

# Intercontinental Press

Africa

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50¢



Mundo

SPÍNOLA: Angry crowds ran him out of the country.

Banks and Insurance Companies Taken Over

## New Advance of Portuguese Revolution

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**Lon Nol Can't Find Address to Surrender To**

**Ethiopia: Variant of 'African Road to Socialism'?**

**Profits We Can't Afford at Any Wattage**

**Se Juzga a la Dictadura Chilena en México**

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# NEWS ANALYSIS

## Back to Mining Haiphong Harbor?

The White House is trying every possible ploy to get Congress to approve \$222 million more to line the pockets of money-hungry Lon Nol and his cockroach retainers.

On March 13, a group of newsmen found Gen. William C. Westmoreland, the former American commander in Vietnam, wandering about the White House lawns. He proved willing to let the American public in on his latest opinions and obligingly granted an interview.

"I think it's too bad," he said, "that we couldn't again mine Haiphong Harbor." It's also too bad, he said, that President Ford doesn't have authority to use "tactical air and B-52 strikes to hit the Communist supply lines."

He told the newsmen that he had just conferred with the president. None of them appeared to doubt his word or to miss the implication that Ford was amenable to mining Haiphong Harbor again and ordering out the B-52s the way Nixon, the crook who made him president, used to do.

The retired general called the North Vietnamese "the Prussians of the Orient," showing how well his memory retains the slogans used in the chauvinist propaganda of World War I. And he added—perhaps needlessly—that he supported Ford's request to Congress for \$300 million more in military aid for South Vietnam and \$222 million more for Cambodia.

The White House's bid for headlines for Westmoreland did not find many takers. He was featured on TV for a few minutes; but most of the newspapers ignored him.

Apparently the editors were afraid that Westmoreland's appeal might remind older readers of the case of James V. Forrestal, the first secretary to head the War Department after its name was changed to "Defense Department." In 1949 Forrestal went berserk and was carried away in a straitjacket, screaming, "The reds are coming! The reds are coming!"

Truth to tell, the kindest thing that could be done to Westmoreland is to put a mower in his hands and let him continue to wander about the White House lawns.

Unfortunately, he is not the only one in White House circles to show that events are getting the better of him. On the same day that newsmen interviewed the senile general, the current secretary of the Defense Department, James R. Schlesinger, voiced his opinions on a television chain.

South Vietnam needs a lot more aid, he said. In contrast to Cambodia there is "no

immediate crisis," but "the indications are very clear" that the South Vietnamese "will need considerably more military assistance than we have given to them to date this year."

Ford's policy is all too clear. It is a continuation of the policy followed by Kennedy, Johnson, and Nixon of intervening in Indochinese affairs. However, that policy is now so discredited that the White House strategists are reduced to simply trying to gain a little more time.

If Lon Nol and Thieu can just be kept hanging in there, luck might change for them. An "emergency" injection of dollars, guns, and ammunition might keep them going a bit longer.

In the case of Lon Nol, they admit that only a couple of months might be gained. Still if he lasts that long, another bid for time can be made by playing once again on the fear of the Democrats that they might get tagged with the charge of "losing"

## The Propaganda Barrage on Portugal

The attempted coup in Lisbon March 11 aroused immediate suspicion that Washington had a hand in it. Brig. Gen. Otelo de Carvalho, chief of Portugal's security forces, told a news conference that U.S. Ambassador Frank C. Carlucci "had better leave after what happened today."

Carlucci, accused of participation in CIA plots in Africa and Brazil, was assigned to Lisbon early this year following reports that Kissinger thought the previous ambassador, Stuart Nash Scott, was not concerned enough about growing leftist influence in Portugal.

On several occasions recently Kissinger has expressed fear that a revolution in Portugal might spread quickly throughout the "soft underbelly" of the continent.

Similar views were expressed by the editors of the *New York Times* earlier this year. (See *Intercontinental Press*, March 3, p. 290.) In the wake of the March 11 putsch, the *Times* once again began talking about a "red menace." A March 15 editorial suggested that there had been no attempted coup. It was a "purported rightist coup," an "alleged rightist coup."

The "real coup," according to the editorial, was "a new wave of arrests and stepped up street violence against conservative political parties" by "Communist-backed military radicals."



New York Post

Cambodia.

That is why the White House keeps pleading for just a few hundred million dollars more to send down the drain. And that is why the Pentagon dreams of resuming carpet bombing and sowing the harbors of North Vietnam with mines. □

Still worse, the CP's "strategy—reminiscent of some Communist take-overs in Eastern Europe after World War II—seemed to be to seize all the key levers of power directly and through their military allies. . . ."

The editors warned Moscow that "a Communist take-over in Portugal could not fail to bring into serious question what remains of a shaky détente."

The Ford administration apparently sees eye to eye with the *Times* on this. A Washington official was quoted as comparing Lisbon with "Prague, 1948"—a reference to the toppling of capitalism in Czechoslovakia.

The *Times's* efforts to reduce the attempted coup to "purported" and "alleged" flies in the face of its on-the-spot reporter's own assessment (in a March 15 dispatch from Lisbon) that the regime "came close to losing power" in the March 11 action.

What the *Times's* editors are trying to do, of course, is to divert attention from the deepening radicalization of the masses by pointing to "reds" in the pay of Moscow.

The purpose of this is to help lay a propaganda basis for possible military intervention.

As to the real politics of the Portuguese CP, the February 20 *Wall Street Journal*

*Intercontinental Press*

offered an accurate description: "In Portugal, Italy, France and Greece the Communists no longer threaten revolution, promote violence, advocate political strikes. . . ."

"Sometimes Mr. Cunhal [the CP general secretary] sounds so moderate that you have to recheck his history to make sure he doesn't belong to some middle-class party. . . ."

At no point in the current crisis has the CP attempted to lead the masses forward. In fact, what is most remarkable about the situation in Portugal today is how far the masses have advanced without conscious leadership, under their own initiative and against the efforts of the CP to divert and restrain them.

That is what really worries the Washington strategists. Particularly upsetting to them is the evidence of the difficulty the CP faces in attempting to deflect and control the mass upsurge. Imperialist ruling circles are thus coming to the conclusion that they may not be able to count on the CP delivering the goods and that they had better begin weighing the use of stronger and more direct means.

That is why they have begun to talk about the "red menace" and to attribute all mass street demonstrations, factory occupations, and anticapitalist demands to agitation by the "reds."

The appeals that Moscow use its influence to steer the Portuguese CP from a revolutionary course—as if this were required or Moscow had any other intentions—are equally hypocritical. The Kremlin has no more desire than Washington to see a socialist revolution in Portugal.

Revolution in a West European country would encourage the masses in the Soviet Union and throughout Eastern Europe to overthrow the parasitic bureaucracy and institute socialist democracy.

The threat of U.S. military intervention in Portugal cannot be dismissed. The right-wing putschists' failure to win sufficient military support, and the widespread evidence of rank-and-file fraternization between soldiers, strikers, and left-wing demonstrators, confirm the words of *Le Monde's* correspondent Marcel Niedergang in the March 13 issue of the Paris daily: "... a Chilean-style operation will not be possible for a long time to come without a real foreign intervention."

The way to meet the counterrevolutionary threat in Portugal today is to move forward along the path the masses themselves are projecting—the expropriation of the bourgeois centers of power and their replacement by a planned economy under a workers state.

And the workers and revolutionary socialists around the world must sound the alarm over the danger of imperialist intervention in Portugal. □

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### Masses in Streets Defeat Spínola's Attempted Coup

By Dick Fidler

Portuguese citizens descended into the streets by the tens of thousands following the defeat of the attempted rightist coup on March 11.

"Down with the CIA," demonstrators chanted as they marched past the U.S. embassy in Lisbon.

In several cities, angry crowds sacked the headquarters of the right-wing Christian Democratic and Social Democratic Center parties, widely suspected of complicity in the rightist plot.

The Lisbon residence of former President António de Spínola was also a target of the masses' outrage. The former president, hailed as his country's liberator only months before, was on his way to exile in Brazil, stripped of his military rank. He headed a list, announced by President Francisco da Costa Gomes, of twenty-eight officers to be "arrested, tried and punished" as accomplices in the coup attempt.

Describing the situation in Lisbon on the night of March 11, *New York Times* correspondent Henry Giniger cabled:

"Civilian vigilante groups, with many members wearing Communist party badges and carrying shotguns, set up roadblocks and searched cars and their passengers. Leftist party and union mimeograph machines turned out leaflets that littered the streets. One said: 'People! Continue to be vigilant because somebody wants to put our freedom in danger!'"

The next day, the bank employees unions closed all the country's banks, locking out the employers. "The workers of this enterprise are struggling against economic sabotage," read the signs on doors of some companies, Jean Rey reported from Lisbon in the March 14 issue of the Paris daily *Le Figaro*.

"Trade-union delegates have taken control over some businesses until the government meets their demands," Rey said. "The requisitioned offices are occupied by far-left parties and groupings, which have hung banners and red flags from the windows."

"Throughout the city, veritable wall newspapers, as in People's China, have been pasted up. Passersby are stopping to read jarring ideas: 'Expropriation,' 'Struggle against capitalism,' 'Down with reaction,' 'No to the elections' . . ."

On March 14, the new military Revolutionary Council decreed the nationalization of almost all the country's banks (foreign-owned banks were exempted). The previous

day, it had announced the arrests of leading industrialists and bankers who were involved in the coup attempt.

On March 15 the council nationalized all of Portugal's thirty-five insurance companies, including those with foreign ownership.

A mass rally in Lisbon March 11 reflected the shift to the left in the country in the wake of the aborted coup. Called by the Communist party, the Socialist party, and the Portuguese Democratic Movement (MDP), the rally included representatives of the major political parties in the ruling coalition with the exception of the bourgeois People's Democratic party (PPD), the most conservative formation in the government.

