolutionary-socialist fortnightly published in Sydney.]

Despite widespread protests in Southeast Asia and Australia, the Singapore government is pressing ahead with the frame-up trial of Tan Wah Piow, the president of the University of Singapore Students Union.

Tan, 23, and two Malaysian workers have been charged with criminal trespass and riot. The charges arose after incidents at the University of Singapore in October last year. Singapore students had initiated an unemployment relief centre and taken over a building on campus from which to run their operations. Police eventually broke up the centre, damaging records and files. At the time the police were wrecking the building, Tan was not present, but the charges attribute responsibility for what happened to Tan.

The trial opened on December 11 amidst a growing campaign by the Singapore and Malaysian governments against student activists. This has included further attacks on the Australian Union of Students (AUS), which has campaigned for many years on behalf of victimised students in other countries. [See *Intercontinental Press*, January 13, p. 10, for a report of previous attacks on AUS by the Malaysian authorities.]

The president-elect of AUS, Ian Macdonald, was ordered to leave Singapore after he arrived to attend the Tan trial. It is clear that the Singapore government

is becoming concerned with the growth of regional student solidarity and the role AUS has played in this development.

After the expulsion of Macdonald, AUS immediately arranged for two other people to fly to Singapore to attend the trial. They were the federal secretary of the Food Preservers' Union, Tom Ryan, and Melbourne journalist George Coote. Ryan reported that the charges against Tan were being heard by a district judge without a jury. The judge also reserved the sole power to decide if Tan had a right of appeal.

Another problem for Tan emerged around the refusal of the court to adjourn until a suitable lawyer could be engaged. In the light of these circumstances the AUS asked top Melbourne barrister Frank Galbally to defend the student leader. Galbally sought official permission to defend Tan, but each time he phoned the Singapore attorney general the latter was "unavailable." Eventually Galbally flew to Singapore to attend the trial as an observer. He was able to speak to Tan, although his presence in Singapore was obviously not welcomed by the authorities. Galbally said that there was good evidence to suggest that his family had been investigated during their stay on the island. His children had reported being questioned by strangers on the street about their father's role in the trial.

Galbally stated to the press on his return to Australia that Tan was not getting a fair trial. Examples of this included the refusal to allow Tan to continue cross-examination of the main prosecution witness whenever his questioning attacked the credibility of the witness.

The Tan case was a focus of attention

at the annual council of the AUS held in Melbourne, which began on January 29. During a special session of council devoted to the repression of the student movement in Southeast Asia, the council resolved to conduct an extensive defence campaign on behalf of Tan and all of those who suffer at the hands of the regimes such as those in Singapore, Malaysia, and Indonesia.

Both Malaysian and Australian student leaders reported on the reasons behind the frame-up of Tan. These observers agree that the Singapore government's aim to "get" Tan intensified after incidents during the University of Singapore's orientation week for 1974. Tan made a fiery attack on the university administration and the Lee Kuan Yew regime in general during the official welcoming ceremony. As president of the student union, Tan told the new students that he had little advice to offer them, except, "to do what the students of Thailand have already done." (In October 1973 mass student demonstrations overthrew the Thai military regime.) All the evidence points to the fact that Tan is being used as an example to students and workers in Singapore.

This trial is clearly a political trial aimed at removing leaders of the student movement, to prevent criticism of the Lee government and the government-controlled trade unions. It also seeks to isolate Singapore students from their supporters elsewhere in the region. One top Singapore official was quoted in the December 28 Melbourne *Age* as saying that the "Governments of Malaysia, Singapore and Indonesia are fed up with AUS meddling in their internal affairs" and that "Australia might well turn out to be the home for the New Left in this part of the world."

It is obvious that a strong defence movement must be built for Tan Wah Piow. In order to bring maximum pressure to bear on the Singapore government to drop the charges, this movement must be international in scope. □

PLO Condemns Hijackings

The Palestine Liberation Organization announced January 29 that it would undertake to "control criminal elements" engaged in the hijacking of airplanes, ships, or trains. A PLO official told reporters, "We condemn hijackings and we will prevent them."

Reporters in Syria were shown a PLO camp said to hold about seventy prisoners, ranging from men who had been drinking on duty to others who had tried to "sabotage" the Palestinian movement. PLO representatives said that hijackings would be punished by prison sentences of up to fifteen years, and by death in cases where persons were killed in the course of the hijacking.

'Officials' Split Over Stalinist Power Play

By Gerry Foley

[First of a series]

The "Official" republican ard-fheis (national convention) held last November 30-December 1 in Dublin formally concluded a struggle that surfaced in the late spring of 1972 and moved into its final stage one year later.

In a closed session, the ard-fheis voted by 197 votes to 15 to confirm the expulsion of Seamus Costello, a Wicklow County councillor and formerly one of the central figures in the top "Official" leadership.

However, it quickly became clear that the expulsion of Costello and certain of his supporters did not solve the problem that he apparently represented for his former associates in the "Official" leadership. Instead, the struggle broke out into the open, where it seemed to create much greater difficulties for this leadership than it had at the ard-fheis or in the internal battle that preceded it. Nor did the relationship of forces seem as uneven as the vote that confirmed Costello's expulsion.

At the end of the week, on December 7, the *Irish Times* reported:

"At a meeting in Dublin yesterday which was attended by 80 delegates from Dublin, Wicklow, Limerick, Tipperary, Clare, Cork, Belfast, Derry City, and county Armagh and Donegal, a decision was made to form a new political party, the Irish Republican Socialist Party."

The founders of the IRSP included a number of prominent figures who had left the "Official" republican organization during 1974 or who had been expelled. Signers of the initial statement of principles and aims included Seamus Costello as well as a number of former leading members of the Derry Republican Club, who had been dissidents within the organization for some time—Terry Robson, Seamus O'Kane, and Joe Sweeney. Bernadette (Devlin) McAliskey, who has never been a member of the "Official" republicans, although she has supported some of their campaigns, also signed the statement.

The following reasons were given for the formation of the new party:

"A) The refusal of the Sinn Fein Ard Comhairle [National Executive] to implement the democratically decided policies on the National Question as laid down at the 1972 and 1973 Ard Fheiseanna.

"B) The lack of internal democracy within Sinn Fein. This became particularly noticeable during the course of the past

year when many dedicated members were purged from the organisation because they dared to question the reformist approach of the Ard Comhairle on many vital questions. This purge culminated in attempts by members of the Ard Comhairle to intimidate delegates to the recent Ard Fheis, when many of them were threatened with expulsion if they did not vote in accordance with the wishes of the Leadership.

"C) The decision of the Ard Comhairle to contest the Six County Assembly Elections, when it was perfectly obvious that the elections were clearly designed to re-establish a British-Controlled puppet Parliament for the Six Counties. In our view this particular decision was indicative of the reformist and counter revolutionary attitudes which prevail at Ard Comhairle Level in Sinn Fein, Gardiner Place.

"D) The unprincipled betrayal of the internees arising from the decision to take seats on local councils in the North. This decision was made despite the fact that the Ard Comhairle had made repeated statements attacking the treachery of the S.D.L.P. [Social Democratic and Labour party, the bourgeois nationalists] for taking their seats."

The first two points seem to be the fundamental ones. The others deal with tactical questions around which general dissatisfaction with the course of the organization had tended to crystallize.

The Gardiner Place leadership responded by saying that the new group represented only a handful of ultraleftists. As in previous republican splits, the real issues were not brought out.

Sharp Shift in Line

However, a noticeable change occurred in the line of the "Official" organ, the monthly *United Irishman*, following the conclusion of the fight with Costello inside the organization. The December issue published the first of a series of articles on the "socialist countries." It dealt with the "economic miracle in the East," the German Democratic Republic. The second one took up "The Hungarian People's Republic," and the third, Poland.

The article on Hungary included particularly aggressive Stalinist propaganda:

"The present socialist state in Hungary is the conclusion of hundreds of years of human struggle for dignity and freedom. The difficulties did not end with the assumption of power by the workers in

1949. For a while the leadership of the Hungarian Working Peoples Party fell under the control of a power-hungry group headed by Rakosi which imprisoned and executed innocent working people. This group was defeated and expelled from the HWSP and from power. The western press and bourgeois politicians tried to use these events to justify the counter-revolution in 1956. This attack on the working people was the last-ditch stand of the fascist and right-wing elements who tried to turn back the clock of history. They assassinated socialists and took over buildings and fired on workers killing many of them. The government asked for the intervention of Soviet Troops who assisted in defeating the counter-revolution. The former fascist leader, Horthy, by now safely ensconced in Portugal called on the U.S. to invade Hungary. But the U.S. which had irresponsibly egged on the right-wing elements realised that they would be faced by the whole socialist power of the workers of Eastern Europe and drew back at the last minute."

There were other Stalinist articles in the same issue. In fact, the issue was Stalinist from beginning to end. This line has now been carried for three successive issues.

Use of Physical Violence

This turn toward open Stalinism in the "Official" organ has been accompanied by a campaign to enforce rigid conformity within the organization and by a series of physical attacks on supporters of the new party.

On January 15, the IRSP issued a statement saying that in the past four weeks four of its members or supporters in the Belfast area had been kidnapped and assaulted. Two members had been shot and seriously wounded. It accused the "Officials" of trying to assassinate one of its leaders, Ronald Bunting.

"When they found that Mr. Bunting was not at home," the statement said, "they attempted to kill his wife and 18 month old daughter instead, by firing shots into the house when she refused to open the door."

The IRSP "hereby restates its determination to continue with the organisation of a party structure despite these murderous attempts on it, its members and supporters. . . ."

The statement appealed to the "Official" membership to demand an end to the campaign of intimidation. "We are confident that the vast majority of rank and file members of the Officials still support the principles on which the civil rights struggle was organised, and that they reject the terrorist activities being carried out in their name."

In fact, the Donegal organization of the "Officials" passed a resolution calling on the national leadership to end the at-

tacks on the IRSP. It was supported by Seamus Rogers, a county councillor and one of the four or five "Official" figures with a significant local following.

The only way the Gardiner Place leadership can convince people that it is not employing such methods would be to disavow them publicly and demonstrate in fact that it is prepared to engage in political debate with the new party. Both the tradition of the movement and its own espousal of Stalinism are certainly grounds for suspicion about how it intends to handle political opposition.

The Donegal resolution, however, is an indication that many members of the "Officials" neither accept Stalinism nor political gangsterism. Now is the time for all of those to speak up.

Democracy has always been a chancy thing in republican organizations. The effective rights of members have tended to depend on the relationship of forces or the distance from the leadership. On the other hand, the organization has always been too heterogeneous and loosely organized to develop a bureaucratic machine that could really suppress serious political differences. Such attempts have simply led to splits and open warfare, shattering the organization.

A Stalinist leadership is qualitatively different from the clumsy and inconsistent authoritarianism that is well known in the republican movement. Leaders inspired by the rigid Stalinism reflected in the recent issues of the *United Irishman* will not rest until they have rooted out not only all opposition but any hint of independent thinking.

Since it is the newspaper of the movement, the membership cannot avoid responsibility for what the *United Irishman* says. The inescapable fact is that the newspaper of the "Official" republican movement has in the case of Hungary supported the bloody subjection of a small nation by a great power and repeated the bureaucratic lies that were concocted to justify this. What a position for republicans!

Those who fail to speak out against this betrayal of republicanism will never be taken seriously as defenders of the democratic rights of oppressed peoples. They will never be trusted as defenders of Irish independence.

No "Official" can escape the questions that are going to be raised by the Stalinist filth now appearing in the *United Irishman*. The Communist party of Ireland itself, by sticking to local and practical issues, can avoid having to answer for the crimes of the Stalinist regimes. But the Irish CP is not taken seriously as a contender for power. Nor does it represent the revolutionary traditions of the Irish people.

The "national liberation" the Irish Stalinists seek was summed up a few years ago in an article in their paper, the *Irish Socialist*, explaining the delights of cheap

Bulgarian wine that awaited the people of the Six Counties if they united with the Dublin regime, which had a more progressive policy on trade with the "socialist countries."

Republicans are expected to have an answer for the national questions that confront the Irish people. And the vapid clichés about "peace" and "people" in the last issues of the *United Irishman* dodge the issue.

Justified Expulsion?

Some "Official" representatives have argued that the expulsion of Costello and his supporters was democratic and that violations of democratic procedure were on the other side.

For example, the *Irish Times* reported February 7: "A Belfast Republican Club yesterday attacked the Irish Republican Socialist Party as 'so-called socialists' and said the party had made slanderous attacks on the leadership of the Official Republican movement.

"In a statement, the Henry Munro Republican Club, based on the St. James's Road area of the Upper Falls, said that the I. R. S. P. had not looked carefully at its own leadership. 'If they did, then the penny would finally drop and the person responsible for their press releases would realise that people in glass houses shouldn't throw stones. These so-called socialists have boasted a membership of 600 throughout Ireland and claim they are in the process of setting up another 50 branches. This, to us, seems highly unlikely for two reasons, the first being that 600 members have not been expelled from the Official movement, and the second being that 600 people would not be stupid enough to join a party not knowing that party's policy.'"

The statement accused the IRSP of not offering any concrete alternative to the policies of the "Officials." It blamed the split on Costello's refusal "to abide by the democratically chosen policy of the Official movement." It said that any revolutionary organization had to defend the uniformity of its line whatever the cost.

For this local club, the issue in the split was apparently "personalism." For obvious reasons, the leadership in republican organizations tends to fall to "caudillos" who are not chosen on the basis of their political principles or ability and who are difficult to control or subordinate to any political line.

Some of the most thoughtful of the republican leadership have been deeply concerned about this tendency, and it has been a goal of the "Official" movement to develop a more political kind of leadership. Unfortunately, it has become quite clear that neither the leaders of the organization nor its traditional structures have provided the conditions for such a leadership to develop.

What has tended to happen is that a layer of young centrists, representing in general the lowest level of the international youth radicalization, have begun to exercise an essentially bureaucratic influence in the organization in alliance with some of the more politicized caudillos, who seem mostly Stalinist-influenced. The young centrists have all the vices of the "new left" student demagogues—mindless populism, economism, third-worldist romanticism, cynicism, intellectual arrogance, and a fondness for petty-bourgeois intrigue. They have learned just enough to be dogmatic without having learned the first thing about political principles.

Charges of "personalism" by Gardiner Place leaders cannot be taken seriously until they have succeeded in training cadres who can win the respect and loyalty of the membership. Until that time, the real leadership will devolve on caudillos, all pious claims to the contrary.

Costello at least, unlike the rest of the "Official" leadership, has been realistic enough to say that the economist line of recent years was not working, that the organization was becoming more and more isolated among the nationalist-minded people, that the membership was becoming demoralized and indifferent, and that the organization was becoming a paralyzed and dying sect in the death grip of Stalinist mandarins.

If the leadership could defeat Costello openly in a democratic contest, why did they never tell the truth about the state of the organization? The organizational reports have become more and more obvious fabrications in the last two years. The account of the American affiliate of the "Officials" is a prime example.

'From Strength to Strength'

"The Third Annual Convention of the Irish Republican Clubs of the United States and Canada was held recently in New York," an anonymous reporter wrote in the December issue of the *United Irishman*. "Over 70 delegates representing Clubs from various parts of North America attended and discussed a wide range of motions dealing with the Irish situation and the world wide anti-imperialist struggle.

"Since the Republican Clubs were established in 1970, they have gone from strength to strength and have had considerable success in depicting the true nature of the struggle in Ireland, despite the difficulties of the situation and despite the tendencies of many Irish Americans to give emotional support to the Provisionals through a lack of understanding of what is actually happening at home."

There were seventy persons present, "delegates" or not. That was fewer than the year before and still fewer than the year before that. The decline was even more marked if you consider that the conven-

tion three years ago was held in Boston, whereas the last two have been in New York, where the number of stray radicals is many times larger.

The fact is, the "Official" organization in North America, never strong, has become moribund on the national level in the last two years. It is totally isolated from the Irish community and unable to give the Provisionals any competition anywhere except in one or two isolated places.

The republican leadership in Ireland knows that. It is obvious in their loss of interest in the American organization. It is obvious to the members. No one in the demoralized and querulous little gathering that was described with such cynical bureaucratic sycophancy in the *United Irishman* could feel inspired upon reading that their organization had "gone from strength to strength." On the other hand, it is unfortunate that the "Official" membership in Ireland does not know the real situation in its American affiliate.

There can be no democracy in an organization without elementary truthfulness to the membership. This type of cynical dishonesty hopelessly convicts the Gardiner Place leadership when they claim that Costello was ousted in a "democratic" process.

If Costello was expelled for rejecting the "democratic" decisions of the majority, significant numbers of the members would not leave the organization or join his party. There would be no need to intimidate his supporters with physical violence. Nor would many members be demoralized by the split.

Another explanation of the split was given by the Gardiner Place press secretary Sean O Cionnaith in the letters column of the Dublin biweekly *Hibernia* of January 10. He was objecting to an article on the split by Brian Trench, a leader of the Irish affiliate of the International Socialists, a British state-capitalist group that claims to identify with Trotskyism on some issues.

O Cionnaith wrote: "That Ard Fheis [of the 1973 one] saw an attempt by some of his [Trench's] own colleagues of the Internationalist [*sic*] Socialists and their fellow-travellers who had infiltrated Sinn Fein, to cause dissension on a spurious issue about the 'National Question'. They also attempted to gain some seats on the Ard Comhairle but were decisively defeated.

"As a result of their decisive defeat those elements saw little advantage in remaining in a movement in which they never believed particularly now that they had so clearly exposed themselves. . . ."

The "Official" press secretary went on to say that these "Internationalist Socialists" really want to drag the movement into a guerrilla war in the North:

"We are quite pleased that the International Socialists have now set up their own party and are no longer attempting

to use Sinn Fein for their own disruptive ends. We are not the slightest bit worried about them as a rival for recruits as they are quite welcome to the type of recruit who would be swayed by their policies and ideas. They have spent the past couple of years trying to divert Sinn Fein into supporting a military campaign in the North and in trying to persuade the IRA to break its ceasefire of May 1972. At a time when the whole of Ireland is calling for peace and when that call has forced the Provisionals to call a truce there is little hope for a party of dissidents whose primary objective seems to be to start some kind of military campaign in the North."

The least that can be said about this fulmination over "Internationalist Socialist infiltration" is that it shows ignorance. The International Socialists do not support guerrilla warfare in the North, whatever other errors they may make. And their line on the "National Question" is unfortunately not different from that of the Communist party, any number of British economist sects, and still more unfortunately, the "Official" republican movement.

Foreign Aid From Manic Ultralefts

Similar paranoid references to infiltration and nefarious outside influences were also contained in the *United Irishman's* "explanation" of the split that appeared in the January issue. The life of the IRSP would be brief, the statement said, "unless foreign aid is received. There are sufficient ultra-left, manic organisations in Europe and the USA to ensure them of some support." The writer of this, however, was not so foolhardy as O Cionnaith. He did not indicate what groups were being referred to.

But how could any thinking member of the "Official" movement take this kind of charge seriously when the same issue of the *United Irishman* pushed a Stalinist line that the majority of the membership do not believe and do not support? Where did that line come from? And are the only foreign influences those emanating from "ultra-left, manic organisations"?

There are in fact many ultraleft groups with false and dangerous ideas in Europe and the United States, as in all other areas of the world, including Ireland. But isn't it a little out of proportion to see them as the main threat to the independence and principles of the republican movement?

Which of these groups can grant republican leaders and delegations the privileges and illusion of importance that goes with being "official dignitaries"? Which of these groups has the capacity to corrupt by using material wealth and power? The ultraleft groups can gain influence among the revolutionary-minded youth only by

their arguments and their example; and only if the "Official" leadership is weaker in this field.

On the other hand, if the "Official" leadership endorses the bureaucratic betrayers of revolutions and copies their methods, it is obvious that they are going to lose the support of those looking for a revolutionary party.

The "Officials" have experienced ultraleft splits before. But none has ever damaged them. It is already clear that more than a simple splitoff of ultraleftists or adventurists is involved here.

First IRSP Meeting

The first public meeting of the IRSP in Dublin, according to the February 14 *Irish Times*, drew 500 persons. The main speakers were Costello and Bernadette (Devlin) McAliskey. Both stressed the national question.

Costello said, according to the *Irish Times's* summary: "Another Left-wing organisation was necessary because no other understood, or had a comprehensive programme based on, a correct analysis of the relationship between the national and the class question. There were people claiming to be socialist who divorced themselves from the anti-imperialist struggle, others who were prepared to accept an army of occupation and repressive and anti-working class legislation."

McAliskey's critique of the economist position on the national question went furthest. It was summarized this way:

"Because of the failure of the Left to raise the demands relating anti-imperialism with the class struggle, they lost relevance and the initiative passed to the people who, though they had confused politics or none, seemed to know what they were doing. The initiative passed to the Provisional I.R.A. and no-one on the Left could criticise the Provisionals without criticising themselves."

She said: "It was our failure which created the need for a liberation struggle devoid of class content." And she pointed out:

"The fight against the Brits, against internment and oppression is part of the same fight to survive in your place of work."

The fact is that the "Officials" have failed to make an effective link between the national and the class question. Their dogmatic insistence that Catholic and Protestant workers had to be united before any revolutionary perspective was possible has reduced them to impotence and isolation. For five years responsible Trotskyists have warned them what this would lead to.

All the projections made by the "Officials" of a development toward socialism among the "militant" Protestant groups have proven to be fantasies. That is one

cause of the split.

It is possible, even likely, that the IRSP includes adventurist elements. But the role of the Stalinists and reformists in the Gardiner Place leadership also assures that many members who are looking for a real revolutionary alternative may be attracted to the IRSP.

Need for Political Discussion

If the leaders and the ranks of the "Officials" want to defeat adventurism, the most effective way is to speak out against Stalinism, reformism, and bureaucratism in their own organization. According to the concept of "democratic centralism" that is being pushed, discussion is now supposed to be ended. But the "democratic" decisions of the ard-fheis have not prevented the editors of the *United Irishman* from trying to impose a line that the majority does not support and that casts discredit on every member of the movement. As a result, the leadership has lost all "democratic" authority to restrain discussion.

It is obvious by now that "discipline" has not solved the problems of the "Officials." The attempt to impose untenable dogmas and build a Chinese wall against what the leadership apparently regards as dangerous criticism has brought the organization to the brink of disaster and disgrace.

If the Gardiner Place leadership continues to combat the threat represented by the new party in the way they have up till now, they run the risk of provoking a process that will be far more destructive to their organization and the struggle of the Irish people than any adventure they might rightly fear.

Because of their inability to find their way forward to a consistent revolutionary perspective, the "Officials" are no longer a major force in Irish politics. They no longer include anything like a majority of socialist-minded activists. However, since the most extensive political experience of the last six years has taken place in their ranks, how they handle a political dispute in their orbit can have considerable power of example.

It does not take much imagination to foresee what will happen if they try to eliminate a political opposition by excommunications and strong-arm methods. This is especially true if politics comes to the fore in the next period as they predict. This will almost inevitably involve the formation of a number of groupings in the general republican orbit. If the differences cannot be resolved by political discussion and normal political process, these groupings will take the form of armed cliques, if only out of the necessity of self-defense. Principles will be lost. And the practical consequences and possible results of such a development are all too obvious.

The Gardiner Place leaders themselves have said that republicans had to come to the brink of extinction before they began to think. The time has come for some rethinking. Let them open up an all-inclusive, honest discussion. If the IRSP has no policies, that can be shown in debate. If it is not a revolutionary-socialist alternative, let Gardiner Place offer a realistic revolutionary policy — although they cannot get this from Stalinism or from the Stalinists.

If there are principled revolutionists in the "Officials" who have been dragged into an untenable position by the pressures of

struggle in a militaristic organization with little conception of how to conduct a political debate, let them show before it is too late that they have something better to offer rebel youth than Stalinism. If they cannot do this, they will share the blame for any adventures that ensue.

The Gardiner Place leadership still includes persons who have devoted their lives to their principles as they saw them. They claimed to believe in political honesty. They know what Stalinism is, and they don't want it in Ireland. They must speak out now and offer an alternative to both Stalinism and adventurism. □

Amendment Seeks to Increase Restrictions

600 Protest Threat to British Abortion Law

By Phyllis Hamilton and Bridget Lux

London

More than 600 persons demonstrated here February 7 against a bill amending the liberal 1967 abortion law. The demonstration, called by the Working Women's Charter, was supported by the Abortion Law Reform Association. The demonstrators called for "A Woman's Right to Choose," and for every mother to be a willing mother, every child a wanted child.

In 1967, abortions became available to women on medical and social grounds, although the final decision about a termination still lies with doctors and not with the woman herself.

Since then, the anti-abortion forces, especially the Society for the Protection of the Unborn Child and the Society of Innocents (supported by the Roman Catholic church), have mounted annual protests against the abortion law. But until the bill presented by James White, Labour Member of Parliament for Glasgow-Pollock, the threat to the law did not appear serious.

White introduced a Private Member's Bill to amend the law by restricting the grounds for an abortion to cases in which there was "grave risk to the life or physical health of the mother." His amendment would reduce the time limit for an abortion from twenty-eight weeks to twenty weeks and require that a woman would have to be a resident of Britain for twenty weeks before she would be eligible for an abortion.

The main points of the amendment were covered up by White's attacks on "abuses" of the abortion law. He claimed that women from other countries, unable to obtain abortions at home, were flocking to Britain and obtaining abor-

tions at private clinics. These clinics, he said, were making "excess profits" and may even involve "criminal gangs."

The actual facts, however, have already been presented by the Lane Committee, which reported on the abortion law in April 1974 after a three-year study. The committee argued that the law had succeeded in cutting down the number of illegal abortions. It found that the main flaws of the act lay not in the influx of women from other countries nor in the private clinics, but in the inadequacy of the facilities provided by the National Health Service. In some areas of the North of England and Scotland, women are still forced to go to expensive private clinics or to obtain illegal abortions because certain doctors object on "moral" grounds to performing abortions.

The Labour government refused to take a stand in opposition to the White amendment, which was sponsored by two Labour MPs. As Margaret Coulson pointed out in the February 6 *Red Weekly*, "the anti-abortion organisations must be very pleased that this Bill has a Labour Sponsor—for this reinforces their efforts to portray their fight as a non-party, non-class question." The government did not exert any pressure on MPs to vote against the bill, and the minister for health, Dr. David Owen, even apologized for "abuses" of the abortion law by the private sector and promised to introduce legislation to end them. He did not promise to provide adequate abortion facilities under the National Health Service.

The amendment was carried by a vote of 203 to 88, but it is not being proceeded with at present. A government rec-

ommendation that the bill be referred to a select committee was accepted. The committee is to deal with all the evidence relating to the functioning of the abortion act and is to recommend any necessary amendments. This is clearly a delaying tactic on the part of the Labour government, which does not wish to alienate any of its supporters by taking a clear stand on democratic rights for women.

Immediately after the February 7 demonstration, at a meeting of more than 400 persons addressed by several speakers, a woman reported on the situation in Europe. In France, despite some gains, abortion is available only up to the tenth week of pregnancy, and in Italy supporters of the right to abortion have been imprisoned. In West Germany, women held a picket at the British Embassy in

Bonn to protest against the amendment to the British act, and the meeting decided to reciprocate by organising support for the right to abortion in Germany.

It is clear that the attacks on the abortion legislation must be fought, and that the 1967 act must be extended to make abortion a woman's right, not a matter to be left to the discretion of a doctor. □

London Demonstration Marks 'Bloody Sunday' Massacre

'Troops Out of Ireland,' Say London Marchers

By Phyllis Hamilton and Robin Hunter

The third anniversary of the massacre of thirteen demonstrators by the British army in Derry was marked in London on February 1 by a demonstration of several thousand persons demanding the immediate withdrawal of British troops from Ireland. This was the second national mobilization against the British occupation of Northern Ireland in a little more than three months.