"Where is the PPD? It's at home, watching television," and "The united left will never be defeated," were among the main slogans at the rally, reported *Le Monde* correspondent José Rebelo. In the last slogan, he noted, the usual word "people" had been replaced by the word "left."

The events on and since March 11 mark a turning point in the Portuguese revolution. Like Spínola's previous attempt to mobilize a rightist offensive, in September, this crisis resulted in a major setback for the right wing—but this time with the total discrediting of Spínola and the officers and businessmen identified with him. Nevertheless, without the massive and timely intervention of the masses, who acted largely spontaneously, the March 11 attempted coup would have resulted in a defeat of the process unleashed on April 25, 1974, with the overthrow of the Salazarist dictatorship.

What actually happened on March 11? The events were summarized rather tersely by *Washington Post* correspondent Miguel Acoca, in a March 11 dispatch from Lisbon.

"Spínola . . . was reported to have visited the air force and paratroop base at Tancos, 60 miles north of here, at 2 a.m. The base, which had been reported in near rebellion over the weekend, served as the headquarters of the uprising."

"This morning paratroops arrived in Lisbon and seized the military airfield adjacent to the capital's civilian airport."

"At noon, propeller-driven T-6 trainer planes bombed and strafed artillery barracks near Lisbon's Portela Airport to support paratroops who had surrounded the barracks."

"The planes flew almost at house-top level over Lisbon's busy Avenida da Liberdade as they made several runs at the bar-

racks in an attempt to destroy the base's anti-aircraft guns. . . ."

"Moments earlier, two F186 Sabre jets buzzed Lisbon and flew over the artillery base, but they apparently did not drop any bombs or open fire."

"Loyalist troops broke the revolt, which had been rumored for the past several days, shortly after the air raids by seizing the base at Tancos."

"Spínola fled to Spain in a Portuguese air force helicopter accompanied by his wife and several aides. The Tancos commanding officer was captured."

According to Acoca, at least four other bases were involved in the coup attempt—indicating that it was an even more serious challenge to the military regime than Spínola's September attempt.

Other reports said that the strafing of the Sacavem barracks in Lisbon had left at least one soldier dead and eighteen wounded.

U.S. newspaper accounts provided remarkably few details on how the March 11 revolt was suppressed. A report by José Rebelo in the March 13 issue of *Le Monde*, however, showed clearly the role of the Portuguese masses in crushing the right-wing uprising.

The paratroopers who surrounded the Sacavem barracks, he reported, were apparently under the illusion that they were attacking "elements hostile to the MFA [the Armed Forces Movement]," as one of the soldiers expressed it. "Such was the official version," Rebelo continued. "It took some time before these soldiers realized their error. They had been fooled."

It was apparently the impact of the crowds who gathered around them that was instrumental in changing the paratroopers' plans. While the commander of the paratroops tried to persuade the base commander to surrender, "some people who surrounded the small group began to call out to the paratroop captain: 'The people are not with you!'"

Confronted by this pressure, and the refusal of the base to submit to his surrender order, the paratroop captain agreed to withhold action and to consult higher authority.

"Meanwhile, the people surrounded the paratroopers. There were explanations. Gradually, the situation became clear. But an armored car advanced about a hundred meters. It was necessary to avert a confrontation. A group of people ran toward the armored car, while others remained near the paratroopers, who finally were becoming convinced. They fraternized, and embraced. The paratroopers explained to the people that they were committed to democracy: 'We are not fascists. We have been fooled. We are ashamed.'"

"It was learned that the military unit at Santarém, a city less than 100 kilometers



north of Lisbon, refused to move and returned to barracks. In the Amadora regiment, in the capital's suburbs, the situation had also returned to normal.

"At about 3:00 p.m., General Otelo de Carvalho, commander of the Copcon,\* spoke on television. Only one position remained to be taken—the barracks at Carmo, occupied by members of the Republican National Guard. They were holding their commander, who had been named by the MFA. The people converged toward the building. In short time, the square was filled with a crowd hurling insults at the guards. The latter dared not show themselves. They remained behind the heavy, tightly closed doors. The soldiers had not yet arrived, but it was almost impossible to get through the human dam. Almost impossible, for at 4:00 p.m., two armored cars left the building, carrying the leader of the mutineers, who was on his way to ask for asylum at the German embassy. . . .

"The military arrived shortly afterward. The doors were opened. 'You have been fooled once again,' an officer exclaimed, addressing the mutineers. They did not wait for any other explanations. Fists raised, they saluted the link between 'the people and the armed forces.'"

The coup attempt won so little support and collapsed so quickly that the question was naturally posed, Why had Spínola made his move? It was widely expected that the elections to the Constituent Assembly, scheduled for April 12, would result in a "moderate," anti-Communist majority. Why were the rightists not prepared to count on the electoral verdict to strengthen their hand within the Armed Forces Movement, the force effectively controlling the government?

The prevailing view among the more sober bourgeois commentators seemed to be that Spínola had reacted to a shift in support among the relatively conservative elements within the MFA away from him and toward President Costa Gomes. The latter was described by the *New York Times*, in a March 15 dispatch from Lisbon, as "a more astute politician who, in a more slow moving way, had begun to neutralize the power of the left."

On March 11 a plenary session of the armed forces assembly of 200 officers was scheduled to meet to consider a proposal to abolish the proleftist Coordinating Commission and possibly to force the withdrawal of Brig. Gen. Otelo de Carvalho, the head of the Lisbon Military District and commander of COPCON. Spínola, unsure he would be the main beneficiary if the "moderates" won a majority, decided to stage a "preemp-

tive" strike, based on his conviction that he enjoyed the overwhelming support of units in the field.

The *New York Times* summed up its version of what happened with a note of dismay. The "leftist officers," it said March 16,



OTELO DE CARVALHO: Saw Washington's hand behind Spínola's grab for power.

"came close to losing power on Tuesday [March 11] and were saved by premature action of General Spínola that may have defeated the cause of moderation in Portugal."

What dismayed the bourgeoisie most was undoubtedly the demonstration of the capacity of the Portuguese masses to mobilize in the face of the threat from reaction, and the manifest opposition to a rightist coup among the ranks of the armed forces.

The immediate effect of the rightists' defeat, as in comparable crises in the past, was to strengthen the Armed Forces Movement's control of the government. The officers moved quickly to consolidate their position. At an all-night meeting of the MFA's assembly, March 11-12, a military "Council of the Revolution" was formed to oversee all acts of government and, in the words of a spokesman, "direct the revolution." The new council will combine the previous Junta of National Salvation and the Coordinating Commission.

Conservative officers were purged, and many were arrested. The cabinet was reported to have resigned March 16, to make way for a reshuffling of portfolios that would increase the influence of the more radical military officers. There were rumors that the Christian Democratic and Social Democratic Center parties might be banned.

At a March 12 news conference announcing the results of the MFA's meeting,

Navy Commander Jorge Correia Jesuino, the minister of information, hinted that the council might also ban far-left parties, which oppose the MFA program.

The information minister's description of the forces behind the coup attempt seemed to attribute underlying responsibility to the developing mass movement, rather than the rightist officers. "For some days," he stated, "a tense atmosphere was growing in the country. The incidents that occurred during political meetings, the increase in strikes, an almost generalized climate of militancy—all this showed a well-defined organized effort that could result in a movement such as what has occurred."

Under the pressure of the mass upsurge the military rulers have been forced to adopt quite far-reaching measures. The nationalization of the banks and insurance companies, apparently in response to their shutdown by employees, goes beyond the modest measures projected in the government's three-year economic program, issued only a few weeks ago. That program, which stressed the regime's commitment to defend private property, was widely expected to be replaced by more radical proposals in the aftermath of the March 11 events.

However, the military rulers are taking some pains to reassure Washington of their reliability as defenders of capitalist interests, and to put the lid on the developing upsurge. On March 14 the military council announced that it had no intention of renouncing Portugal's present international alliances, including membership in NATO. "The council also gave assurances that it would provide for the security of all foreigners and foreign property in Portugal and warned that it would not tolerate street disorders," a dispatch from Lisbon in the March 15 *New York Times* reported.

At his March 12 news conference, Commander Jesuino declared that the U.S. ambassador continued to be acceptable to the Portuguese government. On the night of the coup, Brig. Gen. Otelo de Carvalho had hinted broadly that Washington was involved in it, publicly advising the U.S. ambassador to leave Portugal.

The military council has pledged to proceed with the April 12 elections.

Within hours of the defeat of the attempted coup, Premier Vasco dos Santos Gonçalves appealed to the population to return to work. Strikes and other agitation, he said, played into rightist hands.

The Stalinist trade-union leadership responded accordingly. *Le Monde* reported March 14 that the Intersindical, the national trade-union federation dominated by the Communist party, called off a demonstration that had been scheduled before the coup attempt, and the union of the workers of TAP, the Portuguese airline, likewise called off a strike scheduled to begin that week. □

\*COPCON (Comando Operacional do Continente—Continental Operational Command), Lisbon's special security force.

## Paris Rally in Defense of Immigrant Workers

By Malik Miah

Paris

More than 1,300 African immigrant workers, French students, and supporters of African liberation held a rally in Paris at the Mutualité hall February 27. The meeting was sponsored by the Union Générale des Travailleurs Sénégalais en France (UGTSF—General Union of Senegalese Workers in France).

The theme of the meeting was indicated by the banner, "*Qui est responsable? Chassons les*" (Who is responsible? Let's drive them out).

The remarks of the dozen speakers ranged from specific problems of African immigrant workers in France to strategy and tactics to end imperialist domination of both colonial and neocolonial Africa. All the speakers agreed that European and American imperialism were responsible for the exploitation and underdevelopment of the African countries and the oppression suffered by people of African descent.