The action was preceded by a meeting of more than 700 persons in Conway Hall and an open-air rally at Hyde Park Corner which grew to more than 1,000 persons. In the previous week meetings had been held all over Britain to publicize and build the action. The February 2 *Observer* estimated that about 4,000 persons took part in the march.

The march was sponsored by the Bloody Sunday Commemoration Committee, supported by the Troops Out Movement, the International Socialists, the International Marxist Group (IMG—British section of the Fourth International), and others.

This was the first major public protest against British policy on Ireland since the repressive legislation introduced by the Labour home secretary, Roy Jenkins. The "Jenkins Laws" extend the state's power to detain, interrogate, and in the case of foreign residents, expel from Britain those suspected of "terrorism." It applies to those suspected of giving even moral support to alleged terrorists. This demonstration was slightly larger than the action held in October 1974 (prior to the legislation), and demanded the repeal of the "Jenkins Laws."

Incidents of provocation had provided a pretext for police attacks and arrests at the October demonstration (see *Intercontinental Press*, November 11, 1974, p. 1465), and in the new legal context the situation was considered extremely delicate by the march organisers. Slogans that expressed solidarity with the Irish Republican Army, then legal, and chanted

by some sections of the October march might have given the police a new pretext to attack and victimize demonstrators. A leaflet was distributed by the Commemoration Committee urging people to cooperate with the march stewards and to beware of provocateurs. As it happened, the march was well disciplined and offered the police no opportunity to create "incidents."

The demonstration represented a step forward over last October's in that it clearly demanded an immediate, rather than staged, withdrawal of troops, and connected this with the unqualified right of the Irish people as a whole—North and South—to determine their own future. The majority of slogans reflected this: "Troops Out Now!" "Troops Out of Ireland, Internees Out of Jail!" "No concessions to the Loyalists, Troops Out Now!" Slogans such as "No Exclusions, No Detentions, Smash the Jenkins Laws!" were popular with the marchers.

At the rally in Conway Hall the main speaker was Bernadette McAliskey of the newly formed Irish Socialist Republican party. She recalled the events leading up to the 1972 Civil Rights March that culminated in the "Bloody Sunday" massacre. She claimed that the main lesson to be learnt was that the British ruling class had proved itself to be willing to murder civil rights demonstrators. She called for the immediate withdrawal of British troops and attacked the "bloodbath" theory that if British troops were withdrawn immediately there would be civil war and mass murder in Ireland. She argued that British troops were buttressing the Protestants and said only if the troops were withdrawn would it be possible to win over a section of the Protestants to republican and socialist ideas.

McAliskey singled out for attack the position of the Communist party and certain "left" Social Democrats, who call for the withdrawal of troops to barracks and for a phased withdrawal from Ireland.

"The barracks," she pointed out, "are not far from the Catholic ghettos." British troops had no right to be in Ireland and should be withdrawn now.

Among other speakers at the rally was Pat Hickey, a building worker and member of the IMG. Hickey stressed the failure of all constitutional and repressive attempts to solve the Irish "problem." He denounced the recent Gardiner Report, which while recommending that the British government improve the conditions in the concentration camps in Ireland also suggests that political-prisoner status be removed, that there be no amnesty for political prisoners, and that internment should be retained.

Hickey added that the "Jenkins Laws" could be applied to the working class in Britain and called for a campaign for their repeal. He urged support for a labour movement conference on Ireland, which was seen by most speakers as one of the major steps to be taken in the campaign.

Most of those at the rally then attended the demonstration. Among those participating were the Troops Out Movement; the IMG, which had the largest organised contingent; People's Democracy; the International Socialists; the British Withdrawal from Northern Ireland Campaign (a pacifist grouping currently under prosecution for "conspiracy to disaffection"—specifically, leafleting British soldiers on their rights), and a wide variety of other groups.

Perhaps as significant as those who attended is the list of political organisations that stayed away. Most notable was the absence of the British Communist party and its co-thinkers of the British Peace Committee, who participated in the last mobilization. The Communist party is not willing to risk its working relationship with the "left" of the Labour party and the trade-union bureaucracy by calling for immediate withdrawal of troops.

Also absent was the Labour party Young Socialists, a group very much under the influence of the ex-Trotskyist *Militant* grouping. This tendency ignores the existence of the national question in Ireland and puts forward the abstract demand for Catholic and Protestant working-class unity.

There were no Labour party constituency association banners at the mobilization, and unlike the October 1974 demonstration, not a single Labour party Member of Parliament participated and called for immediate withdrawal. Not even the would-be-radical *Tribune* grouping.

Despite the absence of these forces, the size and militancy of the Bloody Sunday Commemoration demonstration indicates that the movement for the withdrawal of troops is gaining momentum. As the January 30 *Red Weekly* said, "the British working class has to be won to opposition to any handover to the loyalists, for troops out now, and for self-determination for the Irish people." □

Portuguese Peasants Seize Estates

Thousands of landless Portuguese peasants in the Alentejo region attended a conference in Evora February 9 to discuss land reform. The conference was sponsored by the Communist party.

Alvaro Cunhal, CP general secretary and a cabinet minister in the Portuguese government, addressed the crowd of about 12,000 persons. When they began to chant demands for immediate expropriation of the large estates in the region, Cunhal replied that they would have to wait. "But you'll have it soon enough," he promised.

A week earlier, the minister of agriculture told Alentejo farm workers that the provisional government had plans to expropriate arable lands currently not in use.

The peasants, eager for land reform, are apparently not waiting. During early February, they seized at least three estates owned by absentee landlords.

In some cases peasants armed with shotguns patrolled the seized properties. Landlords who do not take care of their livestock, machinery, and property have been denounced by the peasants for their economic sabotage.

About 40 percent of Portugal's population of 9.2 million is engaged in agriculture.

Too Close to Home?

The *San Juan Star* in Puerto Rico gave a mixed review to Costa Gavras's film *State of Siege*, which deals with U. S. counter-revolutionary activity in Latin America: "The plot, photography, suspense, and characters are fine, but the political theme often detracts."

Victims of Lisbon's 'Scorched Earth' Campaign

Thousands Face Famine in Mozambique

Severe hunger has become a serious threat in the Cabo Delgado district of northern Mozambique, according to a report by James MacManus in the February 8 *Manchester Guardian*. A preliminary assessment carried out by the Frelimo (Frente de Libertacao de Mocambique — Mozambique Liberation Front) administration in the district estimated that about 35,000 African villagers were close to the primary stages of famine and that food supplies were running out for 80,000 more.

There are no civilian doctors in the region and only one Portuguese medical orderly is stationed in the district capital of Porto Amelia. He is scheduled to leave Mozambique in March. Frelimo officials in the area believe that such diseases as conjunctivitis and dysentery are growing to epidemic proportions.

The dangerous conditions in Cabo Delgado, MacManus notes, were the result of the ten-year war Lisbon carried out in its effort to crush the liberation forces. Frelimo first began its operations in the district in 1964, and the Portuguese army, in its drive to destroy Frelimo's base of support, slaughtered cattle, napalmed villages, and burned crops. Using the "scorched earth" policy, the colonialist forces devastated wide areas of the countryside.

Raimundo Pachinuapa, the Frelimo district governor, told MacManus, "The war we fought was a necessary one but it has destroyed a great deal. The situation is desperate. We are at zero in terms of food and supply. In the liberated areas, which we have controlled for years, the people have something. But in the Portuguese zones there is nothing, little land under cultivation, and no livestock.

"Even in the liberated zones the situation is bad. We no longer get food and medical supplies from Tanzania direct—everything has to come from the South. There is hardly any transport because the Portuguese smashed everything in their military camps before leaving, even the windows of their barracks."

Much of the problem in Cabo Delgado, Pachinuapa said, had been caused by the Portuguese practice during the war of forcibly herding African peasants into "fortified villages," where they became dependent on the Portuguese for food. He cited the case of 600 villagers from Mueda who had been shipped to a camp on the island of Ibo off Mozambique's coast. After the April 25 Lisbon coup, the villagers were hauled back to central Cabo Delgado to fend for themselves. According

to Pachinuapa, they have since been living from wild fruits and nuts, which are expected to come to a seasonal end in March.

"We simply cannot begin to count instances of this sort," he continued. "The territory is swarming with people who have been removed from their homes and land and have suddenly been cut off from all supplies." □

FBI Engaged in Snooping Abroad

Recent revelations about Central Intelligence Agency spying on U. S. citizens inside the United States have now been supplemented by reports that the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Washington's domestic snooping agency, carries out intelligence-gathering missions outside the United States.

The February 16 *New York Times* reported that Joseph Burton, a 42-year-old FBI informant from Tampa, Florida, posed as a Marxist for more than two years in order to infiltrate Maoist circles in the United States and abroad. Burton told the *Times* that he had made "about 10" visits to Canada at the FBI's direction.

An FBI spokesman in Washington confirmed in an interview with the *Times* that the bureau has sent U. S. citizens abroad to spy.

Burton headed a fake "revolutionary" group in Tampa called the "Red Star Cadre" that the FBI asked him to set up as a front for his work.

According to the *New York Times*, his instructions were "to develop contacts with members of the Canadian Communist party's pro-Chinese wing, and to report to the F. B. I. on their activities, including any signs that the organization was passing funds from China to Maoist groups in the United States."

It is possible that Burton and the *Times* are referring to one or more of the various Maoist groups that exist in Canada. The Communist party in that country is not known to have had a "pro-Chinese wing" for several years. It is characterized by slavish adherence to Moscow's line.

Burton boasted he had caused a "riff" among some of the organizations represented at a Maoist conference in Canada.

A former "high official" of the FBI told the *New York Times* that the bureau maintains agents in a number of foreign capitals. He said they serve as "legal attaches" and have their offices inside U. S. embassies.

Reveal Truman Readied Troops in 1948 to Block Electoral Victory of Italian CP

By Dick Fidler

President Harry S. Truman authorized the use of "covert action," including military intervention, to prevent a victory of the Communist-Socialist alliance in Italy's 1948 election, according to documents just published by the State Department.

The documents, a censored version of National Security Council reports, reveal that Truman approved a secret recommendation that the United States "make full use of its political, economic, and if necessary, military power" to help the pro-U.S. government of Premier Alcide de Gasperi turn back the Communists in the April 18, 1948, election.

The documents are part of the series "The Foreign Relations of the United States." The contain many deletions. The February 12 *New York Times* provided some examples:

"One report, dated Feb. 10, 1948, lists eight recommendations. The fifth, ending with a deletion, says: 'Actively combatting communist propaganda in Italy by an effective U.S. information program and by all other practicable means [rest of sentence deleted].'

"Another report, dated March 8, recommends 'efforts by all feasible means [deletion] to detach the Italian left-wing Socialists from the Communists.'

"The same report recommends, with an additional deletion: 'Continue to assist the Christian Democrats and other selected anti-Communist parties [deletion].'"

The State Department declined to discuss with the news media what had been deleted. But the *New York Times* reported that William M. Franklin, director of the State Department's Historical Office, had told members of the department's outside advisory panel on the foreign relations series:

"It has been agreed that we cannot cover in the foreign relations series clandestine operations, covert intelligence reports or any matters having to do with secret weapons or nuclear programs other than those that could be specifically declassified."

Walter F. Lafeber, a Cornell Uni-

versity history professor, who is chairman of the advisory committee, told the *Times* that "the National Security Council is being very sticky about releasing documents."

The documents published by the State Department do not indicate what role was played by the newly formed Central Intelligence Agency in carrying out Truman's recommendations. But in the January issue of *Foreign Affairs* quarterly, Harry Rositzke, a former CIA official, said that "in 1948, spurred by the Communist takeover in Czechoslovakia and the Italian political crisis, the National Security Council gave the CIA the responsibility for 'political, psychological, economic, and unconventional warfare operations'. . . ."

These revelations come at a time when the Italian Communist party, encouraged by the widening fissures developing within the ruling Christian Democratic party, is stepping up its efforts to get back into the government. It was kicked out of the coalition government in 1947 under pressure from Washington.

Only a few months ago, the Ford administration indicated that it is quite prepared to repeat Truman's example of military and economic blackmail and covert operations to thwart such a development.

When Kissinger met with congressional leaders in September 1974 to defend CIA activities, "he reportedly defended the need for covert activity by asserting that despite criticism of the C.I.A., if Italy went Communist, there would be criticism that the United States had not done enough to save her," *New York Times* correspondent Bernard Gwertzman wrote September 27.

Similarly, Ford's explicit defense of Washington's "right" to intervene in the internal politics of other countries, as in the case of the CIA's clandestine operations against the Allende government in Chile, was a public warning that other countries, including Italy,

could become the object of CIA attention—and possible military intervention.

The new disclosures about Truman's role in the 1948 Italian election sustain what revolutionary socialists said at the time.

"Rarely has there been so brazen an attempt by a foreign power to interfere with an election in another country," Art Preis wrote in the March 22, 1948, issue of *The Militant*, the U.S. socialist newsweekly.

The Militant described the various means employed by the Truman administration to pressure Italian voters into rejecting the workers parties and backing capitalism.

Secretary of State George C. Marshall threatened to cut off Economic Recovery Program assistance (the Marshall Plan) to Italy if its people (in his words) "choose to vote into power a government in which the dominant political force would be a party whose hostility to this program has been frequently enunciated. . . ."

The U.S. Justice Department declared that "Italians who join the Communist party never will be permitted to immigrate to the United States"—a serious threat when many thousands of Italians were forced by the extreme poverty of their native country to move to the United States.

The Militant of March 22, 1948, reported that "a great naval armada has been concentrated around Italy's coastal waters, numerous naval 'games' have been held in the Mediterranean and American naval planes have repeatedly flown over Milan, Turin and other major industrial cities of Italy."

Besides shaking the big stick, the threat of military action, Washington offered a carrot. About \$4 million was reported to have been poured into Italy by the U.S. government to swing the vote. The biggest election bribe, however, was the announcement on March 20, 1948, that if the Italians voted for a right-wing government, the United States, Britain, and France would favor restoration of the territory of Trieste to Italy. At the same time, "unusually reliable diplomatic sources" in Washington broadcast the promise that some of Italy's former African colonies might likewise be returned.

The Truman administration's public declarations were carefully synchronized with a fierce right-wing cam-

paign inside Italy led by the Christian Democrats and the Roman Catholic hierarchy. The Vatican announced that it had instructed the clergy to refuse absolution to professed Communists—including, presumably, anyone who voted Communist. The de Gasperi regime paraded tens of thousands of troops bristling with U.S.-made weapons. Fascist gangs swarmed the streets, attacking workers meetings. Labor leaders were kidnapped and assassinated.

"This formidable array of capitalist force," the April 19 *Militant* stated in an editorial headed "Hands Off Italy!" is "based on far more than the internal resources of Italian capitalism which is utterly decayed, bankrupt and discredited. The funds, the arms, the material means of power come from a foreign source—the United States."

The documents just released in Washington confirm the truth of this charge.

De Gasperi's Christian Democratic party won the April 18, 1948, election with 48 percent of the vote, an increase of about 13 percent over its vote in the previous election in 1946. The Stalinist-dominated electoral bloc received just under 31 percent—about the same as the combined CP and SP vote in 1946.

The election results established the Christian Democrats as the major parliamentary party in Italy. They no longer needed to rely on coalition with the Stalinists to maintain capitalist order and private property.

The Communist and Socialist party leaders had helped pave the way for the resurgence of reaction by their whole policy of coalition with the Christian Democrats and other bourgeois parties. In government, they had played a crucial role in stabilizing Italian capitalism in the aftermath of the fascists' overthrow—disarming the workers, opposing strikes, and calling for social peace.

Washington's intervention, however, was no doubt instrumental in refurbishing the discredited bourgeois politicians, former collaborators of the hated fascist regime, who built the Christian Democracy into the formidable right-wing political machine that has dominated Italy's governments for almost thirty years.

The recent revelations about the role of covert CIA action in attempts to prevent Allende's election and in the

overthrow of Chile's Popular Unity government aroused widespread indignation. The new documents published by the State Department show that such policies go back at least a quarter of a century.

They indicate the need to open up an investigation of the CIA's covert activity, to expose the entire record of U.S. imperialism's secret intervention in the internal politics of countries around the world. □

Gain Cost-of-Living Allowance

Indian Dock Workers Win Partial Victory

By Sharad Jhaveri

Jamnagar

The four-day strike by dock workers ended January 19 when the regime of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi conceded some of the strikers' demands.

The All-India Port and Dock Workers Federation launched the strike on January 16 after rejecting the regime's offer of only 25 rupees¹ a month as interim dearness [cost-of-living] allowance for 1974. The strikers had initially demanded Rs. 100 a month as dearness allowance from January 1974, a revision of the wage structure through bipartite negotiations, and ranking as industrial workers. [See *Intercontinental Press*, February 3, p. 150.]

The agreement ending the strike sets a dearness allowance of Rs. 120 for the period January to July 1974 and Rs. 180 from July to December. The workers are to be paid Rs. 50 a month in dearness allowance beginning January 1, 1975. This interim relief will be subject to the provisions of the Additional Emoluments (Compulsory Deposits) Act, 1974.² Any increase in wages, which is now under consideration by the wage revision committee, will be retroactive from January 1, 1974.

The leaders of the port and dock workers thus submitted to the Gandhi regime's wage freeze act. Because of growing inflation, this means that the

real increase in dock workers' benefits will be small. The union leaders also accepted the authority of the government-appointed wage revision committee, in which the union has no voice.

The regime's efforts to end the strike differ from its brutal suppression of the May 1974 railway strike. Although the Defence of India Rules were invoked and the army was alerted, no arrests of striking workers or union leaders were made. In contrast to its approach during the railway strike, the regime continued to negotiate with the dockers, even after the strike was launched.

The regime's approach may have been influenced by the fact that three of the union's leaders, Manohar Kotwal, H. N. Trivedi, and Shanti Patel, are members of the ruling Congress party. The HMS, AITUC, and INTUC³ helped keep the strike within safe channels.

Nevertheless, the strike settlement will cost the Finance Ministry about Rs. 8 crores⁴ for 1974 and an additional Rs. 16 crores annually from January 1975. Moreover, large revenue losses were reported in some ports. About 175 ships were stranded during the strike, resulting in a loss of Rs. 15,000 to Rs. 20,000 a day for each ship. If the strike had continued, shipping operations would have been seriously disrupted. □

1. One rupee is equivalent to US\$0.127. — IP

2. Under this law, which was enacted July 6, 1974, all wage increases for one year and 50 percent of all cost-of-living allowance increases for two years are to be impounded in compulsory "savings" accounts, to be paid back in five annual installments. — IP

3. Hind Mazdoor Sabha, a trade-union federation organized by the Praja Socialist party; All-India Trade Union Congress, whose head is S.A. Dange, general secretary of the Communist party of India; Indian National Trade Union Congress, dominated by the Congress party. — IP

4. One crore equals ten million units. — IP

Pentagon Doubles Airlift to Lon Nol

By Peter Green

The Pentagon took another step toward open intervention once again in the Indochina war when it doubled its airlift of supplies to the Lon Nol regime February 15.

The Khmer Rouge insurgents have now virtually blockaded the Mekong River, Pnompenh's main supply line. For the first time in the war, they have mined the river. They have also stepped up heavy artillery fire from the banks, which are almost totally under their control.

The February 10 *New York Times* reported that nineteen supply vessels were sunk in the previous ten days. Shipping sources cited by the February 16 *Washington Post* said that crews have now refused to take cargo ships or barges up the river, despite offers of 300 percent wage bonuses.

Support from Washington is all that has sustained Lon Nol up till now. As his regime crumbles and his armed forces become less and less effective in holding back the popular rebellion, White House strategists face a difficult problem: In the face of overwhelming opposition from the American people, and even from much of Congress, how can Lon Nol be saved?

The Pentagon has sought to disguise the extent of U. S. involvement. In October last year the air force turned over the work of supplying Lon Nol by air from Thailand to a civilian contractor, Bird Air. According to the February 12 *Washington Post*, this was to avoid going over the ceiling imposed by Congress of 200 U. S. officials in Cambodia at any one time. The Pentagon supplied Bird Air free of charge with five C-130 transport planes—with their insignias painted out. Half the Bird Air pilots are "retired" U. S. Air Force men; the rest are active reservists.

The *Washington Post* pointed out that Bird Air had "long-time connections with the Pentagon as well as peripheral contacts with the Central Intelligence Agency." This "peripheral" contact included a large supply operation in the early 1960s during the CIA's secret war in Laos, which involved training and equipping more than 20,000 Meo hill tribesmen as mercenaries.

When the Mekong River supply line was first threatened in early January, Bird Air stepped up its operations from between two to five flights daily to ten. On February 11, the Pentagon announced that Bird Air would be given another six or seven C-130s, allowing a total of twenty-two to twenty-four flights a day.



LON NOL: More isolated than ever.

This would amount to a maximum capacity of 360 tons of supplies daily, mainly ammunition, representing about two-thirds of Lon Nol's current ammunition consumption.

While Bird Air was organizing the extra pilots and crew for the new planes, the Pentagon itself rented three extralarge DC-8 "stretch" cargo jets, each with a capacity of forty-five tons and capable of making two trips a day. These planes began operations February 15.

To keep the city supplied with fuel and food as well as ammunition, Washington would have to organize a much larger airlift. The U. S. embassy in Pnompenh announced January 16 that it had an emergency contingency plan for such an airlift, but only "as a last resort." However, the contingency plan may already be in effect. Part of the plan may have been for the airlift to be increased gradually, gauging public reaction at each stage.

The commander of U. S. forces in the Pacific, Admiral Noel Gaylor, visited Pnompenh on February 13 to assess the blockade and the level of military supplies. He met with Lon Nol and the commander of Pnompenh's armed forces, Lieutenant General Sosthene Fernandez. According to a report in the February 15 *New York Times*, one topic presumably on the agenda was the U. S. "last resort"

contingency plan.

But the full consequences of such a massive airlift have been carefully avoided by Pentagon and U. S. embassy spokesmen.

Rockets regularly hit Pnompenh's airport, and each flight in and out is a dangerous business. According to the February 12 *Washington Post*, U. S. diplomatic sources in Pnompenh "concede that an airlift of the size of that to Berlin after World War II is completely out of the question, because of the war situation in Cambodia and the lack of protection against antiaircraft weapons."

If the Pentagon goes ahead with its planned full-scale airlift, which it seems to be building up to, then it would also have to step up its military intervention. In a familiar scenario, the Pentagon would argue that to protect the lives of its pilots, be they "civilian" or military, the insurgent positions from which rockets are launched against the airport have to be attacked, or that the aircraft have to be defended against antiaircraft fire.

If the Mekong remains blockaded, such an airlift is thought to be the only way Washington could forestall the collapse of Lon Nol in the near future. A U. S. embassy official quoted by the February 10 *New York Times* said that ammunition supplies were down to a "dangerous" level. He added: "If the river stays closed for another two weeks and we don't get additional supplies by airlift, it would be a lot more than dangerous. It would be critical."

Fuel and food are also running short. Pnompenh's power supply has been cut by at least two-thirds and gasoline has been rationed. Rice is also now being rationed, causing the black market price to surge.

The U. S. embassy has ordered the dependents of embassy staff members to leave the city. The embassy also advised other U. S. citizens and foreigners working for the U. S. government to evacuate dependents and other nonessential personnel. The Australian, British, French, Japanese, and South Vietnamese have all made similar evacuation moves.

An embassy spokesman said the dependents were leaving not because of the danger, but because living conditions had grown worse. The U. S. press also attempted to put the evacuation in this light. "Despite the shellings and the blockade," the February 16 *Washington Post* reported, "there is no panic here among the Cambodians or the foreigners, and sending the dependents out of the country has become similar to sending the wives and children to a cool mountain vacation retreat in the hot season, as was the practice in the colonial era."

The Pentagon and the U. S. embassy are in an awkward position. The must downplay the seriousness of the situation in Pnompenh to prevent any panic there

but must play up the danger before Congress in an attempt to get increased financial support for the war. This has led to some contradictory statements. As recently as January 7, Sydney H. Schanberg reported in the February 7 *New York Times*, a senior U.S. embassy official in Pnompenh, when asked during a "deep background" meeting with a newsman if the aid cut by Congress in December had created a critical situation, replied: "I don't think we're in trouble. They're just going to have to be more careful in how they use their resources."

After President Ford asked Congress on January 28 for an extra \$222 million in military aid for Pnompenh, Ambassador John Gunther Dean said that without the supplemental funds the Cambodian army would run out of ammunition long before the end of the fiscal year. "It is not an exaggeration to say that this is a matter of survival for the non-Communist side in this war," he asserted.

Asked to explain the discrepancy, the embassy said that there had been "a lot of confusion" and "conflicting views" among embassy officials. Schanberg reported that the embassy blamed two unexpected developments for the change increased costs and the intensity of the insurgents' offensive. "However," he continued, "the embassy had predicted the offensive—one is mounted every dry season—and the fighting, according to the embassy's assessments, is no more intense than last year." An article by Mike Snitowsky in the January 24 *Far Eastern Economic Review* reported that this year, "the normal ferocity of [the Khmer Rouge's] dry-season offensive has given way to a strategy of apprehensive caution."

Schanberg reported that military analysts in Pnompenh maintain that the trend in ammunition costs was visible when the original request was prepared. The embassy also insisted that transportation costs must now come out of the military aid budget rather than from a special Pentagon budget. Schanberg pointed out that this "raised another question of credibility. Since the beginning of the war the embassy has told newsmen that shipping costs were included; now it would appear that tens of millions of dollars were disguised in the Defense Department's budget so that the real total of aid to Cambodia has never been given to the public."

Schanberg reported that Ford's supplemental request is believed to be more than Pnompenh needs for this fiscal year. It would make the military budget the biggest of the Cambodian war:

"The analysts feel that this raises serious questions whether the Ford Administration is trying to establish a buffer arms stock for next year, when a war-weary Congress can be expected to provide even less aid to Indochina than this year." In fact, Anthony Lewis disclosed in a column in the February 6 *New York*

Times, Ford wants another \$425 million in military aid for the next fiscal year as well.

Another possibility is that the expanded

military budget might be intended to finance an escalation of the war, not merely to continue expenditure at its present level. □

Threatened With Tax Suit, Eviction

Russell Foundation Under Attack in Britain

The Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation* has made an urgent appeal for help in the fight to prevent British authorities from pressing a very high tax claim against the foundation. At the same time, the organization faces an attempt by the local Nottingham Council to carry through an order enabling it to demolish the foundation's printing shop and associated offices.

The foundation, established by the late Bertrand Russell, is active in defending political prisoners in countries around the world. In 1967 internationally known experts testified at its tribunal on U.S. war crimes in Vietnam.

Since Russell's death in 1970 the foundation has branched out to establish its own printing press, which provides facilities for a large number of trade-union, civil-liberties, socialist, radical, and women's organizations. It also founded a publishing house that has produced more than 100 pamphlets and several dozen books in the recent past.

In April 1974 the foundation opened a new tribunal—to deal with the systematic violation of human rights in Latin America. A central focus of the testimony was U.S. complicity in the overthrow of the Allende regime in Chile.

The foundation receives a large number of requests for assistance and intervention on behalf of political prisoners in every part of the world. If the attack by the tax authorities goes unchecked, the organizations's ability to respond to these appeals may be gravely hampered.

In a recent letter, foundation directors Ken Coates and Chris Farley stress the seriousness of the threat:

"... we now face a double crisis, which poses a risk that we may be put out of action for an uncomfortably long time. Firstly, the Inland Revenue are insisting on pressing a very high tax claim against us relating, as we feel, unjustly, to money given by Bertrand Russell and expended in connection with the Tribunal on War Crimes in Vietnam. We had made careful allowance to meet all due tax payments and this case is being pressed even though the Special Commissioners whose function is to adjudicate such claims, have already decisively found in

*Bertrand Russell House, Gamble Street, Nottingham NG7 4ET, England.

our favour. The Revenue admit that they have chosen to move against us as a test case, in order to reverse the precedents of judge-made law which govern the matter in question. . . . They have also refused to underwrite any of the legal costs which this decision imposes on us. . . . The legal costs involved in this enormous litigation could be prodigious.