Pierre Jalée, author of several books and articles on Africa including *Pillage of the Third World*, spoke on the role of French imperialism in the present exploitation of France's former colonies. He said superprofits are still being reaped by the French bourgeoisie as in the days of direct imperialist domination. He pointed out that the change from direct rule to neocolonial rule did not solve the basic problems of the African masses.

Other speakers developed these points further. For example, Doudou Siné, a Senegalese professor of philosophy, described how imperialism exploits Africa. He held that only a socialist revolution in both colonial and "independent" Africa could completely liberate the African peoples. He said that struggling for national liberation means fighting for a socialist revolution.

Claude Meillassoux, a sociologist and economist, and Maître Jacoby discussed how immigrant workers are exploited in France. Recalling French history, Jacoby noted that during the first world war, African immigrant labor played an important role in French industry. Throughout French history, he said, immigrant workers have served as a reserve army of labor for the French ruling class.

Meillassoux discussed the exploitation of African immigrant workers in France today. He observed that most African workers come to France because of the poverty in their own countries and have no

intention of becoming permanent residents or French citizens. Because of the present economic crisis, immigrant workers with yearly work permits face constant government harassment and possible deportation.

Representing the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers party of the United States, I spoke on the special problems faced by Afro-Americans and the struggle of Blacks to end their national oppression. I also reported on the current struggle in Boston to desegregate the schools and gain equality in education for the Black community.

Sally N'Dongo, the president of the

UGTSF, who chaired the meeting, scored the policies of the French ruling class toward immigrant workers. His organization, which has more than 8,000 members in France, and contacts in Senegal and other African countries, is involved in organizing and fighting for the needs of African immigrant workers in jobs, education, and housing.

N'Dongo also attacked the rulers for their stepped-up harassment of immigrant workers. He said that this gathering marked the launching of a campaign to defend the rights of immigrant workers.

The rally was spirited. Part way through the meeting, Brazilian, French, and Afro-American musicians performed for the audience.

Besides serving as a springboard for intensified efforts to improve the life of African immigrant workers, the rally was a heartening expression of solidarity with the struggles of African people in North America, the Caribbean, and Africa itself. □

## In the 'Land of Plenty'

### How America's 'Senior Citizens' Get By

In the United States, the older generation are "invisible" casualties of inflation.

Most of them do not march on Washington. They can't afford it. They have no union to look after their interests. Many of them, after a half century or more of work, find it difficult to leave their homes.

They are condemned to eke out a marginal existence, if possible, or to slowly starve to death on fixed incomes that do not allow them to buy adequate food. With each increase in food prices a few more succumb.

For example, there is the case of Elsie DeFratus, a 79-year-old widow. The February 13 *New York Times* described how she died last October in St. Petersburg, Florida:

"... she chose to attempt to manage on her Social Security checks of less than \$100 a month, and with the cost of her room, \$15 a week, and her transportation to and from the Post Office to pick up her check, her food allowance was down to less than 65 cents a day."

"... she had survived somehow for a long, long time on her meager widow's pension, frugally measuring it against the rising prices, scrimping and scraping and skipping meals, making do with less and less each day until finally, on a recent morning at an ancient hotel in this city, she crumpled quietly to the floor of her dark and tiny apartment.

"... An autopsy found no trace of food

in her shrunken stomach."

Those old people who do survive are forced in many cases to eat pet food, rummage through garbage pails, and steal from supermarkets.

An article in the *Minneapolis Star* of January 29 reported:

"A 68-year-old woman appeared last week in Ramsey Municipal Court on charges of stealing two packages of smoked sausage links.

"She told Judge Joseph Summers that she had run out of food stamps [reduced-rate food-purchase coupons] and took the sausage after selecting a few necessities.

"In another case last week, a 60-year-old woman was charged with petty larceny after leaving a store with two packages of cold cuts in her pockets. She had bought a few items and tried to get out with the extras.

"Summers said that when he asked her why she had taken the meat, she replied: 'I didn't have money and I had to eat.' ...

"Summers and Ramsey Municipal Court Judge Joseph Salland said they are getting at least one or two cases each day of elderly persons accused of minor thefts. ...

"They're all very cleanly dressed and not one of them has had any prior problems with the law," Salland said. "They're just hungry and haven't enough money. Most of them are on Social Security." □



### Lon Nol Can't Find Address to Surrender To

By Peter Green

After five years of war against the people of Cambodia, the Pentagon and its puppets in Pnompenh seem to be reaching the end of the road. But what will happen when Pnompenh falls? Who are the insurgents?

The White House says it doesn't know. It bombed and shelled and napalmed them for five years. Now Ford and Kissinger claim they don't know who to negotiate with. "It is not clear to me that if Lon Nol decided to surrender, he would know where to send the surrender offer," said one State Department official quoted by the March 1 *New York Times*.

But this is just a ruse to justify continuing aggression and to cover up the imminent "loss" of Cambodia. Prince Norodom Sihanouk, who was ousted by CIA-backed Lon Nol and who is in exile in Peking, has indicated repeatedly his willingness to "negotiate." The ministers of his Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia (RGNUC) have all been listed publicly.

It is true, however, that the real leaders of the insurgency, those inside Cambodia, are not so easily identified. One diplomat in Pnompenh described them as "the world's most mysterious successful revolutionary movement."

Sihanouk has been head of state and president of the National United Front of Cambodia (NUFC) since the government and front were formed almost immediately after the March 1970 coup that put Lon Nol in power. But with the growth of the insurgents inside Cambodia, Sihanouk's influence has waned.

The best-known figure among the insurgents is Khieu Samphan, a former deputy in the National Assembly and at one time a minister in Sihanouk's government, who fled Pnompenh in 1967 to join the resistance after the peasant uprising in Battambang Province that year. He is vice-prime minister and minister of national defense of the RGNUC, a member of the politburo of the Communist party, and the commander in chief of the People's National Liberation Armed Forces of Cambodia. Two other deputies who left with him in 1967 are also ministers in the RGNUC—Hu Nim, minister of information and propaganda, and Hou Youn, minister of the interior, communal reforms, and cooperatives.

The shift in power from the group around Sihanouk in Peking to the Khmer Rouge leaders inside Cambodia has been formalized by a change in the composition of



New York Post

Sihanouk's government. Although the change actually took place at the end of 1973, it was not formally proclaimed by Sihanouk until November 15, 1974, and was not made public until January 15, 1975.

Some of the changes involved vice-ministers displacing ministers. Most of the nine outgoing ministers were Sihanouk supporters, while the eight new ministers were, in general, veterans of the resistance.

Seven of the outgoing ministers were members of the twelve-member NUFC politburo. The five remaining politburo members who are in the government are Khieu Samphan, Hu Nim, and Hou Youn, along with Penn Nouth as prime minister and Sarin Chhak as foreign minister. These two are said to have little real power, and are all that are left of Sihanouk's old cabinet in Peking.

But it is believed that the reorganized RGNUC government composed almost entirely of insurgent leaders inside Cambodia does not include some of the central leaders. Three men who are thought to have helped found the Khmer Communist party in 1951 while students in Paris—Saloth Sar, Son Sen, and Ieng Sary—have been mentioned as possibly the main leaders of the Khmer Rouge. All three are former professors who went underground and joined the resistance in 1963.

Saloth Sar is secretary-general of the Communist party and chief of the military

conduct of the army and is considered by some to be the main military strategist. Son Sen is chief of the joint chiefs of staff. Ieng Sary, a member of the Communist party politburo, joined Sihanouk in Peking in 1971 and is apparently assigned to keep an eye on him.

Although any political statements by the insurgents always stress the "unity" of the broad front that is fighting Lon Nol, Sihanouk himself has often spoken of his conflict with the Khmer Rouge. In late 1971 he said in an interview that "it is possible that I will stay on for some time as Chief of State to receive the credentials of new ambassadors and to represent my country abroad. But I will not intervene in national politics—it has already cost me too much."

There has been no visible conflict over the political line to be followed by the diverse bloc that constitutes the NUFC, however. The second National Congress of Cambodia, held February 24-25 inside the liberated area, issued a communique reaffirming its position:

"Internally, the N.U.F.C. and the R.G.N.U.C., in the name of the nation and people of Cambodia, controls the destiny of the country and upholds the great unity of the entire nation and people irrespective of social classes, political tendencies, religious belief and regardless of their past, except the seven traitors Lon Nol, Sirik Matak, Son Ngoc Thanh, Cheng Heng, In Tam, Long Boret, Sosthene Fernandez. The N.U.F.C. and R.G.N.U.C. will build a prosperous Cambodia in which the people will have enough to eat and wear, have their own homes and enjoy medical and educational facilities.

"Externally, the N.U.F.C. and R.G.N.U.C., following the policy of neutrality and non-alignment, cannot tolerate any military base of aggression on their soil and firmly adhere to the five principles of peaceful coexistence. . . ."

This purely nationalist program goes even further than the Maoists' "bloc of four classes" in its efforts to limit the revolutionary struggle to the "democratic stage." In an article published in the November 1974 *Le Monde Diplomatique*, Khieu Samphan spelled it out in full: not only would the workers and peasants be uniting with their former king and the national bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie, but also with "some feudal elements, some landlords, some comprador capitalists. . . ."

But the pressure of U.S. imperialism may force the Communist leadership of the insurgents to go beyond the narrow limits of their program, even against their will. Already in June 1974 they were forced to nationalize the mainly French-owned rubber plantations. According to the RGNUC statement announcing the nationalizations, this was done only after fighting "all kinds of obstacles to defend and preserve" them.