"As if this were not enough, the local council has simultaneously decided to issue a compulsory purchase order to enable it to demolish our printing factory and all our extensive associated offices."

The foundation estimates that it will need a minimum of 30,000 pounds to insure the continuation of its work. □

Pakistani Regime Bans Opposition Party

Following the February 8 assassination of Hyat Mohammad Khan Sherpa, home minister of the North-West Frontier Province, the Pakistani regime banned the opposition National Awami party and arrested up to 400 leaders of the NAP and other political groups. Among the arrested were NAP President Khan Abdul Wali Khan.

The order outlawing the NAP also decreed that the party's funds and properties would be confiscated by the government. On February 10, the National Assembly passed a law withdrawing immunity from arrest of members of the assembly, the Senate, and provincial legislative assemblies.

Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto said, "The time has come that all politics of violence with its tentacles abroad should be ended in order to save the country."

"We have to think seriously that it is necessary to save Pakistan for all times to come from secession and threat of secession and to put an end to the politics of violence and bloodshed."

The NAP was founded in 1957 by Maulana Bhashani, a peasant leader in East Pakistan (now Bangladesh). In 1972 and 1973, leaders of the NAP held office in Baluchistan and the North-West Frontier Province, where the Baluchis and Pathans have been fighting for autonomy from the central government. In the past, some of the NAP leaders supported the autonomy demand. The Bhutto regime frequently charged the NAP with aiding the Baluchi and Pathan guerrillas.

Belgian Workers Combat Advancing Recession

By Marcel Smet

Brussels

The recession that began in Belgium in early autumn¹ has deepened since then. By December 31, 1974, there were 250,000 unemployed, including 140,000 completely unemployed and 110,000 partially unemployed. The rate of fully unemployed is 5.4%. The main victims of the recession are women (with an unemployment rate of 8.9% compared with 3.8% for men) and youth (one-third of the unemployed are under 25 years of age).²

Another indicator: During the last two months of 1974, the use of electricity in Belgium was no greater than in the corresponding months of 1973.³ The Ministry of Economic Affairs does not exclude the possibility of a decline in the gross national product during the first quarter of 1975.

Inflation continues to mount side by side with the recession. With a rate of 15.7% for retail prices and of 23.7% for wholesale prices,⁴ inflation is much higher than in France, West Germany, and Holland, the main trading partners of Belgium. This threatens the latter's competitive position.

Despite the high rate of unemployment, the coalition government of the PSC, PLP, and RW (Parti Social Chrétien—Social Christian party; Parti pour la Liberté et le Progrès—the Liberal party; and the Rassemblement Wallon—Walloon Rally) has made fighting inflation its number one objective in an effort to strengthen the position of Belgian capitalism on the European market. Since the capitalists have no intention of cutting into their profits, the workers are made to shoulder the cost of the struggle

against inflation. For several years all governments have appealed for "moderation." But these appeals have fallen on deaf ears.

At the end of October the government tried a *new step toward an incomes policy*. The minister of economic affairs announced in parliament "that he would not hesitate to take measures against wage increases that overstep the increase in the consumer price index and the growth of productivity."⁵ Officially, wage increases are to be held to a ceiling of 4%.

To meet the growing discontent in the labor movement over unemployment, the government decided December 15 to take steps to ease the unemployment resulting from its anti-inflationary policy. Twenty thousand unemployed will be hired by the state, and 100% of the public investments allocations will be spent in 1975, as compared with 80% in 1974. This "phase two" will be followed by a "phase three" of economic recovery once inflation has been contained.

The Interprofessional Agreement

For workers whose jobs and purchasing power are threatened, the Interprofessional Agreement⁶ has taken on very great importance. The preparations for negotiations showed a growing radicalization in the FGTB (Fédération Générale des Travailleurs de Belgique—Belgian General Federation of Workers, the Social Democratic union), with several union centers declaring in favor of a twenty-four-hour general strike to back their demands. But in spite of all this, the leaderships of the FGTB and the CSC (Confédération Syndicale Chrétienne—Confederation of Christian Unions) succeeded in imposing on their ranks a very moderate program of demands and an even worse final agreement. Let us compare the 1973-74 agree-

ment⁷ with the demands for 1975-76 and the agreement that was actually reached.⁸

Previous Agreement (1973-74)

1. The demand for a minimum wage of 12,500 francs [1 franc equals US\$0.028] was rejected.

2. A 40-hour workweek by January 1, 1976, at the latest, with the 42-hour workweek in 1973 and the 41-hour week in 1974 as intermediary stages.

3. The issue of transportation costs to and from work was referred to settlement at the level of sectors and individual plants.

4. Four weeks of paid holidays beginning in 1975. From 1973 on, this fourth week would be paid as a normal workweek in the firm.

5. Pensions: The 1971 agreement was reaffirmed.

1975-76 Demands

1. A guaranteed minimum wage of 15,500 francs (gross) beginning January 1, 1975.

2. A legal guarantee of the 40-hour workweek.

3. Free transportation to and from work.

4. Gradual introduction of double vacation pay for the fourth week of holidays.

5. Lowering of the retirement age after 45 years' work for men, 40 years' work for women.

6. Equal pay for equal work by women and youth.

Agreement Accepted by Unions

1. No agreement on the minimum wage.

2. A 40-hour workweek protected by law by the end of 1975.

3. The bosses to pay 50% of public

1. See "For Belgium, Too, No Escape From Recession," by Ernest Mandel, *Intercontinental Press*, November 11, 1974, p. 1475.

2. Figures from the National Employment Bureau.

3. *La Libre Belgique*, January 9, 1975.

4. *Affaires Economiques*.

5. *De Standaard*, October 24, 1974.

6. A national contract that applies to all private companies.

7. *Rood*, Vol. 6, No. 45.

8. *De Volksmacht* (organ of the CSC), December 28, 1974.

transportation to and from work. Wage increase to cover group fares. A *recommendation* to include all means of transportation in this contract.

4. Two days of the fourth week of holidays to be paid at double time.

5. A pension at 64 years of age after 45 years of work. A prepension at 60 for men, and 55 for women, for workers laid off.

6. A *recommendation* that international conventions against discrimination with respect to women and youth be applied. Agreement to pay full wages to youth after they have reached 21 years of age.

As can be seen, the agreement offers the workers no guarantees to retain their jobs and their purchasing power. Unemployment will continue and inflation will mount again as soon as the government turns to a policy of recovery.

Incomes Policy Defeated

While the Interprofessional Agreement is one of the most barren in years, this does not mean that the bourgeoisie has a clear road ahead of it. The most significant evidence of this is that *its incomes policy is not succeeding*.

The oil workers have forced the biggest breach in it. They demanded an increase of 20 francs an hour, while the bosses refused to concede more than 5 to 6 francs. The union issued a strike warning that was to expire on January 20. Given the strategic and economic importance of this sector and the great combativity and tradition of advanced forms of struggle of the workers (for example, occupations) a strike in the oil industry would have been a real *accelerator* for the class struggle in Belgium.

At the time of writing, a preliminary agreement—the details have not been revealed—has been reached in Antwerp, where two-thirds of the oil workers are employed. The strike warning has been postponed, and a strike appears less probable.

But in any event, even if the 10 francs hourly increase proposed by the Petroleum Federation and advocated by the union leaderships to the rank and file amounts to only 50% of the initial demand, it already goes far beyond the 4% recommended by the government and the employers. The Belgian bourgeoisie is at pres-

ent unable to impose a real incomes policy.

The example in the oil industry can give rise to hard-fought struggles in the steel and metal products sectors, where negotiations have broken off and where—in contrast to the oil industry—the employers do not rake in extraordinary profits and will not concede significant increases simply through negotiations.

Glass Industry: The Struggle Against Unemployment

After having already laid off almost 1,000 workers at the end of 1974, the multinational trust BSN-Glaverbel decided to close its factory at Gilly (near Charleroi). The jobs of 600 workers in the glass-manufacturing plant are directly threatened, and the jobs of 4,000 others in associated industries are indirectly jeopardized. This has created a problem affecting the whole region around Charleroi, which already has one of the highest rates of unemployment in the country.

The workers at Gilly, where there exists a significant "Gauche Syndicale" [Trade-Union Left Wing] with a militant trade-union line, have reacted in an exemplary way. They immediately organized a twenty-four-hour strike and a street demonstration. All decisions were made in general assemblies of the workers. They organized solidarity demonstrations and got in contact with the works at Zeebrugge and the other glass factories. On January 16 the workers occupied the head office of Glaverbel in Brussels. The Charleroi FG TB was to hold a special congress on January 21. Directly threatened by the decline in employment in the region, the union leaders are taking a fairly militant stance.

Government Responsibility

In this rather tense social climate, the government is trying to steer a course between the twin evils of inflation and unemployment. But it hasn't succeeded in getting rid of either. As a result the working class is engaging in many struggles both to preserve its purchasing power and to save its jobs.

The main opposition parties have centered their fire almost exclusively on one or the other of the two problems. The VU (Volksunie, a right-wing Flemish nationalist party) is de-

manding a complete freeze on prices and wages—in practice, a deflationary policy that would include a significant growth in unemployment. But the workers' reactions to the closure of Glaverbel-Gilly has already demonstrated the great dangers such a policy would entail for the bourgeoisie. The PSB (Parti Socialiste Belge—Belgian Socialist party) calls for the immediate application of a plan of economic recovery. This would inevitably lead to a new surge of prices even greater than that of 1974.

Neither the government's policy nor the proposals of the VU or the PSB offer any guarantees to the workers, because they do not strike at the capitalist system. That is why the RAL-LRT (Revolutionnaire Arbeiders Liga-Ligue Révolutionnaire des Travailleurs—Revolutionary Workers League, Belgian section of the Fourth International) puts forward concrete demands that can be the point of departure for anticapitalist struggles:

Against unemployment:

- A 35-hour week without reduction in pay.
- Retirement at 60, at a pension equivalent to 75% of the wage earned in the five best years.
- Workers control over state subsidies.

In defense of purchasing power:

- A minimum wage of 15,500 francs.
- Linking the taxation scale to a cost-of-living index.
- Automatic and immediate adjustments in wages linked to rises in the cost of living.
- Struggle against tax evasion.
- Nationalization under workers control of the oil industry, the energy sector, the banks, and credit corporations.

January 17, 1975

U. S. Military Experts Aiding Saigon

The Defense Department admitted February 7 that seventeen U. S. Air Force technical experts were in South Vietnam helping to distribute aircraft parts for the Saigon Air Force. A spokesman denied, however, that their presence was a violation of the Paris accords, which prohibit the introduction of "troops, military advisers and military personnel, including technical military personnel."

George Habash Scores Palestinian 'Ministate' Deal

Not all Palestinian resistance organizations accepted the October 28, 1974, decision by Arab heads of state, meeting in Rabat, Morocco, to support the creation of an independent Palestinian authority "on any Palestinian land that is liberated" from Israeli occupation, and to recognize the Palestine Liberation Organization as the "sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people."

Among those opposed to the Rabat conference decision was the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. The PFLP withdrew from the PLO Executive Committee in September 1974, just before the Rabat conference, but continues to remain a part of the umbrella grouping.

The leader of the PFLP, Dr. George Habash, described his organization's position in an interview with *Le Monde* correspondent Eric Rouleau that was published in the February 6 issue of the Paris daily.

"Surrounded by bodyguards armed to the teeth," Rouleau wrote, "he received us in the modest headquarters of the PFLP, in the Chatila refugee camp in Beirut. Dr. Habash is no longer the man built like a boxer, the picture of health and strength, that we had met five years ago. His moustache is still thick and black, but his close-cropped hair is tinged with gray. His face is emaciated; his body, somewhat thinner, has a slight stoop. Having survived a heart attack, Dr. Habash appears older than his forty-eight years."

Habash reaffirmed that the PFLP's "strategic objective," which it shares with the other resistance organizations, is "the reestablishment of the unity of our country, the repatriation of those who were driven out of it, and the creation of a democratic-secular state." But he emphasized that "any settlement that would lead to the consolidation of the Zionist entity by granting it some legitimacy would in our view constitute a form of capitulation."

The interview continued:

Le Monde: Your opponents in the PLO claim that a negotiated settle-



HABASH: Negotiated settlement "can result only in recognition of Israel."

ment, leading to the recovery of part of Palestine, would be only a step toward the united and democratic Palestine that you are calling for.

Habash: I am not opposed in principle to proceeding by stages, provided that these stages advance our cause. But the present circumstances do not favor such progress. The relationship of forces, regionally and internationally, is not in our favor. Negotiations can result only in the implicit or explicit recognition of the State of Israel, with its borders guaranteed by a number of Arab countries and foreign powers.

Le Monde: Isn't the triumphal welcome accorded Yasir Arafat by the General Assembly of the United Nations proof that the international relationship of forces has turned in your favor?

Habash: In the abstract, the event could appear to be a resounding victory. In the given context, however, this welcome seems highly suspect to us. Many states that have declared their support for the PLO's admission

to the United Nations with observer status are in reality trying to bribe us, to draw us into a path of capitulation.

Le Monde: In his speech to the General Assembly, however, Yasir Arafat said nothing that might be interpreted as a capitulation.

Habash: That is true, but only in appearance. The essential thing is not what he says, but what he is inclined to do. He is prepared not only to settle for a part of Palestine, but also to attend the peace conference in Geneva. It bears repeating, however, that the present conjuncture will not permit the formation of a state that can serve as a base for continuing the armed struggle against Israel. The whole international community now considers that the settlement drawn up at Geneva will be a definitive one.

Le Monde: You have little cause for worry, since the United States and Israel are opposed to the PLO's participation in the peace conference.

Habash: Every politician must look ahead. Personally, I am convinced that Washington wants to incorporate the PLO in the international negotiations. Mr. Kissinger is too shrewd to think that he can succeed in guaranteeing the continuity of U.S. oil interests and imperialism in the Middle East without first disarming the Palestinian resistance. We have many indications about the real intentions of our enemies. Secret contacts between Palestinian figures and representatives of the United States and Israel have increased in recent months.

Le Monde: Isn't it normal for such contacts to take place, even between belligerents who are not seeking a compromise at any price?

Habash: Our confrontation with the Zionists is not comparable to any other conflict. The Palestinian masses do not accept and will never accept the existence of the Jewish state. Yet any contact or any negotiation with the

Israelis is an acknowledgment of their presence. Similarly, the participation of the PLO at the Geneva conference would amount to de facto recognition of the Zionist entity.

Worse still, negotiations will inescapably lead to the de jure recognition of Israel, since they will take place in accordance with the terms of Resolution 242 of the Security Council, which Mr. Arafat will be obliged to accept once the paragraph concerning the Palestinians has been reworked.¹

The *Le Monde* correspondent said his own observations indicated that most Palestinians seemed to support the PLO position, and hoped it would be represented at the Geneva conference. Habash responded angrily that such views were based on ignorance; a settlement in present conditions would mean renouncing definitively the right to 80 percent of the Palestinian territory.

Moreover, he told Rouleau, Arafat posed a false dilemma by suggesting that the alternative to Palestinian acceptance of a ministate was the return of the West Bank and the Gaza strip to King Hussein of Jordan. "The choice is not between the PLO and King Hussein, but between capitulation and armed struggle. Our duty is to mobilize and arm the masses so that they can reconquer their homeland—bang, bang, bang! It will not be easy to achieve this objective. But why should we be less combative, and less militant, than the Vietnamese people? We would rather fight for twenty or even thirty years than adopt the logic of collaborators. . . ."

The PFLP leader said that his organization would withdraw completely from the PLO if the latter attended the Geneva conference.

Habash charged that under pressure from Egypt and Saudi Arabia, Arafat had agreed at the Rabat conference to support a negotiated settlement, in exchange for the recognition of the PLO as the "sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people." Arafat's agreement to open a "dialogue with Hussein, he said, is "in violation of all the resolutions adopted by the PLO condemning the Hashemite regime."

1. The UN resolution refers simply to the problem of the "refugees," while the PLO insists that the Palestinian people be accorded recognition of their "legitimate national rights." — IP

Le Monde: Do you think an armed confrontation is inevitable between your supporters and Arafat's?

Habash: We will try to avoid it. Our guns should be pointed exclusively toward the Zionist enemy. But if we encounter resistance from an Arab force, no matter who it is, we will know how to fight, as we did in Jordan in September 1970.

Le Monde: Mr. Arafat has told us that he hopes to maintain a dialogue with the "Front of Refusal,"² which he describes as a natural opposition within a democratic movement.

Habash: We refuse to be treated as a parliamentary opposition. We represent the revolution against the supporters of sellout. When the time comes, the whole Palestinian people will be with us.

Le Monde: You are in great danger of being isolated internationally. Both the Soviet Union and the United States want peace in the Middle East.

2. The "Front of Refusal" includes those resistance organizations that oppose a negotiated settlement of the Palestinian question, in opposition to the majority of the PLO. It is composed essentially of three organizations: the PFLP led by Habash; the PFLP-General Command led by Ahmed Jibril; and the Arab Liberation Front, a small group supported by the Iraqi government. — IP

Habash: There are some differences separating us from our Soviet allies, differences that, when all is said and done, are quite natural between revolutionary forces. But we hope to resolve them through ongoing dialogue. The same applies to People's China, with which we have no substantial differences in the present phase of our struggle. In any case, the course of events, concrete reality, will see to it that the debate is resolved!"

* * *

"We want and look forward anxiously to a new war," PFLP leader George Habash said in an interview with the French-language Beirut daily *L'Orient-Le Jour* published February 11.

"Israel may win a quick war, but the result of a long war will definitely be in our favor," Habash was quoted as having said. "A new war is no danger to the Palestinian people. They can't suffer any worse than they have since the 1948 creation of Israel on their homeland. But it will be a grave threat to Israel's existence and U.S. imperialist interests."

Habash charged that the Arab oil-producing regimes had been "timid" in their embargo of the United States after the 1973 war. He said the Arabs should have nationalized U.S. oil interests and other holdings. □

Jurists Document Repression in Uruguay

A report by the International Commission of Jurists published in the U.S. *Congressional Record* February 4 charges that a new wave of arrests and political repression has been carried out in Uruguay.

Since the December 19, 1974, assassination of Ramon Trabal, the Uruguayan military attache in Paris, the commission reported the following to have occurred:

● On December 20 the bullet-riddled bodies of five persons were found on the outskirts of Montevideo. The victims were former Uruguayan political prisoners who had been living in Buenos Aires. They disappeared on November 8 after being abducted by a group claiming to be the Argentine police. They were not seen again until their bodies were found.

● Since December 19 hundreds of for-

mer political prisoners who had been conditionally released have been rearrested and held in solitary confinement.

● Many new arrests have been made.

● Prisoners being held in military barracks are reported to have been subjected to "corporal punishment."

● Defense lawyers have been hampered in their legal efforts.

● Visits to prisoners and other privileges have been suspended at all places of detention.

Meany Predicts 10% Unemployment in U.S.

George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO labor federation, predicted February 9 that the U.S. unemployment rate would reach 10 percent by July. "We're past the recession stage; we're going into a depression," he said.

Ligue Communiste Revolutionnaire Holds First Congress

[The following article appeared in the January 31 issue of *Inprecor*, a fortnightly news bulletin published by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.]

* * *

The constituent congress of the Ligue Communiste Revolutionnaire (Revolutionary Communist League), French section of the Fourth International, was held in Paris December 19-22, 1974. This congress will go down in the history of the French Trotskyist movement, for it was devoted to analyzing a social and political reality very much different from that which prevailed during the three congresses of the ex-Ligue Communiste (1969, 1971, and 1972), which was dissolved by the government in June 1973 for its antifascist and antiracist activities. The new organization recorded the deep changes in relation to the past, especially as regards its links with workers struggles and the consequent new problems of intervention that must be resolved.

The Political Context

The three congresses of the ex-Ligue Communiste took place in a political context that could be defined as the post-May '68 situation. Gaullism was then entering into open crisis. The reformist workers parties were offering no consistent political perspective to the working class, which was conscious of the impact this deficiency had had during the 1968 general strike. The revolutionary far left was affirming its presence and seizing opportunities for important central mobilizations. A new generation of vanguard worker militants was progressively emerging in the factories.

Today the French political scene is dominated by the international economic recession. Given the current state of the relationship of forces between the classes, the Giscard d'Estaing regime appears incapable of resolving the open crisis of bourgeois leadership in France, marked by the shaking of Bonapartism. The regime is condemned to administering the crisis as best it can while preparing for the coming social confrontations. The revolutionary and worker militants are now confronted with claims of the big reformist parties (the SP and the CP) that they have a solution to the crisis: the Union de la Gauche (Union of the Left) and its Common Program of government. Finally, the struggles waged earlier in the fac-

ories, the acceleration of inflation, and the appearance of massive unemployment require that the vanguard be more capable than before of offering precise and concrete responses on the way to struggle.

In this political conjuncture, the weakness of the social roots of the far left and the ultraleft and opportunist deviations that run through it to a large extent exert their full weight. *The far left is suffering from a general crisis of growth* marked by the recomposition of certain organizations (the departure of the Rocard tendency from the centrist Parti Socialiste Unifie [PSU—United Socialist party], for example), by the outbreak of splits (in Lutte Ouvriere [Workers Struggle], an economic Trotskyist current), the disappearance of a centralized Mao-spontaneist current in favor of a relative strengthening of the Mao-Stalinist sects (Humanite Rouge and Front Rouge), the absence of any definite orientation on the part of some organizations (like Revolution, an ultraleft current that split from the Ligue Communiste in 1970), and the complete marginalization of the Alliance des Jeunes pour le Socialisme-Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (Young Socialist Alliance-Internationalist Communist Organization, a rightist sect claiming to be Trotskyist).

A Changing Organization

The Trotskyist movement tied to the Fourth International has proven itself the most capable within the French far left of grasping the new features of the political situation and the class struggle. But this has not prevented the necessity of opening a very broad internal debate. All the more so in that we have reached a very particular stage in our organizational development. The statistics on the organization and the congress (social composition, sex, age, and trade-union responsibilities of members and delegates) illustrate the progress that has been registered not only in comparison with the pre-May '68 period but also in comparison with the past two years.

The most important differences with the three congresses of the ex-Ligue Communiste concern social composition. Some 61% of the militants were wage workers (69% if we include salaried students); 12% were blue-collar workers, 17% white-collar workers, 5% technicians, 3% supervisory personnel, 13% tenured teachers, 8% substitute teachers, 4% unemployed

(and more than 5% miscellaneous). Students accounted for no more than 24% of the membership (which may increase somewhat during the university year); high-schoolers were barely 5%. Last spring a national conference of the Taupe Rouge (Red Mole) groups of worker sympathizers and factory cells of the Front Communiste Revolutionnaire (Revolutionary Communist Front, predecessor of the LCR) had assembled 1,300 militants in a provincial city, Lyon. Beyond these figures, nevertheless, the workers implantation is very uneven: strong in the hospitals, posts and telegraphs, for example; relatively weaker in the industrial proletariat, the metal and automobile industries, etc.

More important, a growing number of trade-union militants (nearly 55% of the members are in the CGT, the CFDT—the two main workers confederations—or the FEN, the teachers union) *have a real experience of struggle and are taking on responsibilities in the trade unions* (this is the case in various forms for more than one-third of the Ligue's trade unionists). The debates on the tasks before us have correspondingly changed; they have become very concrete.

Between the third congress of the ex-Ligue Communiste and the founding congress of the LCR our movement has grown 15-20%, despite the much too frequent departure of militants.

But this considerable progress (let us recall that six years ago we were intervening almost exclusively in the student milieu) should not conceal the weaknesses of our development.

The organization remains very young politically. To be sure, it has "aged" considerably. The average age of the delegates to the congress was three years higher than the average age of the delegates to the third congress of the ex-Ligue Communiste. The most numerous age brackets in the organization are 21-25 years old (47%), 26-30 years (27%), and 18-20 years (13%). But about 50% of the militants have been in the Trotskyist movement only since 1972. Only 26% have more than five years political activity in our current; 21% joined in 1974. This shows that while the organization has grown numerically in a regular way, it has also lost a significant number of militants; and that is serious.

The sexual composition of the organization is progressing. Nevertheless, it is still

very unequal. About 30% of the militants of the LCR are women. More significantly, though, this percentage falls to 23% among the delegates and 16% among the city-level leadership.

In a more general fashion, the worker militants meet important difficulties in taking on central responsibility in the organization, and strengthening of the factory cells has occurred much more slowly than the multiplication of organized sympathizing groups (the *Taupe Rouge* groups) in the factories.

The problem cannot be presented solely in figures. The French Trotskyist movement has become a real national political organization (the "smallest of the political parties," as the bourgeois journalists sometimes say). But the LCR is still far from being in position to offer a *concrete* and *credible* alternative to the reformist parties. We have never been so deeply involved in important workers struggles (the most recent example being the postal strike); never have the themes we have raised been so hotly discussed in the workers movement (the question of self-organization of the working class, for example); and never has our trade-union implantation been so large. But we are still incapable of *practically* offering national solutions to the workers struggles or *national* outlets for the tendency battles waged within the trade unions. The results of five years of antimilitarist activity, fed by the crisis of the French army, have gone beyond anything expected. But the far left has not been able to initiate central mobilizations to support the movement of the draftees as large as the mobilizations against the Debre law in 1973.

We stand at a very particular stage of our development in which our objective responsibilities have expanded considerably, in which our capacities for intervention in the class struggle are far beyond what they were six or even three years ago, but in which we still cannot offer a *national* alternative to the policy of the reformist parties *in practice*.

Congress Debate

The opening of a broad internal debate was made necessary by the combination of a change in the French political situation and a stage of tension in our organizational development, the combination itself unfolding before the backdrop of a deepening of the class struggle on a European scale.

The organization was divided into four tendencies over the orientation to adopt in regard to the analysis of the political situation, the modification of the form and content of our work in the masses, and the organizational measures that should consequently be taken. The theses of Tendency 2 were the ones adopted by the congress.

The congress stressed the structural

character of the crisis of the regime. Given the current state of things, the regime cannot expect the breakup of the Union de la Gauche and a consequent move of the SP toward a centrist solution, despite the debate now going on between the SP and the CP. In fact, the recomposition of the SP would be placed in question in the event of the breakup of the Union de la Gauche. While stressing the bourgeois nature of the Common Program of the Union de la Gauche and the existence of a class-collaborationist orientation on the part of the CP and the SP, the congress rejected characterizing the Union de la Gauche as an embryonic popular front (which was proposed by Tendency 4). The essential contradiction of the Union de la Gauche remains that it is a front of class collaboration but is perceived by the working class as representing the unity of the big workers parties. It thus tends simultaneously to mislead the class struggle and to stimulate it through the hopes that it raises by offering an apparently credible alternative to the crisis of bourgeois leadership. Consequently, it is the reformist project of the CP and the SP that must be directly denounced as such, rather than putting the main emphasis on the organic alliance of the CP and SP with some bourgeois forces (the left radicals) as Tendency 1 proposed.

The congress concretely located the place occupied in the construction of the French section of the Fourth International by the emergence of a broad vanguard—and within it a workers vanguard of a mass character—as described in the European perspectives document adopted by the Tenth World Congress of the Fourth International. Tendency 4 denied the central place of this vanguard, rejecting the conclusions of the European document: To reach the masses through concrete mobilizations generated by setting in motion the broad vanguard that represents the generation of militants who, without having broken strategically with the reformists, are concretely escaping the control of the bureaucracies and asserting a capacity for independent initiatives. To win hegemony over this vanguard by orienting it toward the masses and by qualitatively strengthening our implantation in the broad *workers* vanguard. To apply in this manner a united front tactic based on the desire of the masses for unity and for a program of class struggle. To consequently address ourselves within the far left on a priority basis to the centrist political currents that in their own way reflect the process of radicalization going on among the working class; to do this by opening a debate, especially with the PSU. This overall orientation was rejected by Tendency 1, which saw it, among other things, as a temptation to adapt to the exclusive and confused aspirations of the broad workers vanguard, and by Ten-

dency 3, which feared that too sharp a differentiation was being made between the broad vanguard and its workers component, which would lead to a workerist orientation. This debate was central because of the implications it could have for the analysis of the political situation, for the orientation toward mass work, and for the choices of how to construct the organization (on the city and national levels).