### Baghdad Opens New Offensive Against Kurds

By Dave Frankel

The long drawn-out conflict between the Iraqi regime and the Kurdish rebels fighting for autonomy took a new turn March 5. An agreement signed that day in Algiers between the shah of Iran and the ruling Baathist junta in Baghdad was the signal for a new Iraqi offensive against the rebels. On March 7 six Iraqi divisions—almost the entire Baghdad army—began the attack.

Open warfare between the Baghdad regime and the Kurds resumed last spring after a four-year truce. The fighting reopened because the regime refused to implement the terms of an autonomy agreement announced in March 1970.

The Kurds—numbering between two and three million in northern Iraq and representing a quarter of the country's population—have been subjected to a campaign of systematic terror. An estimated 400,000 Kurds have been forced from their homes, mainly by the bombing of their villages by the Iraqi air force. About 130,000 have fled to refugee camps across the border in Iran.

Until the signing of the March 5 agreement the Iranian regime had been giving the Kurdish fighters military supplies and, in some cases, artillery and anti-aircraft support. The shah saw aid to the Kurdish rebellion as an easy way to weaken a rival power.

With the signing of the March 5 agreement, Iranian aid to the Kurds was abruptly halted and the border was sealed. The essence of the deal was that in return for a halt to Tehran's aid to the Kurds, Baghdad would agree to a settlement of a boundary dispute over the strategic Shatt al Arab waterway favorable to the shah.

The *New York Times* reported March 7 that "Iraq was also said to have agreed to suspend propaganda attacks and support for exiled opponents of the Shah, such as the Tudeh (Communist) party of Iran, now based in Baghdad."

The March 12 *Times* reported, "Iraqi Government broadcasts were said to have almost entirely eliminated hostile statements about Iran since the Algiers accord."

In addition to what the shah was promised in the Algiers agreement, other considerations no doubt played a role in the decision to end aid to the Kurds. Escalation of border clashes between the two countries made the policy increasingly dangerous. Furthermore, there are between four and five million Kurds in Iran. Although Iraqi Kurdish leader Mustafa al-Barzani has



By Harold Hoover—The Washington Post

foresworn any claims on Iranian territory, encouragement of a Kurdish nationalist movement is clearly a two-edged sword from the shah's point of view.

Supporters of the Baathist regime in Iraq have characterized the Kurdish rebellion as a reactionary, proimperialist movement. In the past they were able to point to Iranian aid for the rebels and to al-Barzani's appeals to Washington for military supplies.

This argument is refuted by the history of the Kurdish struggle. In the first place, the basis for Kurdish discontent is not imperialist agitation but the fact that they are an oppressed nationality. In addition to the Kurds in Iran and Iraq, there are more than five million in Turkey, 300,000 in Syria, and 200,000 in the Soviet Union. This oppressed population, with its own language, customs, history, and territory, has been prevented from exercising its right to self-determination.

In Turkey, the very existence of the Kurdish nationality is denied. The Kurds are called "mountain Turks," and the use of their language is illegal. In Iran the teaching of Kurdish is also illegal, as is its use in publications. This was the case in Iraq as well until the 1970 autonomy agreement.

The Kurds have fought for their rights whenever the opportunity offered, and against whoever stood in their way at any given time. In 1925 they rebelled against the Turks. In 1945-46 they fought against British, Iranian, and Iraqi forces. In 1958 the Kurdish movement in Iraq, led by al-Barzani, joined in the overthrow of the reactionary Hashemite monarchy. And in 1961 they began fighting the monarchy's successors. They fought not because they were agents of imperialism, but because

their rights were being denied.

The very methods being used by the Iraqi armed forces—bombing of villages, use of napalm, wholesale deportations—are ample testimony to the nature of the war Baghdad is carrying out. In the face of such actions, those who argue that the Kurdish revolt is illegitimate because it has not drawn 100 percent of the oppressed population to its side are only apologizing for the results of Iraqi terrorism.

When the Kurds fought for their rights against a regime that was hostile to the Soviet government, the Stalinist bureaucrats applauded them as freedom fighters and gave al-Barzani refuge in the Soviet Union. Now, however, the Stalinist line has changed. The Baathist regime is on friendly terms with Moscow, and Soviet advisers are helping Baghdad carry out the war against the Kurds.

But the attitude of genuine revolutionists toward struggles for national liberation is not dependent on the character of their leadership at any particular time, nor on the diplomatic stance of the governments that are trying to suppress them. Oppressed nationalities have the *unconditional* right to self-determination.

It can be argued that a national liberation struggle should not be supported because of the character of the forces trying to use it for their own ends. The argument is easily answered. In the American struggle for independence, the colonial rebels accepted aid from feudalistic France. Irish freedom fighters got guns from the German imperialists during World War I. Lenin accepted the use of a sealed train from the German government to cross from Switzerland to Russia when the 1917 revolution broke out. The Palestinian resistance movement has obtained arms and money from King Faisal of Saudi Arabia. In all these instances, the decisive question is the program of the insurgent forces and whether the material aid is used to advance that program.

Another of the most common arguments used to justify opposition to the Kurdish struggle is that it weakens the unity of the Arab people in their battle against Israel and imperialism. The division of the Arab world into separate states was consciously fostered by imperialism as a means of enabling it to dominate the area more easily. Israel today reinforces this fragmentation. Thus, the aspiration of Arab nationalists—and the masses of Arab people—to unify the Arab world is something that revolutionists wholeheartedly support.

But Kurdistan is not part of the Arab world. It is the country of another nationality that happens to be ruled partly by Arabs. When the nationalist sentiment of the Arab masses is turned against the Kurdish

people instead of against their real enemies—the imperialist powers and the regimes that collaborate with them—this does nothing to help solve the problems facing the Arab world.

The responsibility for weakening the Arab cause in this case does not belong with the Kurds, who are demanding their rights, but with the Iraqi regime. Baghdad refuses to grant the Kurds' just demands and uses anti-imperialist and Arab nationalist rhetoric to justify its reactionary policy.

The hypocrisy of the Baghdad regime is demonstrated by its refusal to honor the 1970 compromise agreement on autonomy for the Kurds within the Iraqi state. While announcing the establishment of Kurdish autonomy on March 11, 1974, the Baathist regime gutted the original agreement. It refused to define the borders of the Kurdish region through a census, as demanded by the Kurds. Baghdad wanted to make sure that the oil-producing areas of Kirkuk would not be included in the Kurdish region. The Kurds charged, even before the

fighting was renewed, that 50,000 Kurds had been deported from the Kirkuk region and replaced with southern Arabs.

Baghdad's proposed "autonomy" included the right of the central government to select the head of the proposed Kurdish executive council, as well as the right to dissolve the proposed legislative council. Furthermore, this legislative body would not be allowed to actually legislate but only to play an "advisory" role. The only purpose of such a proposal was that it could be used as a propaganda ploy for the benefit of the gullible.

Baghdad's aggression against the Kurdish people has already cost thousands of casualties and millions of dollars. With the stab in the back from the shah, the Kurds now face still greater odds. But this does not mean that the Kurdish movement faces liquidation. The Kurds have suffered setbacks before. Short of actual genocide, there will be no long-term solution of the conflict without the recognition of the legitimate rights of the Kurdish people. □

infiltrate any one of these groups, but I decided that I'd have to try for the good of the country. . . . I decided that I would try to pierce the tough security of the Socialist Workers League—this was the daddy of them all; the manipulator." Wechsler joined the Melbourne branch of the SWL in February 1974. In October he was elected to the branch executive.

During his time as an informer in the SWL Wechsler graduated to being a full-time paid ASIO agent on A\$100(US\$137.25) a week, plus \$36 a week in "sickness benefits."

"Any movement trying to organise for radical social change will become the target of police infiltration at some stage," Dave Holmes said in the March 7 issue of *Direct Action*, the fortnightly newspaper of the SWL. "The revolutionary socialist movement has an extensive international experience of police harassment and disruption. It also understands how to combat it. . . .

"One of the most famous cases of a police agent working inside a revolutionary group concerns the Russian Bolshevik Party struggling against Tsarism before World War I. The leader of their parliamentary fraction, Roman Malinovsky, was a member of the Tsarist secret police! His activity led to the death and imprisonment of many Bolsheviks.

"But because of the disciplined way in which the fraction functioned, Malinovsky had to put forward the positions of the party in his public activity. He became one of the Bolsheviks' best orators in the Tsarist Parliament. He was forced to do this because every time he would stray a little from the party's political positions or try to soften them, the fraction would bring him to order.

"Wechsler himself pays an involuntary tribute to the norms of activity of the SWL. By his own admission, he had to become a regular seller of *Direct Action* in order to gain the confidence of the members. That is, he worked for the SWL when he sold its press.

"In the second installment of his 'exposé' (in the March 2 *Sunday Observer*) Wechsler relates how he played an important role in organising the successful Melbourne demonstration last year against the blood-stained Shah of Iran. He felt he had to do this to retain credibility within the organisation. The norms of activity and discipline of the group forced him to work for its aims while he was secretly pursuing Asio's.

"Precisely because SWL is a serious, well-functioning socialist organisation engaged not in conspiracies but in open legal activity, the lurid confessions of some police informer cannot seriously damage it. But Asio must be combatted before its disruption is escalated into more serious forms." □

## Witch-hunt of Socialist Workers League Backfires

# Australia's Secret Police Exposed

When a right-wing scandal sheet, the Melbourne *Sunday Observer*, devoted six pages of its February 23 issue to lurid "revelations" by former police spy Max Wechsler, it was billed as an "exposé" of the Socialist Workers League. However, the *Observer's* exercise in yellow journalism has actually turned out to be an exposé of Australia's secret police, the Australian Security Intelligence Organisation, which infiltrated Wechsler into the SWL.

The *Observer's* red-baiting got almost no echo in the national media. Instead, attention has been focused on the subversive activities of ASIO. Wechsler revealed that ASIO's operation against the SWL involved phone tapping, sabotage, infiltration, surveillance, and break-ins.

When ASIO's stool pigeon was interviewed on Channel 9's "A Current Affair" program February 24, interviewer Graham Coddington said to him: "You talk about a threat to our freedom. How much of a threat to our freedom . . . is posed by people like yourself infiltrating political organisations?"

A news conference was held in Melbourne February 25 at the offices of the Australian Union of Students to denounce the operations of ASIO. It was attended by Steve Painter of the SWL, Deb Shnookal of the Socialist Youth Alliance, and Joan Cox-

sedge of the Campaign Against Political Police.

A further development came when John Bennett, speaking for the Victorian Council for Civil Liberties, condemned ASIO's spying operation on the SWL and SYA. The VCCL also said that it would ask the new attorney general, Kep Enderby, if ASIO was in fact carrying on such activities and whether the Labor government had any knowledge of the matter.

In the February 28 *Nation Review*, William H. Martin took a very critical view of Wechsler's activities. He asked how Wechsler, who arrived in Australia from Czechoslovakia in June 1969, managed to become naturalized in late 1971. That is, well before the three-years residence requirement was met. Martin raises the possibility that Wechsler was picked out by ASIO during migrant screening in Vienna.

According to Wechsler's story, after he had been in Australia for some years he just phoned ASIO and offered his services. ASIO checked him out and signed him up. His first task was to join the Communist party. But ASIO was becoming more interested in some of the newer left-wing groups, such as the Socialist Workers League and the Socialist Youth Alliance, and Wechsler was soon reassigned.

"I knew it would be a long, hard job to



## What Makes the PST Different From All Other Parties

[The following interview with Juan Carlos Coral appeared in the February 17 issue of *El Cronista Comercial*. In its brief explanation of who Coral is, the Buenos Aires daily makes one mistake. Coral is not "the main leader" of the PST—he is one of a team of leaders. But he is the best known public representative of the PST. As its presidential candidate, he ran against Perón in the last elections. He is also known nationally to the television audience for his speeches in defense of revolutionary socialism. At present he is touring the United States under the auspices of the United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA).

[The translation from the Spanish is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

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For some, Juan Carlos Coral is an almost legendary figure in Argentine politics. However, his image today has little to do with the legends. He is the top leader of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores [Socialist Workers party, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International in Argentina]—a party that is avowedly Marxist, has legal status, has shown itself to be a consistent defender of the working class, has made no alliances with anybody, and has built a political organization that to all intents and purposes functions on a national scale, an organization of several thousand disciplined activists. Finally, despite having been the target of repeated terrorist attacks in recent months, the party does not want to be confused with any of the various brands of guerrillas which it categorizes as "elitist."

Coral also has a rich experience, which goes back perhaps to when he was secretary to the old Socialist leader Alfredo Palacios between 1958 and 1963, and to the term he served as deputy in the National Assembly up until June 28, 1966.<sup>1</sup>

\* \* \*

*Question.* Dr. Coral, your party is well known for its position of opposing the government. What are the reasons for this stance?

*Answer.* The Peronists have failed to

make good on any of the political promises they made such a hullabaloo about, the promises that collected them seven million votes. They have not carried out the Plan Trienal [Three-Year Plan]. They have not touched a single one of the monopoly capitalist interests that hold our country in a semicolonial position; nor have they done anything about the privileges of the landholding oligarchy. In recent months facts have come out that make it possible to draw definite conclusions about this.

*Q. Nonetheless, the nationalization of retail gasoline outlets and the Argentine take-over of certain firms could fit into the sort of perspective you are calling for.*

A. Oddly enough, the two spectacular announcements that you mention have had no practical consequences so far. In the case of the retail gasoline trade, this is because the refineries are still controlled by private enterprise. The most troublesome side of the business—sales—has been turned over to the YPF [Yacimientos Petrolíferos Fiscales—State Oil Fields, the national oil monopoly], but the YPF isn't getting a single cent more. We shouldn't get confused here: Decisions on the price per gallon of gas are worked out the same way as before.

With regard to the Argentinization of foreign firms, we have pointed to two crucially important unknown factors. First, we don't know anything about the concrete form in which this expropriation is to be carried out. Second, we don't know who will control these firms—the state, the workers, or Argentine companies.

*Q. Doesn't your party view the elimination of the ideological barriers as a positive step?*

A. The ideological frontiers have been crossed for the sake of doing business, at a time when the exhaustion of capitalist internal markets has led to the desperate search for socialist ones. Ideological barriers were still enforced when it came to the Chilean exiles, who were prevented from settling here, even though that violated a right that has been a traditional one for the bourgeoisies on this continent.

*Q. Your statements could be interpreted as a confirmation of what some sectors*

*feel—that you belong to the so-called gorilla or anti-Peronist left.*

A. Our point of reference is different. We determine our positions on the basis of the realities of the situation, not by other parties' positions. Our concern is to see that the workers and exploited sectors to which we appeal become conscious of their position in this society, so that they will organize themselves independent of any kind of bourgeois political force.

Within this framework we have to expose Peronism as a bourgeois strategy that has working-class support. It is a strategy designed to accomplish the economic aims of bourgeois sectors and the imperialists as peacefully as possible. When Peronism was banned, we were accused of being pro-Peronist. I recall a story that may be illustrative.

After 1955<sup>2</sup> when the daily papers of the chain—*Crítica* and others—were shut down, along with the Peronists we demanded the reopening of these communications media, which also represented a livelihood for many workers. Now that the Peronist government has closed down *Crónica* and *La Calle*, we stand in the same position. And we find ourselves in the company of people like Manrique.<sup>3</sup> The concrete point of reference that guided us in both cases is the consistent defense of democratic freedoms.

*Q. How do you reconcile your double role as a Marxist leader and an activist in the political life of the republic?*

A. We are a party that aspires to become a mass organization. As a result, we take advantage of every means of communication and all surviving democratic rights to help bring our program and principles to the broadest layers of the working class and the people. One type of revisionism is represented in the old Social Democracy, which became immersed in parliamentarism and in the vices of bourgeois politics. There is another kind of revisionism, which is a mirror image of this; it is exemplified by the sects and coteries of the elitist left, who have isolated themselves from the

2. On September 19, 1955, Perón was overthrown in a military coup.

3. In mid-December the daily newspapers *Crónica* and *La Calle* were closed for supposedly endangering national security. Their closure was widely protested, by Francisco Manrique of the conservative Alianza Popular Federalista (Federalist People's Alliance) among others.

1. On June 28, 1966, General Juan Carlos Onganía led a military coup and dissolved the parliament.



masses by getting involved in academic debates, or have tried to substitute some kind of voluntarist initiative for mass action. Our party has avoided such vices.

*Q. Is the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores going to run candidates in the Misiones elections?*

A. Tomorrow (Saturday, February 15) I am going there. It is almost certain that we are going to run. We hope to gain some seats in the provincial parliament and offer a means of expression to those sections of the working class and small farmers who are disillusioned with official policy.

*Q. You mention the internal fights of the Peronists. How would you explain that process?*

A. The Peronists are now without a program. This deficiency has produced an acute crisis among them. It is expressed violently in the assassinations and brawls that still take place at rallies despite the massive purges they have carried out in the latest stage. This crisis is beginning to demonstrate that antagonistic social classes cannot coexist within the same party or movement.

*Q. Your party was one of the group of Nine.<sup>4</sup> In your opinion why hasn't the group continued to act jointly?*

A. It wasn't an ongoing activity. It went no further than a meeting with the president. Of course, this does not mean that there may not be other opportunities for joint action—for example, the Atlanta rally to demand the reopening of *Crónica* and *La Calle*.

*Q. The various political groups are beginning to gear up for the 1977 elections. What does the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores foresee in this regard?*

A. It is premature to make predictions. The general trend in the coming months will be for the working class and the most exploited sections of the people to become increasingly conscious. Those in power are trying to put a brake on this process, using every kind of violence from terrorism to interventions of institutions at all levels, and closing down and intimidating the mass media.

New political traps will also be devised, new popular fronts, and new public-relations schemes. But the essential trend will be a strengthening of the parties and organizations that specifically reflect the workers' interests. □

4. The Nine are the legal political parties in Argentina.

## When Traveling Abroad

### Kissinger—the Cautious One



Knows all about dirty tricks.

The persistent rumors in Washington of political figures abroad marked by the CIA for assassination may have a basis in fact. Whether the present official investigations of the sinister spy agency will confirm the rumors or lay them to rest remains to be seen.

One person who may know the truth is Kissinger, a highly influential member of the councils that determine CIA policies. While he does not seem eager to talk, his style of travel may speak for him.

Why is he so distrustful of the capacity of the police in other countries to see that he gets out alive? Does he have something on his conscience? Has he been tipped off that certain friendly governments are taking the CIA as a model for their own spy agencies? Has he reason to believe that they might want to settle certain scores?

Wherever he goes, Kissinger takes his own Cadillac (perhaps it's not his own but is out of the State Department's garage). It's an armor-plated job that weighs eight tons.

A special plane, a big Starlifter jet of the U.S. Air Force, hauls the bulletproof limousine around the world in advance of the official party.

For example, when Kissinger recently arrived in Cardiff, Wales, to watch British

Foreign Secretary James Callaghan being granted the freedom of the city, the black Cadillac was already there. It had been guarded overnight below the local police station. A constable reportedly spoke in awe of the "bloody great tank in the basement."

The eight-ton vehicle is equipped with an air-filtering device that is so efficient Kissinger can be driven without harm through clouds of poisonous gas.