Finally, the congress concluded its work by adopting a series of measures that should accelerate the changes now going on in our organization. Priority was given to political training and above all to cadre-building; to the taking in charge of the workers intervention by the central leadership and the establishment of publications and cadre schools specifically adapted to the education of worker militants; to the transformation of our press system by preparing to launch a daily newspaper next September or October; to a modification in the functioning of the leadership. It is in fact a whole new system of organization that has to be set up progressively, that has to be based on a qualitative politicization of the internal life of the Ligue and on the transformation of the manner of carrying out mass work.

Essentially, the discussion and debate dealt with the application of the planks of the Transitional Program to the tactics of party-building in a given situation with a particular relationship of forces. In this regard the discussion is of interest to the entire International.

This congress was prepared by the holding of a real democratic debate, which is what made the congress possible. Any current assembling the signatures of thirty or more members on the basis of a political orientation had tendency rights; equal financing provided by the organization; the right to hold local, regional, and national meetings; equal space in the internal bulletin; equal rights in sending speakers around the organization; equal time for presentation of reports at the congress. The discussion time at the congress (apart from the reports) was divided according to the percentage of votes registered at the regional congresses; there was also proportional representation on the new central committee.

The relative political weakness of the organization and some organizational difficulties had negative influences on the debate. But the development of the debate as a whole represented important progress compared with the three congresses of the ex-Ligue Communiste. A real tradition of democratic centralism has thus taken hold. And this is decisive for the future, for other debates will certainly be necessary.

After this debate, Tendency 2 won 59% of the delegates to the congress; Tendency 3 had 19%, Tendency 1 had 18.6%,

and Tendency 4 had 3%.

The debate at the congress centered only on the situation in France. But the congress was nevertheless an internationalist one. This was reflected in many ways: its request to integrate into the Fourth International; the greetings it sent to political prisoners in Spain, to the peoples of the former Portuguese colonies in Africa, to the peoples of Indochina in struggle, to the Ceylonese comrade Rohana Wijeweera, who had just been sentenced to life imprisonment, to the Chilean militants confronted by the dictatorship; the presence of members of many organizations of the Fourth International; the greetings brought by Chilean militants: Luis Vitale, Trotskyist militant of the Revolutionary Socialist party, Edgardo Enriquez of the MIR [Movimiento

de Izquierda Revolucionaria—Movement of the Revolutionary Left], and a comrade of the Chilean Communist League; the messages sent by the Manifesto-PDUP group and Lotta Continua (Italy), the Junta of Revolutionary Coordination of Latin America, the Argentine Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores; and finally, the greetings brought by a representative of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.

The first congress of the Front Communiste Revolutionnaire, which has become the Ligue Communiste Revolutionnaire, thus continued the tradition of the Parti Communiste Internationaliste and the Jeunesse Communiste Revolutionnaire, dissolved by the government in June 1968 and of the ex-Ligue Communiste, dissolved in June 1973. □

Effort to Deport Franco Caprino Halted

Immigrant Worker Wins Victory in Britain

By Kevin Thomas

London

After holding him for more than a month, the Labour government was forced January 24 to release from prison and drop its plans to deport Franco Caprino, an Italian immigrant working in London. This important victory for civil liberties bodes well for future challenges to government harassment of immigrants in Britain.

Caprino was arrested December 18 and faced with a deportation order under Rule 42 of the 1971 Immigration Act. No specific charges were made against him, nor were any necessary under this scandalous law. Rule 42 empowers the Home Secretary, currently Roy Jenkins, to deport at his discretion any foreigner—even one who has lived and worked here for years—if he thinks it will be "conducive to public good as being in the interests of national security or of the relations between the UK and any other country or for other reasons of a political nature."

The smear campaign spread by the capitalist media was that Caprino is allegedly a member of Lotta Continua, a left-wing group in Italy, and that he had connections with the IRA. Caprino denied the specific allegations and denied that he had been involved in any activities that would give cause for the Home Secretary's deportation order.

"The real reason [for Caprino's victimisation]," explained Terry Kelly in the January 23 issue of the British Trotskyist newspaper *Red Weekly*, "seems to be his active membership of the International Branch of the Transport and General Workers Union, and his role in helping

to organise and fight for the rights of workers in the catering industry—many of whom are Italians, Spaniards, Portuguese, Arabs, Iranians, Turks, etc."

Efforts to publicise the case by the Franco Caprino Support Committee were instrumental in winning his release. A daily vigil was organised outside Home Secretary Jenkins's house after he returned from a visit to the United States, where, ironically, he discussed civil rights.

Public indignation was especially aroused by the lack of any real appeals procedure. Under the terms of the 1971 act, Caprino's deportation hearing, scheduled for January 27, was to be held in secret before three knights—all in their sixties. He and his lawyer would not have been allowed to hear in detail the reasons for the expulsion order, and the final judgment in the case would still have remained in the hands of the Home Secretary.

Protests against the deportation and the alarming implications of Rule 42 came from various quarters. On January 22 a protest motion was presented in the House of Commons by six Labour MPs. They criticised the provisions of Rule 42 and called on the government to revise the appeals procedure to bring it into conformity with the principles of the United Nations declaration of human rights.

Earlier, the January 12 London *Sunday Times* reported that Alvaro Miranda, chairman of the international branch of the Transport and General Workers Union, considered the case "a dangerous precedent, because it could apply to any immigrant who took part in lawful politi-

cal or union activity with no right of redress."

A statement on the case by the International Marxist Group, British section of the Fourth International, pointed to the broader context of the witch-hunt hysteria against the Irish created by the government's "Prevention of Terrorism Act," whose provisions are similar to those in Rule 42 of the Immigration Act. "The lack of organised protest against the deportation of Irish people," the IMG statement said, "has created an atmosphere in which Franco Caprino's deportation can be ordered so complacently by a Labour Home Secretary."

On January 25, the day after the deportation order against Caprino was dropped, Danny Ryan, national organizer of Clann na h'Eireann (the Official republican movement in Britain), was put on a plane for Ireland. Ryan has been a resident in Britain for twenty-five years.

Labour MP Ron Thomas wrote to Jenkins January 22 demanding an explanation for the exclusion order against Ryan. Thomas said, "I have known Danny Ryan all my life as an active trade unionist in the Bristol area, and I would like some indication of the evidence against him which justifies his exclusion under Part 2 of the Prevention of Terrorism (Temporary Provisions) Act."

According to a report in the January 25 *Guardian*, Ryan's lawyer indicated that they were considering an application to the European Commission of Human Rights on the grounds that the "Prevention of Terrorism Act" contravened the European convention of human rights by introducing detention without trial and by discriminating against persons on the grounds of nationality. If carried through, this would be the first legal challenge to Jenkins' anti-Irish legislation.

Caprino, despite his victory in having deportation proceedings dropped, is still not completely out of danger. The government does not intend to give him compensation for his five weeks in prison, and his employer, the large department store Selfridges, considers him to have left their employ on December 18 "to go abroad." If Caprino should lose his job it may adversely affect his chances of getting a residence permit, an option for forcing him out of the country that is still open to the Labour government. □

Pet Owners Beware!

An error introduced into the text of the Arvada, Colorado, animal-control ordinance makes it one of the harshest laws in the United States. According to a February 5 report by Associated Press, the ordinance provides that if a stray pet picked up by the city is not claimed by its owner within twenty-four hours, the owner will be destroyed.

Chronicle of Current Events

Reviewed by Marilyn Vogt



The Kremlin bureaucrats' intensive drive to repress this *samizdat* journal has failed. After a lapse of more than one and a half years, the journal has again begun to circulate, reporting on the activities of the democratic opposition in the Soviet Union and on the bureaucracy's attempts to crush it. The last issue to appear before this lapse in the journal's appearance was Issue No. 27, dated October 1972.

Beginning in January 1972 the Soviet secret police (KGB) launched a severe repressive campaign throughout the Soviet Union but primarily concentrated in Moscow and Leningrad in the Russian Soviet Socialist Republic and in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. The purpose of the crackdown was to stop the flow of unauthorized writings, specifically the *samizdat* journal the *Chronicle of Current Events* and the Ukrainian *samvydav* journal, the *Ukrainian Herald*.

Hundreds of searches were conducted and hundreds of persons were interrogated. Widespread arrests took place. *Intercontinental Press* has reported on the fates of many of those who were arrested—long terms in prisons and camps or compulsory "treatment" in psychiatric hospital prisons—on the basis of the reports that have made their way abroad.

The bureaucrats not only used police methods with closed trials and harsh sentences in their attempts to stamp out the network of uncontrolled and uncensored discussion that *samizdat* represents. They also resorted to the recantation and "confession" methods used by Stalin in the notorious Moscow show trials in the late 1930s, when he forced prominent Old Bolsheviks to say they were traitors and saboteurs.

It was in August 1973 that Stalin's heirs finally brought Pyotr Yakir and Viktor Krasin, two prominent dissidents, to trial for "anti-Soviet activities." Both had been instrumental in the formation of the Initiative Group for the Defense of Human Rights in the USSR, which was established in June 1969 with the stated purpose of engaging in only such forms of protest as were permitted by the Soviet constitution. The Initiative Group has issued appeals on behalf of arrested dissidents.

Both men, who were arrested in 1972,

were broken during the long months they spent in the hands of the KGB, and renounced their protest activities. They were made to claim that they believed the movement for democracy in the Soviet Union only aided the enemy and to state that in the Soviet Union people were not placed in psychiatric hospitals as a punishment for political dissent.

In November 1973, the Brezhnev gang was able to register another ignoble victory when it published the recantation of Ukrainian Marxist Ivan Dzyuba. Dzyuba

Chronicle of Current Events, Issue No. 28 (December 31, 1972), 31 pp.; Issue No. 29 (July 31, 1973), 32 pp.; Issue No. 30 (December 31, 1973), 43 pp. (Russian-language *samizdat* journal from the Soviet Union, available in printed form from Khronika Press, 505 Eighth Ave., New York, N. Y. 10018.)

was arrested in 1972 and tried and sentenced in March 1973 because of his well-documented Leninist critique of the Soviet bureaucrats' nationalities policy, *Internationalism or Russification*.¹ He was forced to say that he made erroneous analyses in his perspectives regarding the bureaucrats' nationalities policy, leading him to mistakenly conclude that there was a nationalities problem in the Soviet Union.

The revival of Stalin's use of "confessions" secured under torture was intended to further intimidate and disorient the dissidents and the Soviet people who sympathize with their statements and actions.

However, although the repressive measures took a tremendous toll, they not only failed to silence protests; they failed to crush the *Chronicle of Current Events* and the *Ukrainian Herald*.

New issues of the *Ukrainian Herald* (Nos. 7 and 8, dated spring 1974) are reportedly circulating in Ukraine, although copies are not yet readily avail-

1. *Ivan Dzyuba, Internationalism or Russification?* (New York: Monad Press. Distributed by Pathfinder Press, 1974), 262 pp. \$2.95.

able abroad.

In May 1974, three dissidents—Tatyana Velikanova, a mathematician; Sergei Kovalyov,² a biologist; and Tatyana Khodorovich, a linguist, all of whom were founding members of the Initiative Group—defied the secret police threats against anyone known to possess or distribute copies of the *samizdat* journals: They openly delivered three new issues of the *Chronicle of Current Events* to foreign correspondents in Moscow.

Since the spring of 1974 two more issues of the *Chronicle* have reportedly begun circulating.

The Kremlin had even resorted to a "hostage" technique to try to keep the *Chronicle* from circulating. The KGB made it known that it had a list of twenty to thirty persons who would be arrested if a new issue of the journal were to appear. In a statement prefacing *Chronicle* No. 28 "from the Moscow Editors, to the Readers of the *Chronicle*," the editors stated that they would no longer be intimidated by this threat and that they believe it is their duty to renew publication of the journal.

The three new issues under review here center their coverage on events that occurred in the aftermath of the KGB crackdown initiated in January 1972. Although further arrests, searches, and interrogations continued to occur throughout the period covered, i.e., October 1972 through December 1973 (one year and two months), a large part of the material concerns the trials and sentences of those who were arrested in the first nine months of 1972. In addition, there are detailed accounts of events that received considerable international press coverage at the time they occurred. These issues also describe new manifestations of opposition to the regime's antidemocratic policies that surfaced in the midst of the repression and appear to be gathering momentum.

2. According to the *New York Times* of December 30, 1974, Kovalyov was arrested by KGB agents December 27, and flown to Lithuania, apparently to face trial for his support for dissident activities.

The following is a brief summary of some of the key events described. Many of the news items have already been reported in *Intercontinental Press*. They are listed here merely to provide an indication of the scope and nature of the material these *Chronicles* contain.

Issue No. 28.

Dated December 31, 1972:

● *The Death of Yuri Galanskov.* Because the prison officials refused to provide him with the diet and medical attention he needed in view of his serious stomach ulcers, Galanskov died in the Mordovian prison camp November 2, 1972. He was serving a seven-year sentence for his samizdat writings and his actions in defense of arrested dissidents. (See *Intercontinental Press*, November 20, 1972, p. 1264.) The *Chronicle* summarizes his activities in the democratic opposition before his arrest in January 1967 and the deterioration of his health while in prison.

Also included is an obituary and tribute to Galanskov by political prisoners in the Ural and Mordovian prison camps (see *Intercontinental Press*, March 19, 1973, p. 319); a statement of sympathy to Galanskov's relatives from twenty-five political prisoners who were Galanskov's friends; and an appeal to USSR General Prosecutor Rudenko from two political prisoners—V. K. Pavlenkov and G. V. Gavrilov—demanding an official investigation into the circumstances surrounding Galanskov's death and also demanding improved living conditions in the camps. Both Pavlenkov and Gavrilov were serving terms in camp because they had carried out work in defense of political democracy in the Soviet Union. They have been involved in a number of protests by political prisoners in the camps.

● *Chronicle, Case No. 24.* The KGB crackdown to crush the *Chronicle* has been labeled "Case No. 24" in the *Chronicle*, apparently because this was the case number assigned to this endeavor by the KGB itself.

In previous issues of the *Chronicle*, the materials included under this heading concerned the numerous searches, interrogations, and arrests of persons suspected of being involved in circulating the *Chronicle*. However, with issue No. 28, materials under the heading "Case No. 24" primarily involve searches and interrogations of persons on the basis of testimony allegedly given by Pyotr Yakir and Viktor Krasin or in connection with the case against them. Some of the reports in this issue are similar to those carried in the foreign press in the last months of 1972, when several individuals, for example, Yakir's daughter Irina, were allowed to see Yakir. At that time he reportedly stated that he now saw the "error" of his ways.

● *Trials.* Several trials and cases are

described. For example, Kronid A. Lyubarsky, an astronomer, was sentenced in October 1972 to five years in a strict-regime camp under Article 70 (subversive "anti-Soviet" activity) for possessing samizdat writings and foreign books. Pyotr Starchik, a psychologist, was sentenced in December 1972 to compulsory psychiatric treatment after being charged under Article 70 for distributing a leaflet calling for the overthrow of "the dictatorship of the party."

● *Repression in Ukraine.* The Ukrainian SSR was the hardest hit by the repressive drive. Many of the regime's opponents in this, the largest of the non-Russian republics—with a population of more than forty million—have criticized bureaucratic policies as Marxists and socialists. Hundreds of workers, students, and intellectuals were arrested in Ukraine in the period from January through May 1972.

The *Chronicle* reports further trials of some of those arrested. In November 1972, Nikolai Plakhotnyuk, a physician, was sent to a psychiatric hospital for distributing the *Ukrainian Herald* and other unauthorized materials. Boris Kovgar, a one-time police agent—who recanted in his own way and wrote a document, which he distributed, telling what he knew about secret-police activities in Ukraine—was arrested and sent to a mental hospital. Vasyl Romanyuk was arrested and sentenced. He was a priest from Kosmach (a little town in Western Ukraine), who had filed a written protest to the regime against the fourteen-year sentence Ukrainian historian Valentyn Moroz received for his dissident writings. Romanyuk was arrested for this action and in June 1972 was himself sentenced to serve a fifteen-year term!³

Samuel Gluzman, a psychiatrist believed by the *Chronicle's* editors to be one of the persons responsible for a samizdat critique of the official psychiatric report used to justify Pyotr Grigorenko's confinement in a psychiatric hospital prison, was sentenced in October to seven years in a strict-regime camp and three years exile.

Additional arrests are reported as well as numerous instances of extra-judicial persecution. For example, dozens of persons were expelled from their posts in academic institutes in Kiev and Lviv in the summer and fall of 1972 for being "unreliable," i.e., in many cases because of scholarly work done in such areas as folklore, archeology, ethnography, and philosophy, work the bureaucrats con-

3. For Moroz's description of Kosmach and for Romanyuk's appeal for Moroz, see *Report From the Beria Reserve: The Protest Writings of Valentyn Moroz*, edited by John Kolasky. (Chicago: Cataract Press, 1974).

strued to be too pro-Ukrainian. In addition, many of them were expelled simply for being acquaintances of some of those who were arrested during January through May 1972.

At least six of the trials held in Odessa in the summer and fall of 1972 are summarized: that of Nina Strokotova (four years strict-regime camp), Aleksei Reznikov (five years strict-regime camp), and Aleksei Prityka (two and a half years camp), tried in May for their statements and actions against Russification; and of I. A. Hel' (five years special-regime camp [the harshest regime], five years strict-regime camp, and five years exile), Stepany Shabaturova (five years camp and three years exile), and Irina Stasiv-Kalynets and her husband, Igor Kalynets, (six years camp and three years exile for both), for their protests against the sentence Moroz received.

● *The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR Answers the Letter of 273 Jews.* The letter referred to called on the presidium to grant amnesty on the fiftieth anniversary of the Soviet Union (December 1972) to Jews who were serving prison sentences because they demanded the right to emigrate to Israel. More than twelve persons who backed up this request with a personal appearance outside the December 18 meeting of the Supreme Soviet were arrested. Most were sentenced to no more than a fifteen-day term.

● *Short Communiques.* The arrest of Leonid Plyushch in January 1972 is reported. Also reported is information on the trial of a Lithuanian, Stasis S. Yakas, who was sentenced by the Lithuanian Supreme Court to serve two years in a strict-regime camp for possession and distribution of the *Chronicle of Current Events* and of other samizdat writings.

Other brief items in this section tell of Valery Chalidze being deprived of his Soviet citizenship while on a visit abroad, Pavel Litvinov being released from his term in exile, and two protests by political prisoners that took place in the last months of 1972.

Issue No. 29.

Dated July 31, 1973:

● *Chronicle of Human Rights in the USSR.* Issue Nos. 1 and 2 of this *Chronicle* published in New York are reviewed. The *Chronicle of Human Rights in the USSR* was put out by Peter Reddaway, a professor of political science at the London School of Economics, who has done considerable writing on the Soviet opposition; Edward Kline, a New York businessman; and exiled Soviet dissident Valery Chalidze, who now lives in New York City.

The purpose of this emigre *Chronicle*

was to report as closely as possible on the events the *Chronicle of Current Events* would have reported if it had not been forced under police pressure to suspend publication.

● *Trial of Davydov and Petrov.* In July 1973 Georgy Davydov, a geological engineer, and Vyacheslav Petrov, a factory worker, were tried in Leningrad under Article 70 for possession and distribution of samizdat literature. Davydov received a sentence of five years in a strict-regime camp and two years exile. Petrov's sentence was three years in camp and two years exile.

● *Investigation in Orel.* Several persons were arrested in this city (which has a population of about 150,000 and is located 200 miles southwest of Moscow) and were subsequently the object of an investigation and defendants in trials held in the first six months of 1973. They were allegedly involved in trying to put together a journal called the *Patriotic Front of Russia*. One of those arrested, Viktor Khaustov, had previously served a three-year term in camp for defending Aleksandr Ginzburg and Yuri Galanskov in 1967. The others arrested—Kuzina, Savinkin, and Egorov—were tried in July and received terms ranging from three to seven years.

● *Trials in Ukraine.* Ivan Dzyuba's trial in March 1973 is described. According to the *Chronicle*, Dzyuba's sentence was five years in a strict-regime camp. He had not yet recanted at that time, although by the *Chronicle's* account his ability to resist the KGB pressure may already have been considerably weakened. He was particularly vulnerable to KGB maltreatment because of his poor health. He suffers from an advanced case of tuberculosis.

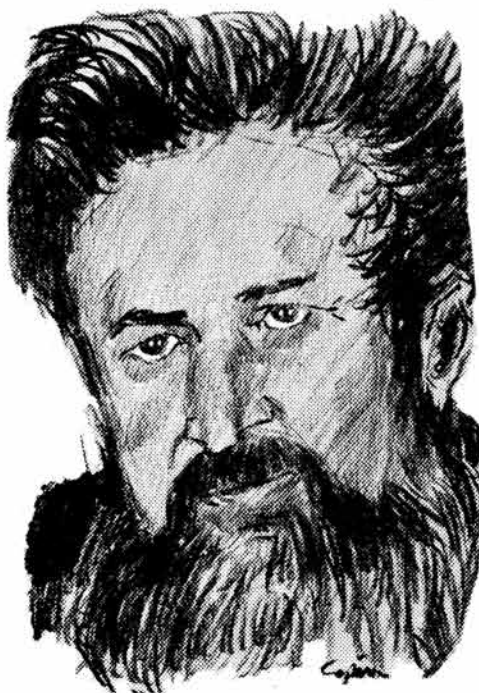
Evgeny Sverstyuk, author of several samvydav works, including a pamphlet tracing the position of women in Ukrainian history, was sentenced in April 1973 to seven years strict-regime camp and five years exile.

Alekseevna Svetlichnaya was sentenced to four years in camp and an unknown term in exile for possession of the writings of former political prisoner Danilo Shumuk.⁴ Ivan Svetlichny, her husband,

4. Danilo Shumuk was tried in Kiev in July 1972 and sentenced to ten years special-regime camp and five years exile. His crime was to have written memoirs of his experiences in prison camps. Indeed, he has had an adequate opportunity to accumulate such experience. He served eight years in Polish prisons for resisting Polish domination of Ukraine; twenty years in Stalin's camps for resistance to Stalin's policies in Ukraine; and ten additional years as a result of a 1958 sentence. His case has been reported in previous issues of the *Chronicle*.

was sentenced in April to seven years in a strict-regime camp and five years exile for possession of Ukrainian samvydav literature and for his own literary works.

● *The Case of Leonid Plyushch.*



YAKIR: Broken by KGB.

Plyushch, a Kievan mathematician, was charged under Article 62 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code (equivalent to Article 70 of the Russian Criminal Code). He was charged with:

1. Possessing and distributing copies of the *Chronicle of Current Events* and the *Ukrainian Herald*.

2. Writing articles having an "anti-Soviet" character.

3. Signing an open letter to the United Nations as part of the "illegal Initiative Group" (*Chronicle* quoting official charge).

4. "Anti-Soviet agitation" as evidenced by the testimony of "witnesses" at the trial who claimed Plyushch had carried on such agitation in conversations he allegedly had with them.

Plyushch's case was tried in January 1973, and he was sent for compulsory treatment to a "special psychiatric hospital [hospital prison] in view of the social danger of his anti-Soviet activities." (See *Intercontinental Press*, April 2, 1973, p. 374.)

● *Trial of Andrei Amalrik.* In May 1973 Amalrik was to have completed his three-year term under an earlier conviction. He was convicted in 1970 for his book *Will the Soviet Union Survive Until 1984?* However, instead of releasing him, the authorities brought charges against him under the same article of

the criminal code as he had previously been charged under, Article 190 ("anti-Soviet" activity), and sentenced him to serve another three-year term, in a strict-regime camp.

● *Chronicle, Case No. 24.* Irina Belogorodskaya, who previously served one year in camp for her actions in defense of Anatoly Marchenko (author of *My Testimony*),⁵ was again arrested in January 1973. According to the *Chronicle's* report, she was apparently forced to testify against other dissidents.

Throughout the first six months of 1973 dozens of persons were brought in for questioning, evidently on the basis of Yakir's and Krasin's testimony. The number who actually met with the two defendants, however, was very small. Krasin's wife, Nadezhda Emelkina, was also pressured into making statements that the KGB used as the basis for calling dissidents in for interrogation.

● *Events in Lithuania.* In March and April 1973 the KGB conducted investigations on the proliferation of small groups in Lithuania studying Lithuanian culture, history, and folklore. These groups reportedly involved trade unionists, university students, and intellectuals. Many persons were called in for questioning. The KGB accused a large number of them of distributing nationalist literature and trying to link up with Armenian, Georgian, and Latvian groups.

The KGB also conducted investigations to try to stop the circulation of the *Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church*.

● *Short Communiques.* Several additional arrests and sentences are listed here, including that of Ukrainian socialist Vyacheslav Chornovil. He was tried in February 1973 and sentenced to seven years in camp and seven years in exile for his opposition to the government's violations of Soviet laws in the trials of dissidents and for his defense of Ukrainian national integrity against Russification.⁶

Issue No. 30.

Dated December 1973:

● *The Trial of P. Yakir and V. Krasin.* The materials on the Yakir-Krasin case assembled by the KGB investigators make up 150 volumes. According to the *Chronicle*, more than 200 persons were called in for interrogation in connection with it. The *Chronicle* lists the names of more than 100. However, few were actually arrested as a result of Yakir's or Krasin's

5. Anatoly Marchenko, *My Testimony* (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1969), 415 pp. \$8.85.

6. See *The Chornovil Papers* by Vyacheslav Chornovil (New York: McGraw-Hill), 246 pp.

testimony. The interrogations were apparently merely another form of harassment.

The trial of Yakir and Krasin began August 27, 1973, and each was sentenced to three years imprisonment and three years exile. In September 1973, in response to an appeal, the Supreme Court of the USSR reduced Yakir's and Krasin's prison terms to the time they had already served during the investigation, and in mid-October they were sent to serve their terms in exile. Yakir was sent to Kalinin, about 100 miles northwest of Moscow, Krasin was sent to Ryazan, about 115 miles southeast of Moscow.⁷

Krasin's wife, Nadezhda Emelkina, who was serving a five-year sentence received in 1971 under Article 190, was pardoned.

The text of the statement the Initiative Group for the Defense of Human Rights in the USSR issued in September 1973 is printed in full. In this statement five members of the Group—Tatyana Vakikanova, Sergei Kovalyov, A. Levitin-Krasnov, Grigory Podyapolsky, and Tatyana Khodorovich—defend the group's purposes and activities against the charges leveled at them by the KGB in the course of the Yakir-Krasin case. They condemned the KGB's brutality in forcing Yakir and Krasin to make false confessions and false statements.

● *The Trial of Yuri Shikhanovich.* He was sentenced November 26, 1973, to compulsory treatment in a psychiatric hospital on charges of anti-Soviet activity, i.e., possession and distribution of samizdat. He had been arrested in September 1972 and forced to undergo psychiatric examinations. Concern over his welfare during the long period he was held incommunicado had prompted protests from various dissidents.⁸

● *The Trial of Aleksandr Bolonkin and Valery Balakirev.* They were tried in Moscow in November 1973 under Article 70, specifically with preparing and distributing samizdat, e.g., the *Chronicle of Current Events*, a journal called *The Democrat*, and the leaflet signed "The Citizens' Committee." (See *Intercontinental Press*, July 3, 1972, p. 763.) Balakirev renounced his activities; Bolonkin did not. Balakirev received a five-year suspended sentence; Bolonkin received a sentence of four years in camp and two years in exile.

● *The Case of Aleksandr Feldman.* Feldman was arrested in October 1973 and tried in November on charges of

hooliganism. The *Chronicle* states that the "real reason for his arrest was A. Feldman's active participation in the struggle for the right of emigration to Israel." He received a sentence of three and a half years in camp.

● *Trials of Vasily Lisovoy, Evgeny Pronyuk, and Ivan Semanyuk.* These three Ukrainians were tried in November 1973 in Kiev on charges of anti-Soviet activity and received the following sentences: Lisovoy, seven years strict-regime camp and three years exile; Pronyuk, seven years strict-regime camp and five years exile; Semanyuk, four years strict-regime camp. Lisovoy and Pronyuk worked in the Institute of Philosophy of the Ukrainian Academy of Science. The "crime" of all three was their appeals to the authorities against the illegal arrests and trials in Ukraine and their role in the preparation of two numbers of the *Ukrainian Herald*.

● *Investigation in the Case of Gabriel Superfin.* Superfin was arrested July 3, 1973. A number of persons were interrogated in connection with his case. He evidently gave detailed testimony about the preparation and distribution of the *Chronicle of Current Events* and his role in the distribution of other samizdat writings.

● *In the Prisons and Camps.* The *Chronicle* continued its practice of reporting on living conditions in camps, the names of prisoners in specific camps and prisons, the political prisoners' protest activities, etc. This issue concentrates on the Perm prison camp in the Ural Mountain area of east central Russia.

The names of officials at various executive and administrative posts are listed. Factual accounts of prisoners who have suffered and died because they were denied the necessary medical treatment and attention are also included.

Four Ukrainian women who are political prisoners in the Dubrovlag camp in Mordovia—Nina Strokatovala, Nadezhda Svetlichnaya, Stephany Shabaturova, and Irina Stasiv-Kalynets—went on a hunger strike in the fall of 1973. They demanded that Ivan Dzyuba visit their camp complex. Their hunger strike occurred before Dzyuba's recantation statement was published in the official press.

● *In the Psychiatric Hospitals.* The physical condition of Leonid Plyushch deteriorated markedly in the fall of 1973 after he received forced injections of haloperidol in the Dnipopetrovsk special psychiatric hospital. The *Chronicle* reports the following statement by the doctor "treating" Plyushch: "I have not yet detected his 'philosophical intoxication'. . . . However, the patient has shown an inclination 'toward the mathematization of psychology and medicine.' I am a doc-

tor and I know that mathematics has no relation to medicine."

Concern for Plyushch's life has prompted several appeals from Soviet dissidents.

Vladimir Borisov carried out another hunger strike in a Leningrad psychiatric hospital in the summer of 1973. He was protesting against the forced injections he was receiving. As a result of his protest, the injections were discontinued.

Borisov was sent for compulsory psychiatric treatment in 1969 because he signed the Initiative Group's Appeal to the United Nations and a letter in defense of Grigorenko. According to the *Chronicle*, a psychiatric commission reviewed Borisov's case in the fall of 1973. During the commission's interview with Borisov, he was asked whether he was in solidarity with Solzhenitsyn's position. Borisov answered in the affirmative. The commission resolved that he must continue to receive compulsory psychiatric treatment.

In June 1973 Andrei Sakharov and Grigory Podyapolsky and Tatyana Khodorovich appealed to the United Nations in defense of both Borisov and Plyushch.

● *Events in Lithuania.* Demonstrations took place in Kaunas in May 1973 on the first anniversary of the suicide of Romas Kalanta, who burned himself to death to protest Russian domination of Lithuanian life. The size of the demonstrations was not reported.

The seventh and eighth issues of the *Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church* have appeared, dated August 1973 and December 1973. According to the summary of the contents of this journal in the *Chronicle of Current Events*, these new issues document the cases of repression of Catholics and of people suspected of taking part in the preparation and distribution of the Lithuanian Catholic Church's *Chronicle*.

A large-scale KGB offensive occurred in Lithuania in November 1973 with numerous searches conducted and many persons called in for questioning in connection with Case No. 345 ("the preparation of religious literature 'discrediting the Soviet system,'" [the *Chronicle of Current Events*'s description of the case]).

The reports on the events in Lithuania in the *Chronicle of Current Events* indicate that popular opposition is growing there.

(On the basis of the information that has appeared in the *Chronicle*, it is known that during the past two years Lithuania has been the scene of large-scale demonstrations of young persons who denounce the Kremlin's bureaucratic interference in Lithuanian life and the Russification of the Lithuanian Republic. The breadth of this opposition to Russification in Lithua-

7. According to Issue No. 11 of *A Chronicle of Human Rights in the USSR*, both Yakir and Krasin have now been pardoned.

8. Shikhanovich has reportedly been released. See *Intercontinental Press*, July 29, 1974, p. 1027.

nia is evidenced by the emergence of many small groups that study Lithuanian culture and history. As the *Chronicle* reported, the KGB has been attempting to disperse these groups, undoubtedly fearing that they will take a political direction. The Kremlin's fears as to the potential of these currents have apparently prompted intensified attacks on all institutions not directly under bureaucratic control, including the Catholic Church. Church officials have responded to these attacks by issuing petitions signed by thousands who demand that the bureaucracy stop interfering in church life. Such petitions have been reported in previous issues of the *Chronicle*.

(The emergence of the *Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church* is another manifestation of the church's resistance. The KGB's offensive in Lithuania against opponents of bureaucratic policies has only fueled the fire. There is every reason to believe that the situation in Lithuania will become ever more explosive.)

● *Materials on Sakharov.* The *Chronicle* summarized the statements made by Andrei Sakharov in the fall of 1973 and the official press attacks on him that ensued. Included in the summary of these episodes is a statement dated September 1973, i.e., at the height of the official propaganda campaign against the physicist, from sixteen political prisoners who declared their solidarity with his efforts in support of civil rights in the USSR. (See *Intercontinental Press*, October 15, 22, and 29, 1973.)

● *Actions of Soviet Jews.* The *Chronicle* carries reports of the ongoing actions by Jews — protests, hunger strikes, and so on — in defense of the right of Jews to emigrate. This activity, which is well publicized abroad, was carried out continuously throughout 1972 and 1973.

Out of this campaign has emerged a samizdat journal entitled *Jews in the USSR*. Four issues have appeared, the first dated October 1972.

The *Chronicle* summarizes the contents of this new journal:

"In the general section of the collection, articles are published devoted to the problems of the national identification of Jews in the USSR. In the first issue the sociological aspect of the question was examined; in the second and third issues the psychological and culturological problems. In the fourth, the history of the Soviet Jews' loss of their language was examined. In the section 'Problems of Law' the first and third issues examine the legal position of Jews who want to resettle in Israel in connection with the absence in the USSR of any written law guaranteeing that right. In the second issue materials are collected on the persecution of Jews and other citizens in the USSR

for a so-called 'parasitic way of life.' In the section 'Who Am I,' statements on Jewish national self-awareness are published based on the authors' personal experiences." (*Chronicle* No. 30, pp. 98 and 99.)

The journal also publishes creative works of various kinds by Soviet Jews.



ANATOLY MARCHENKO

● *Short Communiques.* Under this heading the *Chronicle* presents brief accounts of such individual cases as the regime's move to deprive Zhores Medvedev of his citizenship while he was in London in August 1973, Andrei Sinyavsky's emigration to France in 1973, and Anatoly Yakobson's emigration to Israel in September 1973. Yakobson was one of the founding members of the Initiative Group in 1969 and was the person who read the eulogy at the funeral of the Old Bolshevik Aleksei Kosterin in 1968. He had been the object of continuous threats and harassment from the KGB.

● *Samizdat News.* Samizdat literature is still circulating. This issue of the *Chronicle* describes or summarizes eight items. They include an anonymous pamphlet defending Sakharov against the official attacks on him, Solzhenitsyn's "Peace and Violence" essay, and Anatoly Marchenko's appeal to foreign "progressive social organizations" on the subject of the detente.

In addition, two foreign journals are reviewed — one put out by Amnesty International containing writings of Soviet dissidents, and the other, Issue No. 3 of the emigre *Chronicle of Human Rights in the USSR*.

● *Material in the Soviet Press.* Included in this section is a summary of Ivan

Dzyuba's recantation statement, which appeared in the journal *Literaturnaya Ukraina* in November 1973.

On the final page of Issue No. 30 of the *Chronicle*, the editors pledge that the journal will appear in 1974. And in fact at least two 1974 issues have appeared. Issue No. 31 is devoted to the struggle of the Crimean Tatars to return to their homeland in the Crimea. This issue is dated May 17, 1974, the thirtieth anniversary of the night in 1944 when the entire Crimean Tatar population was forcibly deported to Central Asia by Stalin. Issue No. 32 is reportedly circulating in the Soviet Union.

The reemergence of the *Chronicle of Current Events* is a victory for the democratic opposition in the USSR. On the basis of not only the information the *Chronicle* contains but also from the very fact of the journal's renewed publication, it is clear that Stalin's heirs have failed to silence protests and opposition to their totalitarian methods of rule, even though the regime's efforts toward this end have been unrelenting and vicious. □

Strikes Sweep Nigeria

Following a December 27 announcement of government recommendations for pay raises and other adjustments in the civil service, Nigerian government employees dissatisfied with the increases have carried out a series of strikes at hospitals, banks, water and electricity services, oil supplies, and the railways. Workers in the private sector, backed by their trade unions, have also struck to press for higher wages and have demanded that the lowest pay in the government scale become the minimum wage.

The regime promised that none of the 750,000 civil-service employees would get less than a 30 percent raise, and some private companies made similar concessions.

Scores of workers have been arrested since the end of December on charges of destroying "private property" or as a result of clashes with the police. General Yakubu Gowon, the Nigerian head of state, blamed the strikes on "ill-motivated elements" who were exploiting legitimate demands in order to "precipitate a paralysis of government authority."

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AROUND THE WORLD



China Cuts U. S. Grain Imports

The Chinese government has canceled orders for 601,000 tons of U. S. wheat. The cancellation, reported January 27 by Cook Industries, one of the largest U. S. grain-trading companies, affects about two-thirds of the wheat scheduled for shipment to China through mid-1976.

China purchased three million tons of American wheat in the crop year ending in June 1974, making it the largest foreign buyer of U. S. grain in that period. This crop year, the Chinese contract represents only 22 million of the 1.1 billion bushels of wheat the U. S. plans to export.

Some analysts suggested that the cancellation may reflect a better than expected wheat crop in China.

Others pointed out that Peking had rejected a number of cargoes of American wheat last year because of smut, a plant disease, found in the grain and may be wary of importing the disease.

Although large grain sales to the Soviet Union had earlier been blamed for soaring food prices in the United States, government officials were quick to assert that cancellation of the Chinese wheat orders would not bring lower prices. U. S. Secretary of Agriculture Earl Butz explained, "If you take all the wheat out of a one-pound loaf of bread that sells for 40 cents, you're only taking away about 5 cents."

AT&T Admits Bugging 30 Million Phone Calls

The American Telephone and Telegraph Company is the largest privately owned corporation in the world. As befits a concern of that size, AT&T also ran the world's most extensive bugging operation. The company admitted February 2 that it had monitored thirty million long-distance phone calls between 1965 and 1970.

"I don't think we did anything illegal," one executive said. He claimed the surveillance was necessary "to protect the integrity of our network and to keep people from cheating." No information was given on whether the cost of the bugging was included in the phone bill.

In a further development, government investigators have begun looking into charges that Southwestern Bell, an AT&T subsidiary, tapped the telephones of city officials in communities where the com-

pany planned to ask for rate increases. AT&T subsidiaries have also been charged with setting up secret political funds in order to influence candidates. A company statement explained that its only interest was "to encourage top managers to voluntarily contribute to the political process."

U. S. Tuna Boats Seized in Ecuador

Three U. S. fishing vessels have been seized by the government of Ecuador, according to a report by a spokesman for the American Tunaboat Association January 31. One of the boats was identified as being owned by the Del Monte Corporation. Although Ecuador exercises a 200-mile fishing limit off its coast, Washington refuses to recognize more than a twelve-mile limit.

Moscow Resumes Arms Aid to Egypt

Delivery of ammunition and spare parts from the Soviet Union to Egypt has been resumed in "important quantities," according to U. S., Israeli, and European intelligence sources.

Israeli sources claim that Egypt has received four shiploads of military supplies since the beginning of the year. But they say that any new shipments of heavy military equipment, particularly aircraft, were made conditional on a return of Soviet military advisers to Egypt. Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko reportedly laid down these terms when he met with Egyptian President Sadat in early February.

Egypt would require approximately 200 high-performance fighters and fighter-bombers to challenge the Israeli air force, according to Israeli estimates.

Fox Sent to Guard Coop?

The Vinnell Corporation of Los Angeles has landed a \$77 million contract from the U. S. Defense Department to train four battalions of Saudi Arabian troops during the next three years. Although private American companies have in the past been given government contracts to help U. S.-backed foreign armies with logistics and maintenance tasks, this is the first such contract for combat training to be made public.

Several hundred former members of the U. S. Special Forces and other veterans

of the Vietnam war are being recruited to train the Saudi Arabian force. Salaries range from \$1,500 to \$1,800 a month, with free housing. A former U. S. Army officer insisted: "We are not mercenaries because we are not pulling the triggers; we train people to pull triggers."

The troops being trained are primarily responsible for guarding Saudi Arabian oil fields.

Italian Judges Strike for Higher Pay

Four thousand of Italy's 7,000 judges went on a two-day strike beginning February 5 demanding higher pay. They are seeking increases of up to 20 percent to bring their salaries up from the \$600 to \$1,800 a month they currently receive.

Their walkout, which was reported to be the first strike by the judicial branch of government in Italian history, forced the postponement of many trials.

27 Chileans Exiled to Venezuela

Twenty-seven Chilean political prisoners were flown into exile in Venezuela February 13. Among them were five former officials of the Unidad Popular government: Anselmo Sule, president of the Radical party; Carlos Morales Abarzua, a leader of the Radical party and a former deputy; Hugo Miranda, a leader of the Radical party and former senator; Jaime Toha, minister of agriculture; and Carlos Jorquera Tolosa, an Allende press attache.

The twenty-seven persons are part of a group of fifty scheduled to be exiled in Venezuela.

Tito Presses Drive Against Dissidents

The Tito regime's recent dismissal of eight dissident professors at the University of Belgrade may be followed by a similar purge at Ljubljana University.

The leadership of the League of Communists of Slovenia has issued a statement calling on party members in the university's faculty of sociology, political sciences, and journalism "to get engaged in doing away with ideological and political deviations at that institution of higher learning."

The party said that "according to its analysis, the faculty has been turning into an ideological stronghold of technocratic and liberalistic forces, with concepts and theories alien to Socialist self-management

and Marxism."

"Socialist self-management" is the term the Tito regime uses to describe its own brand of Stalinism.

The dissidents, the statement said, "would press for bourgeois or bureaucratic-statist ideas and make it possible for the world's reactionary forces to interfere in our domestic affairs."

The dissidents the regime is worried about, however, don't believe anything of the sort. They have criticized the regime for not practicing the workers control it claims to uphold. All are Marxists and anti-Stalinists.

The party statement said that four professors at Ljubljana University are under particular scrutiny. It identified them as Vladimir Arzensek, Tine Mribar, Janez Jerovsek, and Veljko Rus.

In a related development, it has been reported that the government has cut off a subsidy to *Praxis*, the only legal publication in Yugoslavia that frequently criticizes the government and party. Published by dissidents at Zagreb University, *Praxis* has long served as the main organ for the Marxist opposition in Yugoslavia. The attack, which is expected to force an end to its publication, may signal the beginning of a new campaign against dissidents in Zagreb.

As part of its growing effort to suppress dissent, the regime recently passed a law prohibiting "spreading of false news" and "disparaging of the state organs." An amendment now before the Serbian Assembly would extend the ban to cover "hostile outbursts" at public gatherings, family religious feasts (!), in shops, public buses, and even in private apartments.

Clash Between Liberation Forces Reported in Angolan Capital

Several persons were reported killed or wounded in Luanda February 12-13 in fighting between the liberation forces. According to the Portuguese news agency, the clashes involved forces of the MPLA (Movimento Popular de Libertacao de Angola—People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola) and those of Daniel Chipenda, a former leader of the MPLA. Chipenda was excluded from the coalition regime of three liberation movements and the Portuguese that took office in Angola January 31.

Ottawa Deports Haitian Refugees

The Canadian government is continuing its moves to deport up to 1,500 Haitian refugees, despite protests from trade unions, churches, civil-liberties groups, and political figures.

According to the Canadian revolutionary-socialist fortnightly *Labor Challenge*, by the end of December the Immigration department had rejected appeals against deportation by 116 Haitians. Of these, sixty-four were deported, three were apprehended in the United States, and twen-

ty were being scheduled for deportation. Twenty-nine Haitians whose appeals were denied disappeared from their Montreal homes, going underground rather than be returned to the Duvalier dictatorship.

In Toronto, the Haitian Defense Committee, comprising fifteen organizations, has called for a demonstration on May 10 in solidarity with the Haitian immigrants.

An appeal has been circulated in Quebec demanding "that the Canadian government immediately adopt a special humanitarian measure to stop the deportation of the Haitians." It was signed by, among others, the Canadian Labour Congress, the three Quebec trade-union federations, the Canadian Council of Churches, and the Canadian Civil Liberties Association.

U. S., Too, Sends Haitians Back to Duvalier Regime

The U.S. government has deported nine Haitians, and 400 more in the Miami area are threatened with deportation despite their pleas that they are political refugees. They are among 1,000 refugees from the Duvalier dictatorship who have arrived in Florida in the last two years. U.S. immigration officials claim there are 50,000 "illegal aliens," mostly from the Caribbean area or Latin America, now living in Dade County, which includes Miami.

The deportation ruling against the Haitians has been in the courts since soon after the arrival of the first group in December 1972, and the test cases against the 400 could take another year or more to resolve. Meanwhile, the Haitians are unemployed, since they have been denied authorization to work while their cases are tied up in the courts.

Yet an immigration official interviewed by the *New York Times* said "illegal aliens" are "taking jobs from our American citizens."

A lawyer active in the defense of the Haitians noted the difference in treatment by the immigration service of these Black refugees from a right-wing dictatorship and the welcome accorded to white Cubans, who now comprise about 50 percent of the county's population of 1.4 million.

U. S. Slump in Output Worst Since 1937

U.S. industrial production showed an exceptionally huge decline of 3.6 percent in January following a drop of 3.1 percent in December, the Federal Reserve Board reported February 13.

The figure confirmed that the United States is in its deepest recession since World War II. It was the highest one-month drop in output since December 1937.

Industrial production has dropped 9.5 percent since September 30, 1974. This

four-month decline exceeded the worst four months in the 1957-58 recession, previously the sharpest postwar slump in the economy.

The report noted that automobile production dropped an additional 10 percent in January to an annual rate of only 4.8 million units. A year ago, auto manufacturers were projecting annual sales of between 10 and 10.5 million units.

Sentences Reduced for Carabanchel 10

Franco's Supreme Court rejected an appeal to set aside the convictions of the Carabanchel 10, but on February 15 it reduced their twelve- to twenty-year sentences.

The ten were arrested in June 1972 when police raided a Catholic church in the suburbs of Madrid. They were charged with "illegal association" as a result of their alleged membership in the outlawed Workers Commissions, and were accused of belonging to the national coordinating committee of the commissions.

They were originally sentenced at a trial in December 1973 that attracted worldwide attention. Franco's prime minister, Admiral Carrero Blanco, was assassinated on the day the trial opened.

The reduced sentences now range from two years and four months to six years. Four of the ten were released from prison immediately, having already spent more time in jail than their reduced sentences called for. Nine of the prisoners had been on a hunger strike since the court took up their appeal on February 11.

An extensive campaign for freedom for all political prisoners is now under way throughout Spain. About 160,000 signatures have been gathered on a petition to Franco. Among the signers are said to be 2,000 members of the armed forces.

'Thermometer of Fear'

The number of \$50 and \$100 bills in circulation in the United States increased markedly in 1974, rising to a total of nearly \$27 billion.

Some experts say inflation is the primary factor behind the increase. "If you want to go to a restaurant and pay in cash," one bank economist explained, "a \$20 bill is no good."

Others attributed much of the rise to hoarding. The increase of large denomination bills is a "thermometer of fear," Edwin Yeo, vice-chairman of the Pittsburgh National Bank, told reporters. "It reflects the desire to hold large quantities of currency in mattress form rather than in the other investment and savings vehicles. . . . These are difficult, even tumultuous times, and this is the way in which people react to these times."

In the past, hoarding of currency occurred in the United States during the Depression, the second world war, the Korean war, and the Cuban missile crisis.

Explosión Popular Sacude Régimen Peruano

Por Gerry Foley

[La siguiente es una traducción del artículo "Popular Outburst Shakes Peru's Military Regime", publicado en *Intercontinental Press* el 17 de febrero].

* * *

Tropas peruanas apoyadas por tanques, tomaron por asalto uno de los principales cuarteles generales de la policía en Lima, el 5 de febrero, para aplastar la huelga de los "defensores del orden."

"Hubo un número no conocido de bajas entre soldados y policías, cuando los tanques, recientemente adquiridos en la Unión Soviética, se lanzaron contra los cuarteles de la policía", informó un comunicado desde Lima del 6 de febrero aparecido en el *Washington Post*.

El ataque militar contra los policías en huelga provocó una explosión de masas que el ejército trató de sofocar abriendo fuego indiscriminadamente.

"Cuando se extendió la noticia del asalto militar, miles de jóvenes se conglomeraron en las calles del centro de la ciudad," informó en un cable el corresponsal del *New York Times*, Jonathan Kandell, desde la capital peruana.

"Después de haber volteado autobuses, automóviles y camiones, saquearon e incendiaron el club de oficiales en la plaza central."

La lucha entre los dos sectores de las fuerzas represivas del estado le dió a la multitud de gente pobre desesperada que vive en la ciudad, la oportunidad de tomar lo que quisieran de las tiendas y de atacar los odiados símbolos del privilegio. ". . . los amotinados cometieron actos de vandalismo en las tiendas menos protegidas," prosiguió Kandell, "apedraron hoteles e incendiaron las oficinas de los periódicos controlados por el gobierno. El humo se esparcía por el centro de la ciudad.

"Manifestantes también apedraron la Embajada de los Estados Unidos, rompiendo más de 40 ventanas. Se

evitó que se hiciera más daño con la intervención de los tanques T-55, recientemente adquiridos en la Unión Soviética.

"Los tanques que fueron enviados a la plaza central en la tarde, dispersaron a los amotinados disparando sus ametralladoras al aire en la mayoría de las ocasiones. Las ambulancias recogieron a varias personas aparentemente heridas de bala."

En un comunicado del 6 de febrero, Kandell dijo que empleados de la morgue municipal informaron a los reporteros que alrededor de cincuenta cadáveres con impactos de bala habían sido traídos desde que empezaron los enfrentamientos.

La Junta decretó un toque de queda de las 22 del 5 de febrero hasta las 5 de la mañana del 6 de febrero. Un toque de queda de las 22 a las 5 de la mañana, siguió operando en los días siguientes.

La policía política allanó las oficinas de la agencia noticiosa Reuters clausurándola. El gobierno la acusó de "esparcir rumores."

El 8 de febrero, el gobierno confiscó 50,000 ejemplares del número especial de *Caretas*, de hecho la única publicación independiente que quedaba en el país. El número especial estaba dedicado a los enfrentamientos.

Los periódicos controlados por el gobierno, que censuraban las noticias sobre el desarrollo de la crisis y defendían servilmente al régimen, fueron los blancos predilectos de las masas enardecidas.

"Un ejecutivo de *Correo y Ojo* [dos periódicos importantes] dijo que tres soldados trataron de proteger el edificio en contra de cientos de manifestantes, disparando al aire," informó Kandell en su comunicado del 6 de febrero.

"'Cuando los soldados hicieron uso de sus armas,' dijo el ejecutivo Augusto Razuri, 'la multitud roció gasolina en las oficinas y después algunos arrojaron trapos encendidos. A las 2:30 de la tarde, para cuando llegaron los bomberos, el edificio ya

estaba en ruinas.'"

La multitud no se amedrentó ni siquiera con el fuego asesino de las tropas, según Kandell.

"Convoyes armados y tanques arrasaban periódicamente el área del centro y más allá de la Plaza San Martín. Después de que los soldados dispararon sus rifles automáticos y sus granadas lacrimógenas, las ambulancias que seguían de cerca recogían a los muertos y a los heridos.

"Pero los jóvenes se reagrupaban tan pronto como pasaban los soldados."

Algunos informes afirmaron que la policía le dió su apoyo al régimen cuando vieron que los enfrentamientos se extendieron.

"Al atardecer, el conflicto con la Guardia Civil, una fuerza nacional policiaca paramilitar con 20,000 miembros, parecía haber sido resuelto," informó un comunicado del 5 de febrero del *Washington Post*.

"Pelotones de policías anti motines con sus oficiales reaparecieron en las calles de Lima para ayudar a las patrullas militares a reprimir, según informes de amplias [confrontaciones, hecho que] mostró que había una solución."

Por otro lado, había rumores de una división en el ejército.

"La cantidad relativamente pequeña de soldados en el centro hoy — a pesar de que el saqueo de tiendas continuaba — le dió validez a los rumores sobre una posible querrela entre los dirigentes militares," escribió Jonathan Kandell el 6 de febrero. También señaló:

"El Presidente Juan Velasco Alvarado, que se enfrenta a la crisis más grande desde que dirigió sus fuerzas armadas a la toma del poder con un golpe de estado sin derramamiento de sangre en 1968, no se ha dirigido a la nación por medio de la televisión o la radio desde que empezaron los disturbios."

Después de los primeros enfrentamientos, el gobierno suspendió las garantías constitucionales. Esta suspensión más tarde fue extendida por un período de treinta días. También

ordenó que todos los lugares de trabajo y los negocios se cerraran. El 8 de febrero, la United Press International informó que las cortes militares habían empezado a juzgar a las 1,300 personas arrestadas durante los enfrentamientos y que se esperaban aún más arrestos.

"Policías y soldados fuertemente armados irrumpieron en cantidad de casas y departamentos en busca del botín obtenido por la turba enfurecida.

"Se esperaba que el número de detenidos aumentara con los arrestos llevados a cabo por soldados, armados con ametralladoras, de hombres en cuyos hogares se encuentre mercancía robada."

Se vió claro que la "Junta progresista" se enfrentó a una explosión popular bastante extensa que pone en duda su existencia. Y el hecho de que haya reaccionado a la movilización popular como cualquier otro gobierno burgués, inmisericorde en la defensa de la "sacrosanta" propiedad privada, sólo va a debilitar más su posición política.

"Lima es un barril de pólvora," escribió Marcel Niedergang en *Le Monde* del 7 de febrero. "La mitad de la población vive en barriadas, suburbios de chozas hechas de lona y cartón. El desempleo, el subdesarrollo y un 'lumpen proletariado' en la capital peruana, siempre dispuesto a los disturbios y los saqueos, son los factores que tienen que tomarse en cuenta para poder apreciar los eventos del 5 de febrero. Los objetivos que escogieron los amotinados también son importantes—las oficinas de los periódicos que fueron 'socializados' el año pasado, el club de los oficiales, los grandes hoteles en el centro de la ciudad, y sobre todo, las oficinas de Sinamos, el organismo gubernamental encargado de 'movilizar energías' en apoyo al régimen."

Sinamos fue confeccionado para funcionar más o menos como funcionan los aparatos partidario y sindical en los países stalinistas, es decir, que sirva como un anillo de transmisión que permita al gobierno extender su control directo, profundamente, en las masas. Sin embargo, la "organización de masas" del gobierno peruano no tiene la consistencia política ni las raíces sociales del aparato burocrático stalinista. Es la creación desvinculada de una junta bonapartista burguesa, no sólomente torpe y burocrática, sino también im-

portante y llena de contradicciones. "Sinamos," escribió Niedergang, "es un aparato pesado burocrático, al que critican los mismos partidarios del gobierno, que nunca ha logrado crear las condiciones para un apoyo popular masivo."