Besides the supermodern Cadillac, Kissinger takes along a small army of secret-service operators—about fifty of them. They join local police forces in going over every possible place of ambush, including vantage points on roofs of buildings or in windows where a sniper might move into position.

That is not all. Kissinger brings his own team of expert food tasters. They move ahead of America's top diplomat, screening chefs, kitchen hands, and waiters. They test every dish.

In Cardiff it was observed that the food tasters were suspicious of two cakes presented to Kissinger at a banquet. They pushed hollow tubes into the cakes and drew out cores from deep inside. How they proofed the samples was not reported, probably because such information might provide clues to the concocters of food additives on how to outwit the tasters.

In addition to these measures, Kissinger may use other precautions that would easily come to the mind of a commander of the CIA.

An imperialist "peacemaker," it is obvious, can't be too careful as he moves from success to success. □

#### Worse Than Effete Snobs

U.S. Senate Republican leader Hugh Scott described critics of Henry Kissinger as "yapping jackals" in a speech March 15.

"I frankly deplore the yapping jackals who nip at the heels of our Secretary of State because he is a shining target and who desert their country for the sole purpose of journalistic prizes or some self-glorification," he said.

#### Next Week

The facts about discrimination against Arabs in Israel. Don't miss *Intercontinental Press's* exclusive interview with Israel Shahak, chairman of the Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights.

## Ethiopia: Variant of 'African Road to Socialism'?

By Ernest Harsch

[Second of two articles]

The new military regime in Addis Ababa is doing its utmost to crush the Eritrean separatist movement. From its own point of view, this is consistent with its general goal of unifying Ethiopia and ending the country's economic stagnation.

Many of the young junior and noncommissioned officers who now make up the Dergue were well educated and came into contact with liberal, radical, and anticolonialist ideas, both abroad and at Ethiopia's universities. Some were undoubtedly influenced by the gains made in China and Cuba after the revolutions in those countries. Others were impressed by the radical nationalism of regimes like that in Tanzania. Some profess to favor "socialism." These antifeudalistic forces were particularly evident in the newer branches of the Ethiopian military, such as the navy, air force, and army engineering corps.

The young "modernists" rebelled over Ethiopia's extreme backwardness and stagnation under Selassie.

About 90 percent of the Ethiopian population is still engaged in subsistence agriculture and nomadic animal husbandry. Average per capita income in the late 1960s was US\$66 a year. Children under one year of age die at a rate of up to 300 for every 1,000. In 1970, life expectancy averaged thirty-five years. Venereal disease affects between one-third and one-half of the adult population and from 30 to 40 percent have tuberculosis. There is only one doctor on the average for every 63,000 persons and in some provinces the ratio reaches 1 to 400,000.

The causes for such poverty were also evident. About one-half of all peasants were tenants or sharecroppers who had to pay between one-half and three-fourths of their harvest to the landlord as rent. In some parts of Ethiopia, peasants even had to provide labor and other services to the feudal lord or the church. Such archaic relations stifled any attempts to increase agricultural productivity and efficiency.

The control of the Ethiopian economy and state by the landlord class, most of whom were Amharas or Tigreans, blocked industrial development. The landlords, who were generally hostile to business and trade and to the introduction of modern technology, drained off what little social surplus there was into extravagant consumption and usury. The Ethiopian Orthodox Church, which owns between one-quarter

and one-third of all land, played an important part in maintaining such stagnation.

Since no significant Ethiopian bourgeoisie arose,<sup>9</sup> much of the fledgling industrial sector was in the hands of imperialist interests. Foreign private investment in Ethiopia was estimated at about US\$300 million. Control of many of the small enterprises and much of the local trade was held by 60,000 Greeks, Italians, Arabs, Armenians, and Indians who lived in the country.

The frustrations within the military over this situation broke out as early as December 1960, when the 4,000-man Imperial Guard, led by Mengistu Neway, the heads of the national police and Selassie's intelligence service, and Mengistu's brother Germame, a U.S.-educated pan-Africanist, attempted a coup in Addis Ababa. The rebels proclaimed a new government, promised agrarian reform, and proposed development plans for the country. On the second day of the coup, most of the university students in the capital declared their support for the take-over. But in 1960 there was still a strong loyalist bloc within the military, which managed to crush the revolt.

More than anything else, it was the catastrophic famine, which began in 1973, that put the archaic semifeudal system to the test, bringing the latent tensions within Ethiopian society to the breaking point. The responsibility of the imperial regime in actually covering up the famine in the first months undoubtedly influenced the more hesitant sectors of the military.

Like those who revolted in 1960, the Dergue realized that to break Ethiopia out of the feudal straitjacket it was necessary to overthrow the imperial regime, move against the most powerful landlords, and limit the direct control of the imperialist interests over the industrial sector. Unlike their predecessors, however, the Dergue was more cautious, moving against the emperor gradually while winning the support of the

9. Of the few local enterprises, many were directly tied to the landlord class. After the Dergue ousted Selassie, it discovered that many of the domestic companies were directly owned or controlled by the royal family, such as the National Resources Combine, the General Ethiopian Transport Company, the St. George Brewery, and others. These "industries," however, were totally secondary to the ruling class's main source of wealth—highly exploited labor power on the land.

various units of the armed forces. It carefully tested the response of the masses, dampening the mobilizations when they began to go out of control.

As the Dergue's later actions showed, the September 1974 ouster of Selassie was more than just a coup. It marked the beginning of a social revolution against the feudalists, however limited and deformed that revolution may become or whatever reverses it suffers.

### The Ten-Point Program

It appears that the present military leaders hope to industrialize and develop the country through the state apparatus, within a capitalist framework. The clearest enunciation so far of the new regime's program and goals was laid out in its ten-point program, released December 20. The three most radical parts of the program are as follows:

"6. The entire economy will be in the hands of the state. The Ethiopian people are the rightful owners of all resources in Ethiopia. Only a few companies will remain in private hands, if they are judged to be in the public interest.

"7. The right of land ownership will be given only to those who work the land.

"8. Industry will be managed by the state. Only a few private enterprises judged to be of public usefulness will be maintained, until the state decides that it is better to nationalize them."

The regime has already moved against the imperialist interests and against some of the local companies. On January 1, the Provisional Military Administrative Council announced the nationalization of all banks, credit institutions, and insurance companies. On February 3 it nationalized seventy-two companies and took over a controlling share in twenty-nine others. Those sectors that the PMAC either totally or partially nationalized included precious metals, radioactive minerals, cement, shipbuilding, metallurgy, petroleum refining, natural gas, pharmaceuticals, tobacco, printing and publishing, water, electricity, gas, transportation, radio and television, telecommunications, and the postal service.

In its most far-reaching move so far, the PMAC declared the nationalization of all rural land March 4. "All rural land shall be the collective property of the Ethiopian people," the PMAC proclamation stated. "No person or business organization or any



other organization shall hereafter hold land in private ownership."

The decree, according to David B. Ottaway in the March 5 *Washington Post*, "provides for a 24-acre limit on individual land use, the wholesale distribution of land to the peasants, the abolition of hired labor and tenant farming, the establishment of state farms and village cooperatives and the cancellation of all peasant debts and obligations to their landlords."

The main targets of this projected radical agrarian reform are the big absentee landlords, the imperial family, and the church. The decree also provides for the take-over by the state of the few foreign-run commercial farms.

How far the military regime will be able to go in carrying through such extensive land reform, which would in effect end feudalism in Ethiopia, remains to be seen. It would certainly rouse the active opposition of the feudalists, some of whom are reported to have private armies. Much more important is the response of the peasantry. If they mobilize and begin seizing land, such a movement could sweep aside all feudalistic resistance in short order. The peasants, it should be noted, have staged sporadic uprisings in the past.

Another question of immediate importance in Ethiopia is the efforts of the new regime to counteract the effects of the famine. Recently, few reports on the famine situation have appeared in the press. An exception is the account offered by *Le Monde* correspondent Jean-Claude Guillebaud in a series of five articles published from January 30 through February 4, describing some of the conditions he encountered as he traveled from Addis Ababa to Asmara.

According to Guillebaud, the famine is no longer of the scope it was last year, although the danger of a new famine is still there and in some areas, such as Wollo Province, hunger is still widespread. Bege-du Mersha, who works for a French relief agency, told Guillebaud, "In a number of villages today, the peasants have received no grain for the past two months. They have nothing more to eat and are preparing to leave again." The danger of famine in Lasta district in Wollo was particularly acute.

"But Lasta district and Wollo itself," Guillebaud wrote, "where famine is a particular danger, are no longer unique. A new catastrophe menaces all of Ethiopia, especially the southern provinces (Ogaden, Hararge, Sidamo, Gemu Gofa). At the end of 1974, only three provinces out of fourteen (Begemder, Gojam, Shoa) had an agricultural surplus that could be sent to the rest of the country. The other eleven had food deficits that could not be met except through outside aid. In all, Ethiopia needs

278,000 tons of cereal for 1975, 67,000 for Wollo alone."

The new regime, however, does not seem to have done very much so far to lessen the famine danger. After coming to power it



Der Spiegel

"In a number of villages, the peasants have received no grain for two months."

issued a few appeals for international aid. It has placed Wollo under direct military administration and has set up "famine inquiry committees" to determine who was responsible for the past famine.

The agrarian reform measures announced by the regime would certainly, in the long run, eliminate some of the conditions that kept Ethiopia's agriculture stagnant, but more immediate emergency measures are also necessary to help the victims of the famine recover and to try to stave off another serious one.

#### 'Socialism in Uniform?'

Although the economic actions of the PMAC are quite far-reaching in the context of Ethiopia's extreme underdevelopment, they have not fundamentally gone beyond those in several other semicolonial countries, such as Burma, Tanzania, Mali, and Congo (Brazzaville), all of whose regimes claim to be "socialist."