Al fin de cuentas, Sinamos parece que lo único que ha logrado es estar lo suficientemente cerca a las masas como para convertirse en un blanco a la mano de los primeros disturbios a nivel general causados por la frustración y la rabia hacia la demagogia del régimen.

El intento de la junta peruana de hacer reformas de arriba a abajo y de mantener el balance entre las masas pobres y el capitalismo nacional y el imperialismo parece estar al borde de terminar en desastre. Ese fue la conclusión que sacó el experto en América Latina de *Le Monde* de los enfrentamientos de principios de febrero en la capital peruana.

Dadas las contradicciones del régimen militar "progresivo", es difícil determinar con precisión si el impulso inicial de estas explosiones vino de las masas pobres o de las fuerzas pro imperialistas. Lo que es seguro es que los enfrentamientos armados entre la policía en huelga y el ejército dió lugar a una explosión desde abajo.

Las masas que se enfrentaron al ejército el 5 de febrero no fueron tratadas con el guante de seda que la junta usa para lidiar con los derechistas. Tampoco fueron tratados de la manera que el gobierno de Allende en Chile trató a las manifestaciones de la derecha que prepararon el camino para su derrocamiento.

Eduardo Ascarrunz, corresponsal de Reuters, estuvo en medio de la balacera. Quizá fueron sus informes los que empujaron a la junta a cerrar esa agencia. Escribió: "Un joven con un pantalón nuevo en sus manos yacía en la Plaza de San Martín, mientras que los tanques rociaban con balas de ametralladora la plaza. Cerca de él yacían otros dos jóvenes que habían sido alcanzados por las balas de los soldados. Las ambulancias llegaron. Varios minutos después, los amotinados salieron de una tienda a la plaza. Fueron barridos por las balas. Otras dos personas cayeron bajo una lluvia de plomo. Un joven se desplomó a unas cuantas metros de mí, cerca de la caseta. La sangre brotaba de su garganta

y su brazo derecho, y continuó brotando profusamente por varios minutos hasta que llegó la ambulancia."

Pero ni siquiera la masacre podía detener a las masas empobrecidas que veían por primera vez la oportunidad de tener las cosas que siempre habían estado más allá de sus posibilidades.

"A pesar del fuego despiadado de los tanques, los amotinados continuaban el saqueo. Un joven salió corriendo de una tienda de ropa con una caja llena de camisetas bajo su brazo, otro se apoderó de un montón de trajes. Un poco después, una familia salió de una tienda con una televisión. 'Las tiendas están de oferta, amigo', me gritó un hombre mientras corría con un montón de pantalones."

La huelga de la policía coincidió con un aumento en el descontento.

"Detrás de los problemas actuales del gobierno está un promedio de inflación que llegó al 22 por ciento el año pasado, un porcentaje demasiado alto para lo que está acostumbrado Perú," escribió Kandell el 5 de febrero: "Con los precios en constante aumento, los obreros fabriles, los mineros, y los empleados públicos han llevado a cabo huelgas en las últimas semanas."

También se han dado signos, ya desde hace algún tiempo, de que la junta empezaba a ceder a la presión del imperialismo mundial. Joseph Novitski recopiló una serie de ejemplos en el *Washington Post* del 26 de enero.

"'Las revoluciones en nuestro tiempo han tenido que aprender a punta de tropezos, que nada es gratuito en este mundo,' dijo el periódico gubernamental cuando recientemente fueron concedidos los cuantiosos préstamos del extranjero para un proyecto minero con un retraso de cinco años.

"Esos préstamos pueden servir para hacer un estudio de como los dirigentes militares de la revolución peruana se dieron cuenta de las limitaciones de su nacionalismo y tuvieron que aceptar, en contra de su voluntad, la forma en que funcionan las finanzas en el mundo no-comunista.

"Aunque nadie aquí lo admite públicamente, hay evidencias que revelan que para poder financiar los 620 millones de dólares que se necesitaban para la mina de cobre Cuajone, el gobierno tuvo que ceder al menos en

parte, sus previas decisiones más nacionalistas."

Durante cinco años, la junta se ha negado a pagarle compensación a Exxon por la nacionalización de su sucursal peruana, que fue intervenida poco después del golpe que instauró en el poder al actual gobierno. Durante esos cinco años la junta no pudo conseguir los préstamos que solicitó. El 19 de diciembre de 1974, los Estados Unidos asignaron parte del fondo de 76 millones de dólares para compensar a Exxon por otras propiedades nacionalizadas. El régimen peruano no hizo nada. El 7 de enero, fueron anunciados los nueve préstamos, y se supo que una de las instituciones que prestaban el dinero era el U.S. Export-Import Bank [Banco de Exportación-Importación de los Estados Unidos].

"Ha habido otros casos en que los militares nacionalistas peruanos han tenido que ceder al mundo exterior," señaló también Novitski. "Los contratos firmados con dieciocho compañías excavadoras extranjeras en las junglas del Amazonas en Perú han sido criticados por los opositores exiliados del gobierno, que dicen que favorece a las compañías más de lo que es necesario en el mundo actual sediento de petróleo."

Sin embargo, a pesar de la debilidad del nacionalismo de la junta, no hay la menor duda de que los imperialistas creyeron que muchas de las medidas del régimen daban un "mal ejemplo" que en un momento dado tenían que ser "desalentadas."

Sobre todo, desde que se dio el golpe militar en Chile, en 1973, con el apoyo de los Estados Unidos, la junta se ve cada vez más presionada por las fuerzas pro imperialistas. Aún más, el régimen nacionalista decadente en Lima sería un primer blanco lógico para la contraofensiva de los Estados Unidos, instigados por la recesión, en contra de los países productores de materia prima."

"Los dirigentes peruanos no pueden esperar una actitud comprensiva por parte de Washington," escribió Niedergang en *Le Monde* el 7 de febrero. "Todo lo contrario. Todo, empezando por la designación de un embajador de 'mano dura' para Lima, indica que los Estados Unidos no harán nada para evitar la caída de uno de los últimos gobiernos nacionalistas en América Latina."

Después de más de cinco años de

gobierno, y después de las reformas quizá más grandes llevadas a cabo en los últimos años por un gobierno burgués en América Latina (con excepción de Chile cuando el gobierno de Allende, funcionando dentro del contexto de la democracia parlamentaria, fue obligado por la presión de las masas a ir mucho más allá de lo que tenía pensado), la junta peruana parece que ahora ha sido totalmente abandonada por las masas.

"Los observadores han notado el vacío político que existe en el país," señaló *Le Monde* el 8 de febrero. "Ningún sector de la población civil ha mostrado su apoyo al régimen del Presidente Velasco Alvarado con excepción de la Confederación General de Trabajadores controlada por el Partido Comunista."

Para poder seguir jugando la función de balancear a las masas y al imperialismo, la junta ha tenido que reprimir toda actividad política independiente y ha debido desmovilizar a los trabajadores. De otra manera, hubiera corrido el riesgo de que las reformas iniciaran un proceso que no se pudiera controlar, un proceso que llevado a una confrontación decisiva de las fuerzas fundamentales de la sociedad como sucedió en Chile.

Muchos de los experimentos del gobierno, que recibieron gran publicidad sobre la "democracia industrial" en realidad fueron diseñados con el propósito de atar a los obreros a los planes del régimen para desarrollar una economía burguesa moderna.

"Dirigentes sindicales establecidos desconfían de la idea de la comunidad industrial porque tienen miedo de que les reste poder," escribió Everett G. Martin el 4 de febrero en el *Wall Street Journal*. "En realidad, aunque los funcionarios no lo dicen públicamente, hay claros indicios de que esto es lo que tiene en mente el gobierno. 'En privado,' observó un diplomático, 'los funcionarios del gobierno dicen que los sindicatos no tienen razón para existir. Su verdadera intención es reemplazarlos, porque si son sindicatos marxistas, entonces representan la lucha de clases, y si son más tradicionales, entonces representan el proceso capitalista de negociar.'"

Al final de este artículo en el principal periódico de finanzas en los Estados Unidos, Martin citó a "un ejecutivo norteamericano" que lleva a cabo sus operaciones en Perú sobre este tema: "Es una experiencia nueva en negocios para mí, y como usted comprenderá, me parece un reto interesante."

Special Offer



Malcolm X

To help celebrate the tenth anniversary of *Intercontinental Press*, reproductions of sketches by Carpin, artist for *Intercontinental Press*, were published by the New York Local of the Socialist Workers party and bound in an 8.5" x 11" book. The aim was to use the money gained from sales to help us begin publishing articles in Spanish.

The drawings, of various sizes, include portraits of Hugo Blanco, Malcolm X, James P. Cannon, Che Guevara, Cesar Chavez, Leon Trotsky, and many more, some of which are suitable for framing.

A limited number of copies of this collection of drawings are now available for only \$5.

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Durante los últimos cinco años, las huelgas tanto de maestros como de trabajadores industriales han sido brutalmente reprimidas. Los dirigentes que intentaron defender los intereses de las masas en contra del gobierno, tales como el dirigente revolucionario de los sindicatos campesinos, Hugo Blanco, han sido expulsados arbitrariamente de su propio país.

Ahora tal parece que el apoyo de toda la izquierda oportunista, desde el partido Comunista hasta los antiguos dirigentes de la guerrilla, no pueden salvar al régimen, si los imperialistas deciden que ya es tiempo de derrocarlo. Ante los ojos de las masas empobrecidas se ha convertido en gobierno represivo, defensor de los privilegios. Estas masas peruanas parece que no están dispuestas a esperar ya más para que se les mejore su nivel de vida tal como se les prometió. La demagogia de izquierda y

burocrática copiada de los stalinistas, parece ya no tener efecto para darle apoyo a lo que se ha convertido, para los stalinistas, en el principal modelo internacional de una "revolución democrática progresiva."

Sólo las fuerzas genuinamente revolucionarias que han permanecido leales a la clase obrera y a las masas empobrecidas del Perú podrían vencer al pueblo de movilizarse en contra de un golpe derechista.

Si el gobierno y la izquierda en realidad quieren detener la intervención imperialista en los asuntos internos del Perú, deben de inmediato anular la expulsión de Hugo Blanco. El es el único dirigente en que las masas más oprimidas y explotadas aún confían, el que personifica las esperanzas de un "nuevo Perú," y que puede movilizarlas, independientemente del gobierno, contra las fuerzas de la reacción. □

Nacionalización del Hierro en Venezuela

Respuesta de la Liga Socialista

[La siguiente es una transcripción del artículo "Respuesta Socialista a la Nacionalización del Hierro", publicado el 15 de enero en *Voz Socialista*, órgano de la Liga Socialista, organización trotskista de Venezuela].

* * *

La industria del hierro, que durante años estuvo explotada por y en beneficio de las compañías imperialistas Iron y Orinoco Mining Company, ha sido nacionalizada por medio del Decreto Presidencial Núm. 580, en cuyo primer artículo se lee: "Se reserva al Estado, por razones de conveniencia nacional, la industria de la explotación de mineral de hierro.: Durante esos años de explotación, ambas empresas obtuvieron en dos veces y media el monto de su inversión de capital, lo que significa que esos inmensos beneficios los sustrajeron de nuestro país explotando brutalmente a los trabajadores mineros.

Pero también en el caso de esta nacionalización, Carlos Andrés Pérez ha demostrado que ni puede ni quiere romper sus lazos con el imperialismo.

Días después del Decreto Núm. 580, el gobierno llevó al Congreso, para que fueron discutidas allí, el contenido real del acuerdo con la Iron y la Orinoco. A este acuerdo se le puso el nombre de Actas-Convenio, y representan graves concesiones a esas compañías en contra de los intereses de los trabajadores y el pueblo.

Veamos, para comprobarlo, lo que ha quedado establecido en las Actas-Convenio. Y ha quedado establecido así, sin que los 3,500 trabajadores del hierro hayan sido siquiera consultados. Allí se dice:

a) El Estado se compromete a indemnizar a la Iron y a la Orinoco por un monto total de unos 500 millones de bolívares, que es exactamente lo que esas compañías han exigido al Estado. ¿No han robado al país lo suficiente las compañías como para que encima les regalemos 500 millones? ¿No se podría invertir esta cantidad de dinero en un fondo inicial para imponer un seguro al desempleado?

b) Tanto la Orinoco como la Iron continuarán operando en Venezuela, por un año, para el Estado, a tra-

vés de la Corporación Venezolana de Guayana. Durante 1975, ellas cobrarán altísimas comisiones por trabajar para el Estado. Y esto no es un gasto necesario.

c) Y continuarán en el país dando asistencia técnica hasta 1977. Esta es otra parte superflua del acuerdo en beneficio de las compañías, pues la inmensa mayoría del personal técnico de la Orinoco y la Iron es venezolano.

d) El Estado se compromete a suministrar a la US Steel, que es la casa matriz de la Orinoco y que reside en los Estados Unidos, 11 millones de toneladas de hierro hasta 1981, tonelaje que podrá ser reducido hasta un 50% a partir de esta fecha. Este es uno de los aspectos más graves de las Actas-Convenio, porque obligan a Venezuela a vender gran parte del hierro que no podrá ser transformado aquí. Y, por si fueran pocas las desgracias, el gobierno de CAP piensa realizar esa transformación del hierro a través de empresas que incluyan a los capitalistas, es decir, al capital privado, a los patronos.

e) Según las Actas-Convenio los conflictos que aparezcan durante la negociación entre el Estado y las compañías imperialistas, serán resueltos, sin que nadie pueda protestar sus decisiones, por una "Junta de Arbitros Arbitradores" formada por tres personas. ¿Quién nombra a esta "Junta"? ¿No lo sabemos. Nosotros creemos que quien debe decidir cualquier conflicto entre el Estado y las compañías es una comisión de trabajadores del hierro, elegida democráticamente en las minas y en los sindicatos.

Cuando las Actas-Convenio, que habían sido secretamente negociadas, fueron llevadas al Parlamento, se inició una acalorada discusión que terminó con una votación sorprendente.

Mientras los adecos¹ Arturo Hernández Grisanti y David Morales Bello usaron su retórica en defensa del gobierno, de las Actas-Convenio y de la gestión adeca a lo largo y ancho de su historia, . . . los copeyanos,² con Godofredo González y Eduardo Fernández a la cabeza, se lanzaron a una santa cruzada en la que lle-

1. Miembros de Acción Democrática.

2. Miembros del Comité Organizado por Elecciones Independientes.

garon a los extremos de afirmar que "la nacionalización del hierro es un engaño."

Hasta aquí, por supuesto, no hay nada para sorprenderse. Copei y Acción Democrática buscan salvar o defender su prestigio ante los electores.

Lo que realmente sorprende es la actitud de la izquierda.

Al menos, el MIR votó en contra de ese acuerdo entreguista, al que bautizaron con el sugestivo nombre de Actas-Convenio.

Pero Américo Martín no levantó alternativa clasista alguna frente a las proposiciones de Acción Democrática; no ayudó al movimiento obrero y popular — apoyándose en el curul parlamentario — a avanzar en comprender qué significa esta nacionalización y qué pueden hacer los trabajadores para hacer que los beneficios que de ella se desprendan, beneficien al pueblo.

Al mismo tiempo que la propaganda gubernamental llenaba los oídos y la vista de todos con palabras y pancartas, como aquella de que "el hierro es nuestro", y la otra asegurando que "los hijos de Bolívar recuperan su cerro", ¿qué decían los compañeros del MAS, además de abstenerse en el Congreso?

En una resolución firmada por la dirección del MAS, ellos realizan una apreciación que nos parece justa.

Dicen:

"Resulta retórico preguntarse al servicio de qué modo de vida estará la explotación del hierro. Es obvio que ella formará parte, por ahora, de un mecanismo económico caracterizado por el dominio de poderosos intereses privados (nacionales y extranjeros) que en el hierro encontrarán un punto de apoyo importante para la expansión de sus negocios y sus ganancias. Esta sociedad la conocemos muy bien los venezolanos y sabemos en cuántos sufrimientos se traduce para las grandes mayorías populares."

Si a esta resolución del MAS, le añadimos que el gobierno es el encargado de administrar esos "intereses privados" (¡pequeño olvido!), el MAS se queda a un paso de transformar su quejido en una política clasista, socialista y revolucionaria.

Ese paso consiste en darse una línea de independencia del movimiento obrero con respecto a la tibia política "nacionalista" de Carlos Andrés Pérez y de todos los patronos de este país.

Los compañeros del MAS, ni votaron en contra, ni denunciaron el monto de las indemnizaciones que Carlos Andrés Pérez pagará a las compañías imperialistas. Con otra absten-



ANDRES PEREZ

ción, la del Partido Comunista, quienes dicen representar a la clase obrera y al socialismo, no hicieron otra cosa que dar un apoyo indirecto y vergonzante al acuerdo antiobrero y antisocialista al que llegaron el Presidente y las compañías.

Entre los activistas de algunas fábricas, hemos escuchado el siguiente comentario: "Está bien, pero realmente ¿nos beneficia a nosotros?" En el fondo de esta pregunta hay una legítima desconfianza.

Y los socialistas le respondemos a este activista, a todos los trabajadores, a los estudiantes y al pueblo, de una manera muy sencilla:

Primero, los socialistas apoyamos la nacionalización de la industria del hierro. Es una medida de autodefensa nacional (mezquina, negociada a espaldas de los trabajadores, y tramposa, es decir, realizada por un gobierno burgués como el de Carlos Andrés Pérez) pero que golpea a nuestro enemigo principal, a los mismos que invadieron Vietnam y Santo Domin-

go, y que impusieron, durante diez años, el injusto bloqueo contra Cuba; una medida que golpea a un sector, (el de la US Steel) del imperialismo yanqui.

Segundo, los socialistas rechazamos las Actas-Convenio firmadas por el gobierno y las empresas Orinoco y Iron, porque atan a Venezuela durante varios años más, a las mismas empresas que acaban de ser nacionalizadas.

Tercero, los socialistas proponemos que toda la industria que tiene que ver con la transformación del mineral de hierro esté en manos del Estado, y no, como promete el Presidente, en poder de los patronos a través de las empresas de capital mixto (estatal y privado).

Cuarto, los socialistas proponemos al MAS, al MIR, a la CTV,³ a las organizaciones estudiantiles, a los partidos que se reclaman obreros y populares, que iniciemos juntos una campaña por el control obrero de la industria del hierro.

Nuestro punto de vista es que el socialismo no tuvo voz propia en esta discusión, ni en el Congreso, ni en las fábricas, ni en la calle; opinamos que decenas de miles de jóvenes y trabajadores están, como lo estamos nosotros, totalmente defraudados porque el MAS se limitó a lamentarse sobre algunos aspectos de las Actas Convenio y, a continuación, levantó su mano en el Parlamento para abstenerse.

Esta campaña se centraría inmediatamente en llamar a asambleas de los seis sindicatos de esa industria para que los trabajadores eligieran democráticamente a una delegación obrera a la que se debe asignar las siguientes funciones: a) Sustituir a la "Junta de Arbitros Arbitradores" para decidir sobre los problemas que surjan entre la Orinoco-Iron y el Estado durante las discusiones, teniendo acceso a los libros de cuentas de esas compañías; b) Que esa misma delegación obrera elabore un plan destinado a solucionar alguna de las calamidades que sufre nuestro pueblo, basándose en los 1,150 millones de bolívares que ingresarán en 1975 por concepto de hierro.

De esta manera, estaríamos en condiciones de hablar, sin mentir, acerca de que "el hierro es nuestro", y no de los patronos. □

3. Confederación General de Trabajadores de Venezuela.

Discurso de Trotsky en el Funeral de Adolf Joffe

[El exilio de María Joffe de la Unión Soviética, a principios de enero, ha vuelto a atraer la atención sobre la generación heroica de la Oposición de Izquierda, de la que ella es sobreviviente. La prensa ha recordado, en particular, a su esposo, Adolf Abramovich Joffe, importante diplomático soviético en los primeros años del gobierno revolucionario y uno de los más prominentes opositores a Stalin desde la izquierda.]

[La nueva generación de disidentes en la Unión Soviética, los círculos que han despertado al pensamiento político, han mostrado cierto interés en A. A. Joffe, de la misma manera en que lo han mostrado hacia otros revolucionarios que fueron víctimas de Stalin. Por ejemplo, Roy Medvedev, cita extensamente en *Let History Judge* (Que la Historia Juzgue), un samizdat en el que se relataba el funeral de Joffe, que se suicidó en 1927, en protesta por la expulsión de Trotsky y Zinoviev del partido. Otro dramático relato sobre ese funeral, que fue la última manifestación pública de la Oposición de Izquierda donde pudieron hablar sus dirigentes, está en las "Memorias de un Bolchevique-Leninista", que se publicaron en un samizdat después de la caída de Khrushchev.¹

[Debido a la renovada atención hacia los Joffe, publicamos por primera vez en inglés el discurso que León Trotsky pronunció en el funeral de Joffe. Es difícil encontrar un relato más acertado de la vida de Joffe. Partícipe de sus ideas y colaborador de Trotsky desde los días del *Pravda* de Viena, Joffe, mucho antes del diecisiete, defendió conjuntamente con el futuro dirigente del Ejército Rojo, la tesis de que la Revolución Rusa tendría que ser de carácter proletario, una revolución socialista. Joffe nunca dejó de creer que el siglo veinte sería la era de la revolución permanente, una era en la que el decadente sistema capitalista ya no puede hacer avanzar la causa de la civilización en la más mínima medida, en ninguna parte del mundo; una era en

que una revolución que no destruya al capitalismo, sería una caricatura de revolución.]

[El siguiente episodio lo escribió otro sobreviviente de la Oposición de Izquierda. El autor anónimo de "Memorias de un Bolchevique-Leninista"—que menciona con respeto a María Joffe en su obra—nos da antecedentes que nos ayudan a entender el texto que presentamos.]

"... ha llegado la hora de nuevo de llamar a la juventud soviética a la amistad basada en ideas mutuas, en la lucha por hacer posible un futuro mejor para toda la humanidad... (la amistad) reforzada por la idea de luchar por una causa común.

"... (tal) era la amistad entre Trotsky y Joffe. Mantuvieron su amistad a través de la prisión y el exilio, sin que jamás ésta se mancillara. Y cuando el peligro amenazó a Trotsky, Joffe se suicidó en señal de protesta.

"Este tipo de amistades siempre empiezan durante la juventud y se hacen en nombre de algo grande, sublime y lleno de propósitos. Ese tipo de amistad dan ganas de inclinar la cabeza en señal de respeto..."²

[La traducción de los elogios de Trotsky a Joffe, obtenida de la transcripción de sus propias palabras hecha por el orador, fue hecha por George Saunders. Aparecerá en una colección de perfiles políticos hechos por Trotsky que será publicada por Pathfinder Press.]

Camaradas, Adolf Abramovich ha pasado a ser parte de la historia de la última década, sobre todo como representante diplomático del primer estado obrero de la historia. Se ha dicho aquí—y en la prensa—que fue un diplomático destacado. Eso es correcto. Fue un diplomático, es decir, sirvió en el puesto para el que había sido designado por la revolución y el gobierno obrero. Pero, fue un gran diplomático porque era un revolucionario hasta el final.

Por su origen social, Adolf Abramovich era el producto de un medio burgués—más precisamente, de una rica familia burguesa. Pero como sabemos, ha habido casos en la historia, en que los productos de este tipo, han roto tan tajantemente con su am-

biente—una ruptura que va hasta la misma médula de sus huesos—que a partir de allí, no hay peligro de que alguna vez sean ganados por las ideas pequeño burguesas. Adolf Abramovich fue, y siguió siendo un revolucionario hasta el fin.

Los oradores hoy aquí, se han referido, correctamente, al alto nivel de sus conocimientos culturales. Como diplomático se vio obligado a moverse en los círculos enemigos, entre adversarios astutos, agudos y venenosos. El conocía este mundo, sus costumbres y sus hábitos, y asumió las maneras de ese mundo con finura y habilidad; pero para él, era como ponerse un uniforme requerido por su puesto de deber. Adolf Abramovich nunca usó un uniforme en su alma. Se ha dicho aquí y correctamente, que desconocía la rutina o las actitudes estereotipadas o cualquier cuestión por el estilo. Encaraba cada problema como un revolucionario. Tuvo en sus manos puestos de responsabilidad, pero nunca fue un burócrata. El burocratismo le era extraño. El veía cada problema desde el punto de vista de la clase obrera, que se había elevado de las profundidades subterráneas a las alturas del poder del estado. Encaraba cada problema desde el punto de vista del proletariado internacional y la revolución internacional. Y esta era la fuente de su fortaleza, una fortaleza a la que él constantemente recurría para combatir su propia debilidad psíquica. La fuerza de su mente y su habilidad para ejercer su poder lo acompañaron hasta el último momento, cuando la bala dejó la mancha oscura que podemos ver aquí, hoy, en su sien derecha.

Camaradas, ustedes pueden decir que renunció a la vida por su propia elección. Y la revolución no le permite a uno renunciar por su propia iniciativa. Pero no permitamos que nadie pretenda juzgar a Adolf Abramovich. Porque él renunció en un punto en que, según su pensamiento, no tenía nada para ofrecerle a la revolución más que su muerte. Entonces, firmemente y con coraje, así como había vivido su vida, la dejó.

Los tiempos difíciles nunca lo atemorizaron. Se mantuvo siempre igual, equilibrado todavía, en octubre de 1917, cuando era miembro, y más tarde jefe del Comité Militar Revolu-

1. Publicado en la colección *Samizdat: Voices of the Soviet Opposition*, (Samizdat: Voces de la Oposición Soviética) editada por George Saunders. (Nueva York. Monad Press. Distribuida por Pathfinder Press, 1974).

2. *Samizdat*, páginas 174-175.

cionario de Petrogrado; igual en el campo de batalla fuera de la ciudad mientras los proyectiles del cañón de Yudenichi estallaban por todos lados; igual en la mesa diplomática de Brest-Litovsk, y luego en tantas capitales de Europa y Asia. Las dificultades no lo agotaban. Lo que lo impulsó a dejar la vida, fue la conciencia de que era imposible para él vencer esas dificultades.

Camaradas, déjenme decir esto—y es una consideración que creo, corresponde totalmente a los últimos pensamientos y a su testamento—una decisión tal, renunciar a la vida por propia decisión, tuvo la fuerza del coraje. No permitamos que nadie pretenda seguir el ejemplo de este viejo luchador en su muerte. No. Sigámoslo en su vida.

Aquellos de nosotros que éramos sus amigos íntimos, quienes no sólo luchamos codo a codo, sino que hemos vivido con él, durante décadas, nos vemos obligados ahora a arrancarnos la vívida imagen de esta excepcional persona y este excepcional amigo que permanece en nuestros corazones. Había un brillo gentil y constante en Adolf Abramovich que daba calidez en su alrededor. Fue un punto focal alrededor del cual otros se reunían—en los círculos de emigrados, en las colonias penales, y en la prisión. Venía, como ya he dicho, de una familia pudiente, pero los medios a su disposición en sus años más jóvenes no fueron precisamente su propiedad personal. Pasaron a ser

los recursos de la revolución. Ayudaba a los camaradas con una mano generosa, sin esperar que se lo pidieran, como un hermano, como un verdadero amigo.

Aquí, en este ataúd, traemos los restos mortales de esta persona excepcional, a cuyo lado era tan fácil y tan placentero para nosotros vivir y

luchar. Separémonos de él con el mismo espíritu con el que vivió y luchó: tomó posición bajo las banderas de Marx y Lenin; y bajo esas banderas murió. ¡Y te prometemos, Adolf Abramovich, que llevaremos tu bandera hasta el final!

[Gritos de "¡Hurra!". Se canta "La Internacional".] □

Presos Socialistas en Argentina

Según noticias aparecidas en *Avanzada Socialista*, órgano del Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores de Argentina, en el número del 30 de diciembre de 1974, son varios los miembros de esa organización que se encuentran detenidos a disposición del Poder Ejecutivo. En la cárcel de Villa Devoto se encuentra Jorge Mera, conocido dirigente bancario, líder de la huelga del Banco de la Nación, que jaqueó a la dictadura militar que precedió al actual gobierno. Jorge Mera fue detenido junto con otros miembros del PST, en el allanamiento al local central de ese partido, que siguió a la implantación del Estado de Sitio, producida el 6 de noviembre.

En una cárcel de la ciudad de Corrientes está Daniel Veiga, que fue arrestado durante una serie de procedimientos realizados en esa ciudad.

En Bahía Blanca sigue detenido Silvio Dragunsky; y en Tucumán, Luisa Segura, que fue arrestada cuando la policía irrumpió en una reunión realizada en la Quinta Agronómica, que

pertenece a la Universidad de Tucumán. Luisa Segura es una conocida dirigente estudiantil de la Facultad de Medicina de esa Universidad.

Avanzada Socialista denuncia esas detenciones y señala:

"Víctimas de la injusta represión que, con el pretexto de la guerrilla ha desatado el gobierno contra el activismo obrero y estudiantil y la corrientes democráticas y de izquierda, los compañeros presos están más que nunca junto a nosotros. Como nuestros siete queridos muertos de este año, son el símbolo de que el Partido sigue y seguirá luchando pese a quien pese.

"Este fin de año, en todas las mesas donde nos reunamos con el puño en alto diremos: ¡Presentes, compañeros socialistas presos! Redoblemos esfuerzos para que la movilización obrera y popular rescate a ustedes y a todos los obreros, estudiantes y militantes políticos que sin causa justificada alguna pueblan las cárceles del gobierno 'del pueblo.'" □

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DOCUMENTS

The Workers League and the International Committee

By Tim Wohlforth

[We are publishing below the first of four installments of a lengthy statement written by a leading member of the international tendency founded by Gerry Healy, the general secretary of the London-based Workers Revolutionary Party (formerly the Socialist Labour League). In New York, as national secretary of the Workers League, Tim Wohlforth for ten years headed the group in the United States whose reason for existence was the defense and promulgation of Healy's views.

[Recently the name of Tim Wohlforth vanished from the pages of the *Bulletin*, the newspaper he launched and developed into a twice-weekly. His name likewise vanished from the *Workers Press*, Healy's daily paper published in London, which featured Wohlforth's contributions for ten years. Neither the *Bulletin* nor the *Workers Press* has as yet offered a word of explanation as to what happened to this top figure in their movement. The reasons for the silence will

become obvious to anyone who reads Wohlforth's account of the facts.

[Although *Intercontinental Press* disagrees with many of Wohlforth's political positions, his testimony on recent developments in the Workers League and the Revolutionary Workers Party deserves, in our opinion, to be brought to the attention of the radical movement internationally. We therefore decided to make it available in our columns as a document. This decision was reached, we must add, without consulting Wohlforth.

[We have taken the liberty of correcting obvious typographical errors in the mimeographed document that he made public and that we have used as our source. We have also added a few footnotes, for which Wohlforth of course bears no responsibility. All the subheadings appeared in the original.

[Following the final installment of the statement, we plan to publish an article commenting on Wohlforth's revelations and conclusions.]

Part I: The Present Situation in the Workers League

The Workers League has taken a sharp turn to the right over this fall period in the direction of centrism. Ultra-left demagoguery of the most hollow and absurd kind is being used to cover a completely conservative position of withdrawal from any struggle within the working class. In this way, the work of a decade in building a revolutionary movement in the United States and internationally is being swiftly undone.

This rightward turn is the political expression of the new leadership of the Workers League created through the unprecedented intervention of Comrade Healy to overthrow the old leadership at the August 30 and 31 meetings of the Central Committee of the League. The International Committee as a whole must accept full responsibility for the centrist policies of the Mazelis leadership, itself the product of the intervention of the IC in the person of Comrade Healy.

A. Boston March Against Racism

Political organizations are tested by actual events within the workers movement.

The recent Boston March Against Racism¹ was such a test for all political tendencies. None failed it so completely as the Workers League.

The Workers League now finds itself in a position where it stands objectively with the anti-busing forces. How else could any worker interpret the statement appearing in boldface in Fred Mazelis' article in the December 13 *Bulletin*:² "This is a march against the workers of Boston which seeks to place the responsibility for racism on the working class itself."

1. The "National March Against Racism" was held December 14, 1974. Besides the march in Boston, rallies and demonstrations were staged in various other cities in the United States. The best coverage of these actions and the developments leading up to them was provided by *The Militant*. See in particular the issues from October 4 to December 27. — IP

2. The *Bulletin* is the "twice-weekly organ of the Central Committee of the Workers League." It features extensive reprints of articles from the *Workers Press*. — IP

Under conditions where each day there are sizable demonstrations in Boston of an openly racist nature, stirred up by fascist elements, when Black youth who attend South Boston High School were terrorized only a few days before the anti-racism march, it is a political travesty of no small size to denounce *any* march in Boston, under *any* leadership, which brings Black and white youth and workers together in a common stand against this racist offensive.

The demonstration, of course, was initiated by a Democrat, and politically dominated by the Socialist Workers Party which controlled its apparatus. The policies of this SWP-Democratic Party bloc³ are reactionary and offer no way forward for the mass of Black and white workers in Boston or elsewhere. In this sense, the march was like virtually all the peace marches which had preceded it and upon which it was very much modeled. No political support could be given to the leadership of the march in any form whatsoever. In fact, many of those present gave no such political support. They carried their own banners with their own slogans and even, in several cases, had their own sound truck.

However, the Workers League in the past participated in one form or another in every single anti-war march and every single anti-war conference. In cases when it became necessary to draw the sharpest line of divergence with the political line of the leadership of the march, we not only marched under our own banner and discipline but had our own rally with our own speakers after the march. The only march we did not march in was the last one where, for tactical reasons, we decided upon a large-scale literature sale involving over 50 people which was very effective.

There was one occasion where an anti-war conference was called in New York City addressed by various labor bureaucrats including CIA-connected Victor Reuther and Democratic Senator Vance

3. The charge that the Democratic and Socialist Workers parties formed a "bloc" is ridiculous on the face of it. For a discussion of the positions of the various groupings on the Boston events, including the Workers League, see "Should Federal Troops Be Used in Boston?" by Joseph Hansen in the November 25, 1974, issue of *Intercontinental Press*, p. 1562. — IP

Hartke. We not only participated in that conference but actually assisted the SWP marshalls in removing from the hall the Progressive Labor and Spartacist forces who sought to disrupt the conference when Reuther and Hartke spoke. At the same time, we forcefully put forward our own resolution and fought for it bitterly during the conference.

Participation in a demonstration or conference dominated by revisionist policies and with Democrats on the platform or in the leadership of the march is not a matter of principle. What is a matter of principle is to keep one's own banner clear of compromise with the Democrats and to fight under such circumstances for a working class perspective.

But it is not simply a negative matter of what is forbidden. Revolutionary policies are always a matter of doing what must be done under a given set of circumstances. It is activity. In this sense, principles are not fixed entities which one does not violate like virginity. Rather, principles represent the continuous struggle to develop the working class politically under a continuously changing objective situation.

It is precisely the sharpness of the capitalist economic crisis which underlies the emergence of racism in Boston. The pressure of inflation on the one hand and rising unemployment on the other beats down upon both Black and white workers in Boston as elsewhere. It particularly affects the youth and the youth are very much in the forefront of this struggle in Boston on both sides. The fascists seek to reach the unemployed white youth while the militant leadership among the Blacks is among the unemployed Black youth.

A policy against racism must begin with this—the economic crisis underlying racism—and must have answers to this crisis. This is the importance of policies which concretely deal with unemployment—30 for 40,⁴ nationalization—and inflation—escalator clause⁵—seen at all times politically within the framework of a struggle to construct a labor party based on the trade unions. Within this framework, specific proposals for massive aid to education, trade union defense of the Black youth under attack, etc., can be raised.

All this Mazelis states in his article on the Boston March. All this is correct. But

4. The Trotskyist movement in the United States has long advocated a sliding scale of hours to fight unemployment. In this instance, the proposal is to spread the work by cutting down the workweek, to thirty hours while maintaining forty hours pay. — *IP*

5. The measure now included in many union contracts to maintain the workers' standard of living by providing for automatic wage increases to offset price hikes in basic commodities. — *IP*

all this is *meaningless* if the question of how such policies are to be brought forward into the workers movement is ignored. To denounce *any* march against racism as a march against the working class, while at the same time failing to organize any concrete action themselves is the mark of abstract propagandists gone mad.

If, as Mazelis demagogically notes in his article, "hundreds were mobilized in their unions to demand that the Greater Boston Labor Council take action to defend students and workers against the racists," why weren't these hundreds mobilized to intervene in the march fighting against the revisionist leadership? It is not enough simply to issue demands that the trade unions must act and then sit back and do nothing yourself. As Lenin noted in his bitter fight against the economists in *What Is To Be Done?*: "Calls for action, not in the general, but in the concrete sense of the term can only be made at the place of action; only those who themselves go into action and do so immediately, can sound such calls."

To begin with, to state that an economic crisis underlies racism in no way minimizes the importance of a struggle against racism itself. One cannot—as the Revolutionary Union⁶ seeks to do—ignore or step around the racism which the capitalists are stirring up. The working class cannot be united without a head-on confrontation over the difficult problems in working class consciousness, one of which happens to be racism. After all, workers in Boston not only work in factories; they live in South Boston and in Roxbury where they send their children to school.

The political struggle of the working class therefore is not and cannot be confined to the trade unions alone, particularly in America where no mass workers party exists. Struggles within the trade unions, important as they are, that remain within the unions are syndicalist and can go nowhere. A labor party will not simply and directly emerge from out of caucus-type struggles within the unions.

When struggles break out—such as this one over the busing question—in the working class communities, issues are raised which are central to the political development of the entire working class. It becomes critical to participate in these struggles, while at the same time building forces within the unions. This is the purpose of demands directed toward the trade unions.

However, political development is more

6. The Revolutionary Union is one of the American Maoist sects. For consideration of its position in the Boston events see "Should Federal Troops Be Used in Boston?" Also "Maoists on wrong side of barricades in Boston" by Jon Hillson in the October 25 *Militant*, "Maoists join segregationists in Boston" by Dave Frankel in the November 8 *Militant*, and "Which way will RU march on Dec. 14?" by Wendy Lyons in the December 6 *Militant*. — *IP*

complex than simply raising demands to the unions. At this point, when political movement and demonstrations begin to take place in the communities, the middle class becomes very much involved. Democratic party politicians move in and massive movements of students can become involved, while revisionist elements dominate and flourish. But this cannot be helped. It is part of the political development of the American working class. It cannot be sidestepped through concentration on trade union work alone. It must be confronted. We must be part of such movements and within them fight out the issues around which a mass movement of American workers can be built, while at the same time participating in every trade union struggle.

In the past, the Workers League has understood this. We have always insisted that the struggle against revisionism was a real part of the political preparation of the American working class. We realized that the student movement could not be ignored and that the working class movement could only be built in a struggle against middle class radicalism within such student movements.

Does the new situation in the economic crisis mean that we no longer face these tasks? Can we now safely ignore the revisionists in *practice*, and the students, while devoting ourselves exclusively to the unions? The Boston March proves quite the opposite. After several years of decay of any political movement on the college and high school campuses, this march represents a new stirring among students who represented the majority group of the over 12,000 who participated. The march also shows that the revisionists cannot simply be ignored. They maintain a certain strength among these youth and they utilize it in a most reactionary manner. The grip of revisionism cannot be removed from the student movement from a distance, with a few articles in the *Bulletin*. This must take place in *practice*.

Another critical point is involved in the issues raised over the Boston March. For some years, the Workers League has insisted on the critical role of a working class youth movement in the building of a mass revolutionary party in the US. We learned this lesson particularly from the experiences of the Socialist Labour League-Workers Revolutionary Party—in England. The experience of the WL over the past few years has proven this position to be absolutely correct. The heart of the growth and development of the League since 1971 has been the development of the Young Socialists. It was only because of the development of the YS that the publication of the *Bulletin* twice-weekly became possible. Only this created the conditions for the League to change to meet the new objective situation: a change which the Mazelis lead-

ership is now determined to reverse.

The working class develops unevenly. The older workers today are willing to struggle within the trade unions where they have strength to do so. These struggles are of the greatest importance and they have a major impact on the class relations and the economic crisis itself. But, at the same time, these older workers are not yet ready to grasp revolutionary politics in any significant number or, as yet, to take any action in the unions for a labor party. They remain very much as syndicalists in their thinking *at this point*. However, the conditions are already being created for a swift change in this thinking at the next point of the struggle.

With the working class youth, the situation is different. These youth have no future *now*. It is among these youth that the forces who can grasp the question of revolution immediately are to be found. It is not that these youth can make a revolution now. But they can grasp revolutionary thinking. A revolutionary movement must be built of revolutionary material. These youth represent such material. This is why they must represent the heart of a revolutionary party *today*. Only a party based primarily among working class youth can be revolutionary in this period and as a revolutionary party fight out all the problems of development within the working class as a whole.

The importance of the Boston March lies precisely in its youthful character involving layers of high school youth for the first time in these broader-type movements. At the same time, the great crime the WL committed in abstaining on December 14—and it was a *crime*—lies precisely in the fact that the League was the best prepared to mobilize youth forces to participate. In this way, these youth could have been politically educated in the concrete struggle against revisionism.

At the same time, this activity, together with what should have been continuing activity on the part of the WL branch in the area is of great importance in and of itself in fighting racism. The trade unions will never organize the youth in the neighborhoods. Only revolutionists can do that. But the organization of the youth in the neighborhoods around a working class program is central to fighting the development of fascist forces among these youth. At this stage, work among Black youth is most critical. However, important changes are already developing among white working class youth because of the tremendous rise in unemployment among these youth. The fascists see this and seek to win support among this strata. We can and must begin to penetrate these layers as well as layers of Black youth. This is the role of a mass Young Socialists. Marching on December 14 could have contributed to building such a YS throughout Boston.

It is this which above all makes clear

the conservative and abstentionist character of the ultra-left rhetoric of Mazelis. Over the past year, the WL held a number of marches in cities across the nation and in Washington. These marches were highly successful and an important part of the life of the YS movement we had built. Now, for four months, the YS has not held a single march. Mazelis not only condemns the December 14 march but, despite branch work in the Roxbury area for several years, he himself failed to organize a single such march under the banners of the WL and YS.

The December 14 abstention is the culmination and expression of the policies of the Workers League over the past three months. It is what Comrade Mazelis conceives of as a "balanced approach" in which youth work is to be combined with some student work, and a lot of trade union work. Above all, one must never get too tired or certainly sell too many papers. Everything must be in perfect balance.

However, perfect balance is a state of *motionlessness*. It is always important to carry out party work in an all-sided way. But such work must have a thrust, a central direction, yes, a one-sidedness to it. At the heart of the work of the party this fall should have been the fight to continue to develop and expand the Young Socialist branches, in the neighborhoods, at the high schools and on the campuses. This should have been combined with a battle to build up the circulation of the press and *on this basis* building political support in the unions.

Instead, the League, particularly on the urging of Mike Banda,⁷ has become preoccupied with trade union work. But the trade unions in America, while involved in critically important struggles have not yet become political. Thus, the trade union work was not really "work." It involved little more than reportage in the press and hollow denunciations of the labor bureaucrats. In the meantime, the life of the branches became all the more the life of little circles of middle class people hanging around the unions just as the old IS group used to do before its breakup.

B. The Trade Unions and Centrism

At the 1973 Workers League conference, a tendency was present which openly reflected the resistance of entire layers of the League to the transformation of the old League into an actual workers movement. This tendency was composed of three elements. First was Irving Hall who submitted an oppositional resolution. Second was Steve Seltzer who supported Hall. Third was Comrade Jacques Gagnon, a man who would later be instrumental in bringing a grouping of former party

7. One of Gerry Healy's chief lieutenants. — IP

members together in the summer of 1974. This group played a critical role in establishing the Mazelis leadership. Comrade Jacques had his own resolution but its central thrust was along the same lines as Hall's.

All these tendencies represented a centrist retreat from the construction of a revolutionary youth movement. They covered their centrism by calling for a "turn to the unions." For these people, trade union work became a cover for the perpetuation of a middle class circle of radicals distant from any revolutionary perspectives. At heart, these forces represented an extremely conservative and *liquidationist* tendency.

They actually reflected a new form of the old economist tendency which Lenin fought in *What Is To Be Done?* Lenin, in that fight, insisted that the trade unions had to be placed within the framework of the *all-sided* character of the political struggle of the working class. Trade union consciousness is a form of bourgeois consciousness and the revolutionary party can never be *limited* to it. It is necessary to struggle continuously against this consciousness as one works within the unions.

Of course this is not simply a negative affair of criticizing the narrowness of the trade union outlook. It requires that a revolutionary party—starting from revolutionary perspectives—fight on *all* the political issues that affect the lives of workers. The struggles within the trade unions must thus be placed within this context.

The meaning of this is even more clear in light of the recent developments in Boston. A revolutionary party cannot be built by seeking to sidestep the issue of racism posed in Boston. It cannot simply plough ahead with this or that proposal for trade union policy. This will be as effective in Boston and other American cities as it would in Northern Ireland. One can have a policy for trade union action in the shipyards of Belfast but if one has no policy on the question of the unification of Ireland which is fought out openly among Protestant workers then one has no revolutionary policy at all.

Racism is not an accidental feature of the United States. It is rooted in its 300 year history, as we have explained in our book, *The History Of The American Working Class*. There is no way forward to the American Revolution without fighting, in the new context of the modern capitalist crisis, the question posed in the great American Civil War. To view the events in Boston as some sort of aberration to be played down rather than as a central feature of the struggle we must wage against bourgeois thinking in the working class is an economist error of the worst sort. Its conclusions are completely centrist in practice.

Only to the extent that an all-sided fight around all the political issues confronting the working class is honestly waged

can a revolutionary cadre be assembled. Only on this basis can more and more trade unionists become part of that revolutionary cadre. To see the struggle as a matter primarily of the construction of trade union caucuses is to liquidate the party itself, subordinating it to a form of organization within the limits of bourgeois consciousness. This is why the caucus building school of "revolutionary" politics is always accompanied by a decay in the building of the party.

When perspectives are posed in this way, the question of why a cadre recruited from the working class youth is so critical becomes even clearer. Only with such a cadre can we begin to transform trade unionists as well as middle class students and intellectuals into party people.

This is the general approach we took to this question during the summer of 1973, at the 1973 conference, and in the year which followed. Comrade Healy participated in these discussions insisting particularly on the importance of classes for workers. He insisted that we first fight for such classes and not simply for caucuses based on trade union policies alone.

Therefore, it was no accident that in the summer of 1973, when we launched an all-out struggle among the older party cadre to drive the party into the working class, that our sharpest conflict came over the old forms of our trade union work. This was most true with our caucus in the Social Service Employees Union. The work within the SSEU was begun by Comrade Sebastian as early as 1965. Comrades Dennis O'Casey and Lucy St. John were recruited out of that work. At various times, that work received wide support within the SSEU, where the caucus almost gained a majority for various proposals.

However, the SSEU work had never been real party building work. Few came out of the SSEU into the movement. Those who did join were middle class radicals who happened to be members of the SSEU. The SSEU caucus was particularly distant from the working class minority workers who, by 1973, made up the bulk of the SSEU members. It is not accidental that in the course of the year which followed, the entire SSEU caucus one by one left the movement, collapsing before the tasks of building a youth movement and of reaching the workers in the SSEU. This included Alex Steiner, Dennis O'Casey, Ronnie R., Karen Frankel, Neal F., and others.

The 1973 conference counterposed the revolutionary perspectives, which had been hammered out over the preceding year and were incorporated in the "Perspectives For The American Revolution" document, against this economist and centrist position of Hall, Seltzer and Gagnon. In the end, these three comrades withdrew their documents and voted with the ma-

majority. Comrade Gerry Healy supported this position down the line speaking from the floor of the conference on it himself.

The Workers League of today has gone over completely to the positions of Hall-Seltzer-Gagnon. The group of comrades who recently rejoined the movement were all associated with that general outlook when they were formerly in the party. They were organized by Gagnon, a leading proponent of that position in 1973. The result has been a paper more and more divorced from theory, limited to abstract propaganda about this or that trade union struggle, a youth movement in decay, a declining circulation of the press and finally the abstentionist line toward the Boston March. The record is clear. Comrade Gerry Healy has engineered a complete reversal in the political positions of the League. He has backed a centrist overthrow of revolutionary perspectives fought for over a decade.

C. Lessons of the Miners Strike

The centrist character of the Mazelis leadership is expressed sharply in the Workers League's recent intervention in the miners strike.⁸ The coverage of the miners strike has been characterized by an abstract ultra-leftism which has functioned as a very thin cover for a purely syndicalist perspective. The latter has led, as it always does, to opportunism in practice.

First, it must be understood that trade union perspectives do not begin in the trade unions. They are an expression of party perspectives. Under conditions in which a party has no real perspective, then trade union work can only be trade union work. As such it remains within the limits of bourgeois consciousness and is in no sense revolutionary. This is why it is critical to understand the recent miners struggles as part of the struggle to construct the party, to train Marxist cadres and not as a thing-in-itself to intervene in.

The very nature of mining in the United States places a great limit upon our ability to intervene in a party way. The mines are located in a culturally backward part of the country distant from any cities. At this stage in the development of the

8. The miners' strike began November 12 and lasted until December 5. For on-the-scene reports from the coal fields in West Virginia, Illinois, and Colorado, see the articles by Cindy Jaquith, Ed Heisler, Pat Hayes, and Jack Marsh in *The Militant* from November 15 to December 13. Also see the articles by Frank Lovell analyzing the meaning of the strike published in the November 15, December 13, and December 20 issues of *The Militant*. — IP

American working class it is not possible to build significant party branches in the small towns of the rural mining areas. An intervention in the miners union then is primarily for the understanding and training of workers elsewhere, for the construction of branches in cities like Cleveland, Pittsburgh and Youngstown.

At the same time, this background in no way lessens the militancy of the miners. Quite the opposite. The existence of whole towns made up almost entirely of miners isolated from the rest of the country has contributed to their solidarity. It, however, has also contributed to syndicalist traditions among miners—a tremendous union consciousness on the one hand and a fantastic political and cultural backwardness on the other.

What is necessary in order to develop a strategy of intervention in the recent miners strike is to understand this strike in its historical perspective. At no point in the recent coverage of the strike by the *Bulletin* was this done.

The present Miller leadership is the product of a highly contradictory development in the trade unions, a development by no means exclusive to the miners, but for the reasons stated above, takes on a sharp expression among the miners. Miller led a massive movement of rank and file miners against the corrupt Boyle leadership. Miller did this in an opportunist way leaning dangerously upon the federal government in his campaign against Boyle. He encouraged government intervention in the life of the UMW² and in that way weakened the union movement. But at the same time, this movement was more than Miller and the bourgeois government. It was an elemental movement of masses of workers such as will take place in the next period in a number of unions.

Miller sought to limit his struggle to the question of "democracy" in the unions. The ranks viewed things differently. For them democracy was necessary to gain control of the union in order to utilize the union as a weapon of struggle against the employer. So, while Miller did his best to avoid the real issues facing the union, these issues were raised soon after Miller came to power and have been at the center of the recent strike.

The Workers League correctly gave critical support to Miller against Boyle. We based this support on Trotsky's understanding of the importance of supporting any group within the union which will loosen the hold of the bureaucracy upon the ranks, which will open up the situation for our own development in the unions. At the same time, it was necessary to place Miller in power in order to create conditions for the breaking of Miller's own supporters from Miller.

This position of the Workers League

is never mentioned by David North in his extensive writings on the miners strike.

In any event it is impossible to intervene in the present situation in the miners union unless one has a proper understanding and policy towards the past of the union which created the present. The question could not be clearer. The tremendous opportunities which existed during this past period for rank and file struggle against the Miller leadership were possible only because the Miller group defeated the old Boyle machine. Thus history has proven us completely correct in our support to Miller over Boyle. The tremendous outbreak of opposition to Miller and his contract proves the correctness of the critical character of the support we gave Miller against Boyle. We supported Miller only to create the conditions to fight him. Anyone who does not understand such a position does not understand dialectics.

The difficulty with the position of North and the Mazelis leadership is that, since they do not begin from this perspective, they open themselves up to an opportunist relationship with precisely the remnants of the old Boyle regime which still have considerable strength in the union. What North does is simply denounce Miller in as extreme terms as he can. Then he discusses the need for the labor party in a most abstract manner. When it comes to concrete policies he supports without criticism any and all forces within the union who oppose the contract. He even defends these forces from the criticisms of the revisionists. His concrete policy within the UMW gets no further than a no vote on the contract.

It is not simply a matter of the rank and file miner who opposes the contract. North was able to get close to members of the negotiating committee—largely union officials—who opposed the contract. In this fashion—very much like his interviews in 1972 with Abel—North is giving a form of very uncritical support to the old Boyle regime in the union. Talk of a labor party is only a cover for such crass opportunism in practice.

It is precisely the political backwardness of America—most extremely expressed in the culturally backward mining districts where men also strike against "ungodly" books in the schools—which makes it so easy for demagogic forces to maneuver within the unions disguising themselves as militants. Union policy alone is insufficient to flush them out. What was needed was to assess the con-

tradictory development of the Miller group over the past few years. It was necessary to expose its relations with the government and thus, its inability to offer a real alternative to the Boyle forces.

Within this framework, a section of workers could be fought for who began to grasp the need for a Marxist force in the unions, training themselves as part of the revolutionary party and fighting for a labor party in their union. The orientation should have been toward the forces around Miller. A ruthless exposure should have been conducted against all the remnants of the old Boyle machine who sought to hide behind opposition to the contract. It was not simply a matter of defeating the contract but of educating even a small layer of workers in the course of the struggle against the contract.

This important intervention in the min-

ers strike had to be subordinated to the general party tasks of this period. These, as we have stated, must center on the construction of a youth movement and, with this movement, building the party press and party branches in the central industrial cities of the country. While North was running around the mining areas, the branches in the relatively nearby areas of Youngstown and Cleveland were allowed to decay. No attempt was made to rebuild in Pittsburgh where we made a good beginning on a branch last year but were unable to maintain that work. Coverage of the mines became a cover for the actual liquidation of the party, a cover for the lack of struggle within the party and by the party over anything. It was a journalistic snowjob to cover up for a party running away from its historic tasks.

[Next week: Disintegration of the Youth]

Turkish Workers Fight for Right to Choose Their Own Unions

[The *Turkiye Sosyalist Isci Partisi* (TSIP—Socialist Workers party of Turkey) was legally constituted on June 22, 1974. It was the first left party to organize legally since the banning of the Workers party of Turkey in 1941 and the first to try to take advantage of the restoration of bourgeois democracy after three years of military rule.

[Like its predecessor, the Workers party, the TSIP is a left-centrist formation. But it seems to have drawn around it some elements with revolutionary aspirations. It has also tried to draw some lessons from the experience of the Turkish left before the 1971 coup. For example, the recent issues of its weekly paper *Kitle* (Mass) have carried a series of articles criticizing a Maoist wing of the Workers party for its concept of a "national democratic revolution" and for sacrificing working-class political independence for a petty-bourgeois nationalist and reformist perspective.

[In recent years, the industrial working class in Turkey has grown considerably, and the activity of the left since the restoration of parliamentary rule seems to be concentrated largely on the problem of building representative unions. In the following editorial, published December 31, 1974, *Kitle* reviews the development of the union movement in 1974 from its point of view. Regardless of the correctness or incorrectness of some political views expressed, this editorial offers a certain indication of the problems in the growth of industrial unionism in the most powerful and most developed country in

the Middle East. The translation from the Turkish is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

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The year 1974 is now behind us. As we go into the new year, the balance sheet of the old is marked by the struggle fought by the Turkish workers for the right to choose their own unions.