In fact, the ten-point program appears to have been heavily influenced by the concepts of Tanzanian President Julius K. Nyerere, one of the chief exponents of the "African road to socialism."

According to point three of the program, "The slogan of the Ethiopian revolution,

'Ethiopia tikkem,' is based on a specifically Ethiopian socialism."

Point five says, "One broad political party, animated by the revolutionary philosophy of 'Ethiopia tikkem,' will be organized on a nationalist and socialist basis," resembling Nyerere's one-party state ruled by the "socialist" Tanganyika African National Union.<sup>10</sup>

The examples of "socialism" in the neocolonial countries that have not gone through the revolutionary process required to establish workers states have clearly shown one thing: that nationalizations of foreign and domestic industries, limited agrarian reform measures, and the introduction of circumscribed state planning are insufficient to break the hold of the imperialist powers over the economies of those countries.

The Ethiopian military leadership, however, still appears divided on how to carry through the "Ethiopian revolution." Armed clashes have taken place between different military units, some of whom reportedly favored a civilian regime. Whether any of these forces in the military realize the necessity of mobilizing the masses and establishing a workers state to successfully end imperialist economic control is still unknown. The pressure of events may yet push some in that direction, as it did in Cuba, where the revolutionary leadership quickly learned that its initial nationalist program was insufficient to break the U.S. grip on the country.

The present leadership of the PMAC, however, has already faced a number of tests. Its response to them indicates more clearly than any of its pronouncements what direction it is moving in.

As early as May 1974, military units moved to break strikes in their first attempts to check the growing mass mobilizations that were spreading to wider and wider sections of the population.

After coming to power, the PMAC banned strikes and protests. On September 16, barely a week after Selassie's downfall, 4,000 university and high-school students demonstrated in Addis Ababa in defiance of the protest ban. They chanted, "We want democracy" and "No military rule."

The regime then launched a campaign to send 60,000 students and teachers into the countryside, supposedly to teach the peasantry to read and write. Begashew, the president of the Addis Ababa University Students Union, explained in an interview published in the November 1974 issue of the London monthly *Africa*, "The aim of the Army is to disorganize the progressive elements by scattering them about. Once the students are scattered and disorganized,

10. Tanzania is actually a federation of two one-party countries, with the official party in Zanzibar being the Afro-Shirazi party.



they cannot oppose the military government."

After a general assembly of the 140,000-member Confederation of Ethiopian Labor Unions passed resolutions calling for an end to military rule, the establishment of a "people's provisional government," and an end to the bans of strikes and protests, the president, vice-president, and secretary-general of the CELU were arrested. The CELU then made an unsuccessful call for a general strike to gain their release. The PMAC, according to the December 27 *Le Monde*, also prevented a strike at the port of Assab in Eritrea.

In an interview with *Africa* magazine, Lieutenant Colonel Tessema tried to justify the regime's strike ban: "Now, we talk of the right of the labour unions to strike. To strike against whom, let me ask. We have a people starving, an economy crumbling down. . . . We cannot afford a 40-hour week, let alone striking because we have very hard work to do. All our holidays must be foregone, and the nation-building aspect requires sacrifices. Now the Labour movement was exploited in the past. . . . But today with our people starving, with our Treasury bled to the last penny we need all of our labour to go and produce rather than lose their focus on political slogans and strike actions. No we cannot allow reaction now to spoil our revolution."

Perhaps partly out of intimidation and partly through agreement with the radical measures decreed by the PMAC, the CELU declared its support for the regime after the CELU president was released January 3.

Some students have also mobilized in support of the regime's radical actions. Following the declaration of agrarian reform, Ottaway reported in the March 5 *Washington Post*: "In the afternoon, thousands of excited students paraded through the capital, some waving red flags or carrying hammer and sickle signs while others held posters that said, 'Arm the Peasant,' 'Tiller, rejoice, this is your day,' and 'Break the backbone of American imperialism.'"

While the PMAC may organize mass mobilizations in support of its policies, it clearly seeks to keep them under tight control. Obviously it fears the masses. However, the popular sentiment in favor of the PMAC and its actions should not be underestimated.

The most telling indicator of the limited nature of the military regime's goals is the attitude it has taken toward the Eritrean independence movement.

The very first point of the December 20 program states: "Ethiopia must remain a united country, without any ethnic, religious, linguistic, or cultural distinctions." Yet the "united country" that the PMAC took over from Selassie had been main-

tained under the imperial regime only through military force, and the "ethnic, religious, linguistic, and cultural distinctions"—and discrimination—are very much a part of the "sacred unity of Ethiopia."

In fact, the kingdom is only of relatively recent origin. It was not until the reign of Theodore II (1855-68) that the Shoa, Gojam, Begemder, and Tigre regions of the plateau were brought fully under the control of the Amhara Shoa dynasty. The first of the campaigns against the Gallas, who live in south and central Ethiopia and make up 40 percent of the population, were also begun under Theodore.

Menelik II (1889-1913) completed the conquest of the non-Christian area in what is now Ethiopia. Before he became emperor, he finished subjugating the Gallas. In 1893-94 his forces seized the Kambatta and Wolamo regions in northern Sidamo Province. The Borana and Kaffa areas were conquered in 1896-97 and one of Menelik's dukes established control over the Nilo-Saharan peoples<sup>11</sup> in Beni Sciangu. A joint Ethiopian-British force moved into Ogaden in 1900-04 to put down the Somali rebel leader Mohamed Abdulla Hassan.

In the conquered southern and western area, where the Sidamo, Nilo-Saharans, and Galla lived, Menelik II seized the land of the inhabitants and gave it to the Amhara military and civil leaders, who thus became the largest landowners in the south. The conquered peoples came to be known as *gabarocho*, or "those who pay tribute."

The Ethiopian military leaders may be willing to moderate some of the more blatant aspects of Amhara domination. They have made a minor concession to the Muslims in Ethiopia (who are about 40 percent of the population) by declaring Id El Adeha an Ethiopian holiday. Some members of the PMAC are thought to be Eritrean or Galla.<sup>12</sup> The enacting of agrarian reform in the southern provinces would also eliminate the domination of those peoples by the Amhara landlords.

Such limited moves by the PMAC fall far short of the actions a workers state in Addis Ababa would undertake. A socialist regime would immediately move to abolish all Amhara domination over the Eritreans,

11. The Amharas use the term *shankella* ("blacks") to describe the Nilo-Saharan people. The Amharas and the Arabs in Sudan raided the Nilo-Saharan for slaves in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

12. A significant number of Eritreans, who are better educated than most Amharas, reached important positions in Addis Ababa, even under Selassie. In addition, about 10 percent of the Gallas live in Amhara areas, have frequently intermarried with Amharas, and some have also reached high position, particularly in the military.

Somalis, Gallas, and other peoples in Ethiopia and would offer them full economic, social, and political equality. It would enact whatever measures were necessary to enable all Ethiopians and Eritreans to have an active voice in the construction of a new, socialist society.

After the decades of Amhara domination, however, it would be only natural for Ethiopia's various ethnic groups to be skeptical of any regime in Addis Ababa. An Ethiopian workers state would therefore have to prove its sincerity by recognizing the right of all peoples in Ethiopia to self-determination, whether they choose to remain within the same country, form a federation, or set up their own independent states.

If the Eritreans, Somalis, or any of the other peoples chose independence, a socialist regime in Addis Ababa could still offer economic cooperation. For instance, Eritrea's relatively greater industrial capacity and Ethiopia's untapped agricultural potential could easily complement each other and help both countries develop more rapidly.

The PMAC has not taken any such actions. Although it may seek to replace the old imperial regime and feudal property ties with a modern centralized state and bourgeois economic relations, its position of "Ethiopian unity" is essentially the same as that of Selassie and his predecessors. It is only trying to "modernize" the kingdom.

The outcome of the war in Eritrea, and the actions and positions of the Addis Ababa regime and the Eritrean independence forces, can have repercussions throughout northern Africa and the Middle East. Eritrea's geographical position, overlooking the Bab el Mandeb straits between the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aden, makes it attractive to the various forces vying for political leverage in the region.

Those Arab states that back the Eritrean independence movement do so because they see Eritrea primarily as a strategic base from which to apply pressure against Israel and because they view it as a way of weakening Ethiopia and containing the revolutionary forces that may be developing there.

The Selassie regime, until it broke off diplomatic relations with Israel on October 23, 1973, had close military ties with the Zionist state. Some of the police commandos stationed in Eritrea were Israeli-trained. Although the formal Israeli-Ethiopian military ties have ended, an independent Eritrea friendly to the Arab states could still pressure Israel by threatening to blockade the Bab el Mandeb straits, which straddle the only access (until the Suez Canal is reopened) to the Israeli port of Eilat on the Gulf of Aqaba.

As the prospects for Eritrean independence grew with Selassie's downfall, some

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of the Arab states, like the Libyan regime, increased their material aid to the guerrillas, probably in an effort to maintain a strong political influence on the Eritrean rebels. The reactionary Arab states will certainly oppose Eritrea's development into a genuinely independent country.

Israel also signaled its interest in the outcome of the civil war when it announced February 20 that it had conducted missile-boat target practice in the Red Sea. According to a United Press International dispatch from Tel Aviv, such Israeli announcements are extremely rare. UPI reported that "Israel's military leaders expressed concern over Israeli freedom of shipping in and out of the Red Sea if the Eritreans gained control of Ethiopia's Red Sea ports."

The Israeli announcement came less than twenty-four hours after People's Liberation Forces leader Sabbe declared in Beirut, "The resumption of [U.S.] military supplies [to Addis Ababa] will mean the escalation of the fighting to include the whole of northeast Africa and will threaten international shipping in the Red Sea and Bab el-Mandab Straits."