There is no doubt that the struggle of our working class is undergoing a new upsurge. In the aftermath of three years of open fascism, spontaneous mobilizations have been developing one after the other. At the same time, by the battles they have waged in the shops, the most conscious sections of our working class have lanced a sore that was becoming gangrenous [i.e., the situation created by collaborationist trade unions].

For many years the authorities concealed the fact that the workers had a right to choose their own unions. But for the whole last year our working class has been demanding this right with extraordinary determination.

In the struggle that began in Isdemir on April 15-16, the workers shouted: "We will choose our own unions, we will put an end to company unions." Rising from the south, this powerful voice swelled and echoed, despite terror, pressure, harassment, and unjust persecution.

At Ulker, Insa, and Epengle, the workers took up this slogan; and the bourgeoisie retreated. Only yesterday they avoided even using the word "referendum." But now they have been forced to recognize it as a right. A provision on referen-

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dums was included in the legislative package of twenty laws proposed to parliament by Turk Is.¹ However, it was only recently that this same Turk Is started resorting to all sorts of underhanded wheeling and dealing and Byzantine intrigues in order to block the referendum law.

By dint of persistence, our working class won confirmation of certain rights with the Labor Law and the Trade Unions Law. In Cukurova, although it later changed its mind the Labor Court agreed to a referendum to solve a jurisdictional dispute involving tens of thousands of textile workers. The dispute between Cagdas Metal Is and Turk Is in the MKE works also had to be decided by a referendum.

To sum it up, let us say that the right of referendum resisted by the bourgeoisie has become a reality through this legislation. The most important thing, moreover, is that from the biggest factories to the workbenches of the smallest artisan shops, the workers have claimed this right and consciously understood it.

So, the referendum campaign that the Turkiye Sosyalist Isci Partisi initiated "with the correct timing" started in the context of this "de facto situation," despite the bloody assaults of the ruling class and the unpardonable indifference of some of the trade-union and democratic organizations. With the help of a poster campaign in the big cities, various assemblies were organized in the industrial areas.

One of the posters prepared for the TSIP's campaign summed up the struggle in the clearest way: "We will take the right of referendum literally!" In fact, if the right of referendum has taken on incomparably more reality than other rights, this is not because of any favor from the ruling class, or the fulfillment of a promise by the Social Democratic CHP,² nor because of a pure trade-union struggle. In fact, this was achieved by an organizing campaign carried out with the correct tactics and oriented by the political organization of the working class. A need for this kind of organization had emerged within the working class and been reflected for some time by spontaneous mobilizations.

From this standpoint, the success achieved by the struggle did not consist solely of getting a democratic right rec-

ognized "de facto." The referendum struggle confirmed the principle that every kind of struggle by the workers must be directed by a working-class political organization. In 1975, no matter what political force comes to power, the right of referendum must be written into the law. This means that the success won in the struggle for the right to choose your own trade union must be made "official." In any case, we have to declare triumphantly that the referendum struggle has been won in fact. And the Turkiye Sosyalist Isci Partisi is proud of this. This right, for which working-class activists have struggled bitterly for decades, has become the property of our working class as a whole.

In making a general evaluation of the workers struggles in 1974, we note another encouraging development. The union federation that includes the most conscious and militant elements of our working class and remains the hope of the broad working masses, the DISK,³ increased its strength last year. At the same time, Turk Is steadily declined.

DISK went into 1974 with thirteen member unions. During the year it found that many unions wished to join. Some broke from the ranks of Turk Is. Others were reacting rightly against the Turk Is unions. Others were organizations that had striven for years to remain independent. In these cases, it was not because of the preferences of the leaders that the decision was taken to join DISK, but because of the demands and insistence of the ranks.

The unions that officially joined were Has Is [Special Workers], Ozgur Haber Is [Free Journalists], Tek-Sen [Textile Workers], the Devrimci Toprak Iscleri [Revolutionary Agricultural Workers], Bay Sen Is [Vendors], and Sosyal Is [Social Workers]. Petkim, Petro Kimya Is [Petrochemical Workers], and Tekstil completed the necessary contacts. In the coming months the general assemblies of these unions are to meet, and will make the official decision to join.

In contrast to this encouraging development in DISK, the conflict between the various wings of Turk Is has sharpened, with splits occurring in some places. In particular, this federation's ties with the Social Democratic unions Tunc, Side, and Ozdemir, which had been becoming frayed, seem to have broken entirely. In this process, the driving force has been the reaction among the ranks of the Social Democratic unions to the fact that the reactionary clique that runs Turk Is has gone openly under the control of the big capitalists. Evidently, the pres-

sure of a violent awakening among the ranks has put the leading cadres of the Social Democratic unions in a position where they cannot pursue such a policy. This has forced these cadres to clarify what they want and to carry it out in practice.

One of the best examples of this process was the case of the municipal workers' strikes in Ankara, Istanbul, and Izmir. These actions were begun with the usual political considerations. But after a short time the workers adopted a militant course that went beyond the limits of the lines laid out by the leading cadres and developed into a model of economic class struggle.

In assessing the past year as a whole, there is a third point that must be made. With gradually increasing speed, the trade-union leaderships have been passing into the hands of revolutionary cadres. Revolutionary cadres have been gaining influence in the union leaderships at the same time as counterrevolutionary elements have been cleared out.

This development has given notice that the so-called generation of 1947 that has set its stamp on the Turkish trade-union movement for twenty-five years is passing from the stage. Following an American-type conception of trade unionism, they were convinced that they had a mission to make sure that our working class never attained class consciousness. The job performed by this generation was to trap the trade-union movement within the narrow limits of economism and apolitical syndicalism.

Now that they are losing their positions in the trade-union leaderships, these elements are losing their influence. While in earlier years they had been leaving these positions of their own accord, now they are beginning to be forced out by the pressure of a revolutionary wave rising from the ranks. This is important not only because the counterrevolutionary elements are being cleaned out but because of the inclinations of the new generations going in.

The young revolutionary cadres who are replacing a generation that failed completely to understand the essential unity of economic and political struggle and that did not even have an especially clear understanding of their role have been the most conscious element in the process of organizing our working class and assembling it in the ranks of its own party.

In 1974, hundreds of strikes and labor struggles of every magnitude have mobilized the working class in action and given rise to new experiments, expertise, and experience. However, if we have to single out a few of these, the following emerge as the year's most important events in the workers movement: the struggles at Epen-ple, Insa, and Ulker, the strike at Gisla-

1. Turkiye Isci Sendikarlari Konfederasyonu—Turkish Trade Union Confederation, the national federation affiliated to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

2. Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi—Republican People's party, the party of former Premier Bulent Ecevit.

3. Devrimci Iscleri Sendikasi Konfederasyonu—Revolutionary Workers Trade Union Confederation.

ved, the staggered strikes in the Aliaga and Ipras refineries, the municipal workers' strikes in the three large cities, the struggle at Isdemir, the PTT,⁴ and the jurisdictional dispute that involved tens of thousands of textile workers at Cukurova.

The struggles of the workers at Insa, Ulker, and Epengle proved to be the most effective propaganda for the "referendum campaign." While the spark struck by the Ulker workers touched off a potential for action that had been accumulating for years, the Insa and Epengle workers wiped out the last resistance by the bourgeoisie to the referendum and to the right of workers to choose their own unions.

The strike begun by the 900 workers at the Gislaved factory, which is still continuing, is another demonstration that our working class has won the freedom to choose its unions. The Gislaved workers had been forced by various legal devices to be members of the Kaucuk Is Sendika [Rubber Workers Union]. But the real unions belonging to the Lastik Is [Rubber Workers] gained jurisdiction in some divisions and started a strike. The mass of workers joined in with model discipline and steadfastness, braving the brutal sun of the hottest summer months and making the Gislaved strike another bastion of our referendum struggle.

The decision of the municipal workers in Ankara, Izmir, and Istanbul to go on strike, and the actual implementation of this in Ankara and Izmir helped on the one hand to discredit the labor policy of the CHP, and on the other, showed how far the Social Democratic trade unionists had been left behind by developments.

These are the events that we consider most important for the workers movement in 1974. But both from the standpoint of the number of workers involved and what was at stake, the outstanding labor action in 1974 was the struggle at Isdemir. The fight that the 15,000 workers who work in the Iskenderun Demir Celik building sites put up against the bosses who have established a monopoly in the building sector and the fight against the fierce terror that swept the Iskenderun-Payas region in the days following this struggle had an impact on our entire working class. This demonstrated the value of some clear lessons. The most important of all these lessons, however, is that without the guidance of a political organization, no matter how strongly fought a struggle is, it will come to nothing. □

4. Posta, Telegraf, Telefon Idaresi—Postal, Telegraph, and Telephone Administration.

Protest by Draftees From the Antilles

[The following is the text of a statement circulated by soldiers from the Antilles stationed at Draguignan, France. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

We come for the most part from our islands, known more familiarly as the "Antilles." Some of us already live in France, owing to the fact that a law passed by the French government in 1946 made us a *departement*. This meant that a great number of us have been called into uniform to carry out, like all Frenchmen, our twelve months of military service in France proper.

We have been called up, and since the beginning we have been set apart and remarked upon because of our color, which is somewhat dark and leads to our frequently being called "colored people," and because of the stiff texture of our hair (we are sincerely very proud of all these features, and the same is true of the other races).

First of all there were two months of classes. There we discovered men who are called "career soldiers," who sought by all means to convince us to become real men (does this mean that a man who has not completed his military service is not a real man?). We would have been happy to believe them, but little by little, as the days passed, we came to realize that under the system we were being subjected to we would be more likely to leave as mental cases.

After "school" was over each of us, colored people and the others, were sent into a branch (in the quartermaster supply units). But one little thing could hardly be overlooked, even by the naked eye: most of the soldiers from the Antilles ended up *with a broomstick in hand*. Why?

There was a time when our ancestors were slaves at the mercy of those who exploited them. We won't draw any pictures, because you are certain to be well aware of the facts (thanks to Victor Schoelcher). In any event, all that was abolished and now that we people from the Antilles find ourselves in French barracks, we don't want to turn around and put up with the same nonsense our great-grandfathers did, even under duress.

Statements we all know about have often been made by both low- and higher-ranking officers. An example: There is one of us who is usually stationed at the gunsight, and we have learned that a superior officer came out with the following remark: "I don't want anyone like 'that' inside there; I don't have any confidence in him." And again, by the same officer, addressing a second-class soldier like us who made a complaint: "You don't like

being made to do the dirty work like this poor little—? Tough." We find ourselves at this level: barracks boys; the garbage cans must be cleaned by Blacks; etc.

We are very bitter about this treatment. We are in no way stupid or lacking in intelligence. There is no reason to believe that there are no other things we can do on this base. (Are all the other soldiers from the Antilles on other French bases treated the same way?)

Is the truth summed up in that little phrase "to work like Blacks," a phrase that is pardonable on the lips of some? Won't this ever change? In addition, the attitude of the noncommissioned officers, who are supposed to teach us about liberty, equality, and fraternity, encourages similar skepticism among certain draftees. (This is true not only for us but also for those who are of North African origin, and for other "foreigners.")

We are not in some penitentiary where systematic harassment is to be practiced against people from the Antilles. We are and would like to remain no more and no less than soldiers fulfilling their national duty. We do not wish to hear anything more, like the statement by that captain, about our not being Frenchmen. Our fathers and grandfathers were among the first to fight in defense of France in the first and second world wars.

We would like to believe that everything possible will be done to clear up these misunderstandings.

*Soldiers from the Antilles
Nineteenth Artillery Regiment
Draguignan*

The signers of this statement collectively support the Appeal of the One Hundred. □

Expelled Socialists Win Reinstatement to Australian Young Labor Association

The thirty-one socialists who were expelled from the Victorian Young Labor Association (YLA) in February 1974 without notice or a hearing have won their fight for reinstatement. They were readmitted by a special YLA conference on December 14, after a broad campaign to mobilize rank-and-file support in the YLA and the Australian Labor party forced the ALP to intervene and recommend reversal of the expulsions.

The conference adopted a new constitution that provides some safeguards for membership rights. For example, it provides for an open-conference structure, allowing all YLA members to attend and express their views, rather than a delegated system as advocated by the right wing. However, the new constitution still fails to formalize the right to form political tendencies.

The Appeal of the One Hundred

[The following is the text of the Appeal of the One Hundred being circulated in the French army. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

One day we received an order calling us up for national service. Under the law, we were compelled to report at a certain specified date. At the time we had to don uniforms, however, a number of us had not been able to resolve our personal affairs, some of which were of major concern: professional training, personal life, financial independence or stability, obtaining a job, and so forth. Thus, since the problems of starting out in life are extremely acute, for some of us the departure for military service amounted to a genuine catastrophe.

We are located, for the most part, hundreds of kilometers from the places where we work, or where our family and friends live, without being able to do much about it. For a period of a year, whatever social and personal relationships we have are conditioned by where we happen by chance to be stationed, by the whims of military training.

This is why we demand the right to choose the date and place of service, between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five.

We feel that our pay is ridiculously low. It does not enable us to take care of the expenses, even modest ones, required by our travel and leisure activities. It does not permit us, if we have a companion, or children, to contribute toward their living expenses. What we need, in contrast, is a supplementary allowance. We therefore demand pay equal to the minimum wage and the right to travel without charge.

We have all been able to see that many volunteers who entered the army when they were very young would like to return to civilian life. They are prevented from doing so by the papers they signed after letting themselves be taken in by the lies of military propaganda; or because they reluctantly reenlisted, having received no professional training enabling them to re-enter civilian life.

We think that enlistees should be able to cancel their term of service at any time.

Our isolation for a year, and the resulting sexual and emotional misery, is heightened by the requirement to spend nights on the base and to be present at roll calls. Is this hazing, for that is in effect what it amounts to, indispensable to our military training? We think not.

We must have the right to do whatever we want outside fixed hours of military duty. And from the first day of our enlistment too.

Is it a revelation to say that the time spent in military service is too often a period in which we are forced to undergo harassment that is aimed solely at breaking our will, at making us docile followers of orders? In fact, military regulations permit any officer to give the most outlandish orders and then to mete out punishment whenever he wishes to any subordinate for "refusing to obey." In general, off-base housing and leaves are used as a permanent form of blackmail to assure our docility and servility.

We demand an end to all forms of harassment, and the granting of weekly leaves.

It is said that the army's main function is national defense. Consequently, we do not understand why some of us have been sent to the German Federal Republic, since relations with this country have long been of a peaceful nature, and nothing has occurred that would seem to call them into question.

We demand an end to being stationed beyond French borders.

As soldiers, we can vote. But oddly enough, we do not have the right to keep ourselves informed as we see fit. We do not have access to the newspapers of our choice on military bases. We are even punished if we bring certain newspapers onto the base. Political discussions and activities are forbidden. We note that this prohibition does not extend to military spokesmen sharing the government's point of view, who express themselves at

length in the press. In reality, we have been transformed into social ciphers, into political less-than-nothings. Undoubtedly this is so that we can be better used against workers, so that we can be compelled to break strikes should the need arise.

We demand complete freedom of information and political expression on military bases and the right to choose between military and civilian dress when we are not on duty, whatever our activities.

Is it astonishing that the youth refuses to approve of a system in which apprenticeship is based solely on passive obedience and blind discipline? A system in which the training, despite cabinet minister Galley's denials, can claim a 7 percent dropout rate? How can we tolerate a system in which draftees have no legal rights, in which we can be imprisoned for two months with no redress, with no contact with the outside world, often under deplorable conditions of detention? How can we tolerate the fact that military security has the right to investigate our mail, our personal affairs, that it can carry out surveillance of our comings and goings and keep a watch over our contacts? The army is a veritable state within a state over which civilians cannot exercise any authority. The recent events in Chile show where this can lead. And we refuse to put up with it.

We demand the dissolution of the military security bureau, the abolition of military courts and all military sanctions, as well as the prisons, special camps, and other camps the army has set up to imprison those it finds guilty. □

In Defense of the Draguignan Defendants

[The following is the text of a joint leaflet circulated in defense of the French soldiers victimized after the September 10, 1974, demonstration in Draguignan. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

The undersigned organizations, meeting September 11, 1974, affirm their solidarity with the draftees of the Nineteenth Artillery Regiment of Draguignan who demonstrated on September 10. They also affirm their support for the demands put forward in the Appeal of the One Hundred:

- The right to choose the date and place of service, between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five.

- Pay equal to the minimum wage, and the right to travel without charge.

- The possibility for enlistees to cancel their contract at any time.

- The right to do whatever we wish outside fixed hours of military duty, from the first day in the army.

- The abolition of hazing in any form,

and the right to weekly leaves.

- An end to being stationed beyond French borders.

- Complete freedom of information and political expression on military bases and the right to choose between civilian and military dress when we are not on duty, whatever our activities.

- The dissolution of the military security bureau, the abolition of military courts and all military sanctions, as well as the prisons, special camps, and other camps the army has set up to imprison those it finds guilty.

These organizations declare their readiness to mobilize in defense of the draftees against any sanctions that may be taken against them by military authorities.

French Democratic Confederation of Labor, Antimilitarist Committee, Labor Force, Communist Organization Revolution! Socialist party, Revolutionary Communist Front, French Communist party, United Socialist party, Free Thought, Atom Information Committee.

Brazilian Censors' 'List of Forbidden Topics'

[Brazil's leading daily, *O Estado de Sao Paulo*, appeared January 4 without direct censorship for the first time in more than two years. The conservative daily had refused to comply with the law ordering self-censorship of the press, and its composing room had been occupied by federal police censors since August 1972. Long columns of poetry became a fixture in *O Estado* as the editors replaced censored articles and advertisements with verses from the epic poem *Os Lusíadas*.

[Although the poetry has temporarily disappeared from the pages of *O Estado* and the government appears to have eased self-censorship guidelines, the system still prevails. Moreover, direct censorship continues at several Brazilian publications, and the Geisel regime has made no move to revoke the 1970 law requiring prior approval of all publications.

[The following "list of forbidden topics" is an example of the communiques issued from time to time by the federal police to regulate self-censorship. It was sent to the Brazilian press February 12, 1974.

[The Canadian Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners* obtained a copy of the circular from opposition circles in Brazil. The committee has provided a translation of the document, which we are publishing below.]

* * *

INTERNAL COMMUNIQUE

DATE: February 12, 1974

RE: List of forbidden topics as determined by General A Bandeira, general director of the Federal Police Department (BRASILIA).

1. Actions by security agents in order to prevent or repress activities against the national security.

2. Arrest, death, criminal attempt, public statement, document, trip, or information concerning subversives, *cassados* [persons stripped of political rights], *bandidos* [persons expelled from Brazil and denied their citizenship], or exiles.

3. Information and opinions about activities of Don Helder Camara, Father Jose Comblin, Father Casaldaliga, Father Francisco Jentel. And any kind of statement from the CNBB [National Conference of Brazilian Bishops], whenever it attacks the government.

4. Rallies organized abroad against Brazil, as for example the one that occurred in Belgium.

5. News about torture of prisoners, about hunger strikes, or about jail conditions.

*P. O. Box 38, Station B, Toronto, Ontario.

6. Activities related to terrorism and subversion, mainly when they mention the execution of security agents.

7. Any kind of news about kidnappings (even of children), unless it is formally authorized by the federal police department.

8. Storming of any hideout of subversives and armed resistance.

9. State of the documents concerning any lawsuit against subversives and terrorists, at any stage of the investigation or suit. It is specifically forbidden to publish the names of civil or military authorities involved in the investigation.

10. Criticism, direct or indirect, concerning the censorship system and actions taken by censors, in any sector of their work.

11. Transactions carried out by the government of the federal district concerning the exchange of land for apartments.

12. Alarming news about the spreading of forged bills [money].

13. Decision of the censors to forbid the theater play *Calabar*, the movie, or the record of the same name. This regulation refers to paid advertisements, reviews, commentaries, or any other kind of publicity.

14. Alarming and sensationalistic speculation over the living and working conditions in the Northern and Northeastern regions. Also the negative exploitation of the Indian situation or the activities of the National Indian Foundation (FUNAI).

15. Exploitation or sensationalism involving homeless children.

16. Alarming or provocative news

about the actions taken by the military or civil police intended to discredit these police organizations.

17. Criticisms challenging the regime, the government, and the national security.

18. To treat in a jocular, offensive, or vulgar way the constituted authorities or the fatherland's symbols.

19. Sensationalistic news using vulgar words or exploiting scandals about sexual perversions, pornographic or erotic themes, and also obscene photos.

20. Exploitation of crimes, hideous scenes, accidents, natural catastrophes, exhibition of mutilations (photos), or shocking events.

21. News about confiscation of magazines, books, or about direct censorship at newspapers and magazines.

22. Alarming news denouncing the presence of bombs or any other explosives.

23. To talk about the former Sergeant Manoel Raimundo Soares or his widow Elizabeth Challup Soares.

24. News, commentaries, etc., referring to proposals of granting honorary titles to high authorities being discussed at provincial or municipal assemblies.

25. Publication of any matter calling to class struggle, strikes, or rebellions. Also forbidden is any call to racial or social discrimination.

26. Publication, mention, article, news, etc., of an alarming character concerning anonymous phone calls, bombs, explosives, alarms, or fires in large high-rises [skyscrapers]. □

The Struggle for Kurdish Autonomy

[The following statement by J. Ali, European representative of the Kurdish Democratic party, appeared in the February issue of *Le Peuple Breton*, newspaper of the Union Democratique Bretonne. The UDB is a left nationalist group that has been closely aligned with the French Communist party since 1968.

[Footnotes were supplied by *Le Peuple Breton*. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

The nine Iraqi governments that have come to power since 1961 have all used the same tactics against the Kurds. First they promise to make peace, to grant the Kurds their rights. Then, as soon as they feel strong enough, they try to take back some of these rights by military means. They make a series of accusations, calling the Kurdish revolution a feudal movement, then a militant revolutionary movement in

sympathy with Moscow, then an anti-Islamic movement, and finally, today, a movement working for the CIA.

I would like to point out that the truth of the matter is that in the fourteen years we have been fighting we have not changed at all. What has changed has been the nine governments in Iraq, nine dictatorial governments that came to power through military coups, employing the most brutal methods. By way of contrast, the Kurdish revolution, led by the Kurdish Democratic party, defends not only the Kurdish people's right to freedom but also the rights of other parties and minorities, who are free to do as they wish in the liberated areas. This is the case, for example, with the pro-Chinese Communist party and with Arab movements. The same was true in the past for the pro-Soviet Communist party, whose survivors came to Kurdistan seeking refuge during the period when the cry of the Iraqi government (the same government that is in pow-

er today!) was "Kill every Communist on sight."

The new phase of the war that has just been launched against the Kurdish people is more harsh and savage than ever, and there are several reasons for this. First of all because the Soviet Union is backing the current Iraqi government to the hilt, providing it with ultramodern heavy arms like the Tupolev-22 bombers, which are used to bomb Kurdish refugee camps from an altitude of 10,000 meters. In this connection, it is astonishing to see the Soviet Union, which talks about peace, the liberation of all nations, humanitarianism, and Marxism-Leninism, enter the fray against a small nation that is fighting for its freedom and autonomy (not even its independence!). The Soviets are supporting a government that seized power through a military coup and that only four or five years ago was massacring Communists!

The second reason for the brutality of this war stems from the wealth the Iraqi government has at its disposal from the abrupt increase in petroleum revenue.¹ Today it can buy men and arms,² and use the oil as a means of blackmail against certain countries (Sweden, Switzerland, Austria, and Finland) in order to isolate the Kurdish movement and even prevent the intervention of humanitarian organizations.

The war at present is extremely harsh. We have more than 100,000 refugees in Iran, and more than 400,000 displaced persons who have left their villages and who have come to liberated regions. The situation is extremely critical. People are dying every day because of the weather, which is quite cold right now, and the humanitarian organizations themselves are incapable of doing anything because of the oil blackmail. And all this has happened in an epoch in which we hear talk of the right of animals to exist. There are a great number of committees and organizations that protect animals, but when it comes to the Kurds no one has anything to say. No one wants to help them. Everyone says, "We know you are right and we are in sympathy with you, but we can't do anything." And so two or three million Kurds are abandoned in the isolated mountain regions, fighting one of the biggest superpowers—the Soviet Union.

In fact, we don't think this war is directed against Iraq but against the Soviet Union. Iraq would never have been able to fight the Kurds in this fashion if it hadn't been for Soviet arms and "ex-

1. Most Iraqi oil wells are located in Kurdistan.

2. From France, in particular!

3. There are at present a thousand of them in Iraq, some of whom take part

perts."³ They project using the most savage means to repress an entire people, including poison gas. At the same time repression is deepening in Baghdad and in the Kurdish regions under Iraqi control. They have hanged four young Kurd-

in military actions (bombings) against the Kurds.

FROM OUR READERS

Our venture of trying to include in each issue of *Intercontinental Press* a few translations in Spanish has met with a favorable response. Typical comment is the following from G. B. in Colombia:

"IP is very useful for us in providing international news, information about the activities of groups belonging to the Fourth International, and for political education. In a regional publication which we are putting out, we have reproduced various articles from IP.

"We would like to suggest that you increase the number of articles in Spanish. For us they are of great importance, since various worker companeros have difficulty reading English."

Another reader in Colombia, A. R., stresses the "importance of two kinds of articles that you offer: those written by Ernest Mandel, Fidler, and others on inflation and the world recession; and those relating to the struggles being carried on by the PST [Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores] and the Argentine working class.

"The first kind. . . appear as the only Marxist analyses of the world situation, at least within the internationally known tendencies of the left.

"The second kind play a very important role for socialists, that is, for those of us who see in Argentina a process filled with lessons bearing on the Latin American and world revolution."

One of our readers in the U. S. armed forces, Tony R., writes: "I have found your recent policy of including material in Spanish personally gratifying since Spanish is my mother tongue and I thank you for that. I would also like to mention a couple of other aspects of your publication and that is the section *Around the World*, which gives us a good overall outlook on the various aspects of the struggle. Also your section on documents is, for me, the most interesting in that it allows me to understand the positions of the various groups involved. I could go on about IP but I think you know how I feel."

From readers held in various prisons we continue to receive appreciative comments. Here is a typical note from an

ish student. This is the first time in the history of the Middle East that women have been hanged. This is how they are repressing the Kurds. Meanwhile, the Iraqis talk about socialism, progress, and a whole number of other fine words as they go about pursuing a course of genocide against the Kurds.

Such is the situation at present. □

IP fan in a New York prison:

"After having reviewed a copy of your publication that another brother happened to have, I sincerely feel that your publication offers the most thorough presentation and analysis of the worldwide fight against imperialism and all its neocolonial lackeys.

"I would therefore appreciate if you would allow me to keep up with the revolutionary struggle, while I fight for my own immediate emancipation from within these repressive walls."

A reader in an Ohio prison, who wants to help increase our circulation, sent the following note:

"We have been receiving some issues of the *Intercontinental Press*. The paper is cool and we can relate to it. We would like some more brothers to receive the paper if possible. The names will be at the end of the letter. Thank you."

Since most prisoners are not in financial position to pay for their subscriptions, we accept donations to cover the costs. If you would like to help out in this, your contribution would be most welcome.

The editor of the Bengali Trotskyist publication *Larai* has asked us to inform our readers that the publication has had to change its name to *Srani-Dal-Biplab* (Class-Party-Revolution).

"*Larai* had a long tradition of fighting for Trotskyism in India," he writes. "It fought imperialism-capitalism on the one hand and Stalinism on the other. It is perhaps known to many that West Bengal happens to be a bastion of Stalinism."

Because of the abysmal level of poverty in India, it is extremely difficult to get out a publication of this kind regularly. The editor appeals for financial help. This can be sent through the following address: Bengali c/o *Internationales*, Box 3274, 10365 Stockholm, Sweden.

A subscription to *Intercontinental Press* is still a BEST BUY.

Check rates inside cover.