Despite Washington's previous military aid to Selassie, its attitude toward the new regime in Addis Ababa and toward the Eritrean independence forces is still unclear. Although Addis Ababa made a request for an emergency airlift of military supplies, the State Department, Pentagon, and White House have so far not given a reply.

If Washington did decide to fulfill the PMAC's request, President Ford and Secretary of State Kissinger would have a difficult time explaining the move to their ruling-class backers. The PMAC has already nationalized some of the imperialist interests in Ethiopia and may go further. The Central Intelligence Agency prepared the overthrow of Chilean President Salvador Allende's government for much less. Moreover, if the Pentagon granted the arms aid and took no reprisals against the PMAC, it could encourage those in other semicolonial countries to also move against imperialist holdings.

The major bourgeois newspapers in the United States have also been weighing the risks. The *New York Times*, in a February 10 editorial, referred to the "delicacy of the problem" of an Addis Ababa arms request. It warned, "An independent Eritrea functioning as an Arab satellite state would not only deprive Ethiopia of its coastline but virtually turn the Red Sea into an Arab lake with potentially momentous consequences."

"For an entire generation under Haile Selassie," the *Times* continued, "Ethiopia was an oasis of stability in black Africa while most of the rest of the continent was convulsed by political and social change. Now it can be seen that the price of

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yesterday's stability was the bottling up of powerful tensions whose explosions make post-Haile Selassie Ethiopia a source of dangerous instability not only for its own peoples but for many of its neighbors, and even for the two great powers."

Some sectors in Washington may see the disintegration of Ethiopia as the most dangerous consequence of Eritrean independence—and may therefore favor sending arms to the PMAC. But the *Washington Post*, in a February 11 editorial, also pointed out the danger of placing all the bets on Addis Ababa. "If arms sales are made," the *Post* stated, "that will mean a large and risky gesture of American support for a government that may or may not make it."

While Washington will undoubtedly seek to retain its position in Ethiopia, it need not necessarily do so by sending arms to the present regime. The U.S. embassy in Addis Ababa announced February 20 that Washington had agreed to grant \$4.3 million for emergency drought relief and for the rehabilitation of agricultural areas, bringing the total in U.S. relief to Ethiopia since 1973 to \$28.3 million. For a country that has been hit as hard by famine as Ethiopia has, such U.S. aid could have considerable political weight.

Distrust of the present Ethiopian military regime, and a lack of confidence in its

ability to "stabilize" the region, may be factors behind Washington's hesitancy in sending more arms. By delaying military aid, Washington may be trying to put pressure on the PMAC. The Pentagon analysts, who are always looking for more favorable alternatives, may also be considering a more reliable replacement for the present regime.

As a stopgap measure, Washington may favor the Sudanese efforts to obtain a ceasefire, which would give the imperialists more time in which to defuse the situation. The delay in arms shipments to Addis Ababa could thus be designed to pressure the PMAC into making a few concessions to the Eritreans that would facilitate a negotiated agreement.

In addition, the White House may be weighing other options. If it saw an independent Eritrea as a likely possibility, with or without U.S. aid to Addis Ababa and despite attempts at a negotiated settlement, Washington would try to gain a foothold among the Eritrean leadership, or certain sections of it, to safeguard its access to the Eritrean ports and to keep Eritrea within a neocolonialist framework.

Whatever course Washington and the other imperialist powers decide on, a situation as explosive as that in Ethiopia and Eritrea involves grave risks for them and may escape their control. □



# Capitalism Fouls Things Up

## Profits We Can't Afford at Any Wattage

[The following article appeared in the March 7 issue of *Rouge*, the French Trotskyist weekly. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

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The recent increases in the price of oil are now being used as a pretext for a sharp acceleration of all the nuclear power-plant construction programs in the developed capitalist countries. Never has a technical decision by employers and governments aroused so many—often completely contradictory—responses. Official bodies such as the EDF [Electricité de France, the state electricity trust] have stepped up their soothing reassurances. On the other side, roundly denouncing nuclear energy, are scientists (for example, the Appeal of the 400)<sup>1</sup> and more or less marginal newspapers—opponents lacking unity but basing their case on solid technical and scientific studies. This dossier reopens the discussion in *Rouge* on this problem.

It is a dossier for activists. We will show that the present decisions in support of nuclear energy are dictated in the first place by class interests, without regard for the environment, the health, or the real needs of the workers. We are not seeking an academic debate among specialists.

Already involved in concrete struggles are small peasant landholders ruined by expropriation; fishermen whose jobs are threatened;<sup>2</sup> nuclear-industry workers who are victims of difficult, unhealthy working conditions; and scientists and youth rebelling against the monstrous wastage under capitalism. In this struggle we have to choose sides. And, in contrast to the bourgeois humanist currents that often predominate in the ecology movement, or

the reformist currents that dominate the workers movement, we reaffirm the necessity for socialist revolution to bring about a satisfying and lasting solution to the energy needs of humanity.

*The accidental risks:* While the possibility of a serious accident of the LOCA type<sup>3</sup> is slight, no one dismisses it completely. It would have very serious consequences.

*The chronic risks,* while less spectacular, are real:

- Thermal pollution.
- Radioactive contamination of the environment with serious genetic consequences, which are aggravated by cases of concentration throughout the food chain.

These risks are underestimated and even systematically hidden from the workers by official bodies. Doesn't EDF tell its personnel that "we must see to it that the population as a whole is not contaminated by adverse publicity" and that "participation in debates must be limited to carefully defined circles, such as municipal councils, doctors and engineers clubs, Rotary clubs, and so on?"

One of the most delicate problems is the *handling of wastes at all stages of disposal:* transportation, storage, and inspection. For wastes with a long half-life, the safety of storage sites must be guaranteed for several centuries. *Up to now this problem has not at all been worked out satisfactorily.*

However, listing these harmful effects is only a secondary argument in the polemic against the proponents of nuclear energy. It gives them the chance to emphasize that the radiation artificially produced between now and the year 2000 will not be more than several hundredths of the natural radiation to which the whole population is exposed, and that methods of measurement and protection against radioactive pollution are much better developed than those relating to "classical" pollution (for example, chemicals).

To center the critique on this aspect of the



problem, by making nuclear energy something absolutely different from other forms of energy, is to start from an abstract, nonhistorical point of view. In place of the class point of view it offers the fear of the petty bourgeois bewildered and impotent in face of the dangers (many, in fact) that he encounters in his daily life.

After the age of coal, then of oil, now comes the age of the atom. A clear sign of the new trend is the involvement of the oil trusts—including the "big name" firms like PUK, Nickel, and so on—in everything from the mining process to production of the radiating fuel. *What are the reasons for this decision?*

1. To begin with, there is the *availability of a technology that has been developed for military objectives and through public financing since the Second World War.* The capitalists merely needed to seize the opportunity to profit from it through exploiting it privately.<sup>4</sup>

In this respect, the example of its development in the United States is instructive:

- From 1939 to 1946 financing fell exclusively to the War Department.

- After 1947, the creation of the AEC (Atomic Energy Commission), with responsibility for overseeing all development and research in the nuclear field, paved the way for turning over the technological results already obtained to civilian ends. The AEC took charge of basic research work up to the building of prototypes. Only in 1966 (that is, when nuclear energy began to become competitive on the market) did private investment in the construction of power plants in the United States exceed those of the AEC. Once the technology has been developed, considerable profits can be made, of course, out of contracts or purchases of licenses and patents.

- In France it is the CEA [Commissariat à l'Energie Atomique], today broken down into many sectors and a number of branches, that provides the close linkup to the private sector. This division into different sectors has gone hand in hand with

1. See box accompanying this article.—IP

2. See *Notes sur les conséquences de l'implantation des centrales nucléaires sur la pêche maritime et la conchyliculture* [Notes on the consequences of the establishment of nuclear power plants on maritime fishing and shellfish breeding], by the Institut scientifique et technique des pêches maritimes [Scientific and Technical Institute of Maritime Fishing].

3. Loss of Coolant Accident. The effectiveness of the emergency cooling system has never been demonstrated. This undoubtedly weighed heavily in the British government's decision to reject a linkup with the Americans.

4. See the dossier in *La Brèche*, newspaper of the Swiss Trotskyists, April 2, 1974, June 21, 1974, and July 12, 1974.—IP



attacks on the gains made by the CEA workers. The "natural uranium-graphite-gas" branch has been handed over to Westinghouse, General Electric, and Gulf General Atomic.

2. *Industries whose weight is already decisive in the world economy*—iron and steel; electronics; electrical, civil, and chemical engineering companies—are investing in the nuclear industry. The required investments are so great that they necessitate the reapportionment of capital in all these sectors. For example:

- From 1966 to 1971, Westinghouse received 40 percent of (potential) orders in the United States; GE, 35 percent.

- The Schneider-Creusot Loire Holding company (which has the Westinghouse concession) has become the main manufacturer of reactors in Europe thanks to orders from EDF.

- CGE (affiliated to GE), which at present has an agreement to build light-water plants, is preparing for their replacement at the end of the century. The government has chosen it to collaborate with the CEA in France and the AGIP oil trust in Italy in the industrial development of breeders.

- The extraction, concentration, refining, and manufacturing of combustible elements is completely dominated in France by PUK, St. Gobain, Rhône-Poulenc, and Nickel, owing to research work carried out by the CEA.

3. *Other possible future sources of energy have been and are still systematically underdeveloped.*

Senator Mike Gravel noted in the U.S. Congress that between 1954 and 1971, the federal government invested \$3 billion in nuclear energy, but only \$1 million in solar energy. That is because coal, oil, and nuclear energy were more *profitable*. In this respect, official opinions and decisions reflect not the real potential but the priorities of development that flow from the very logic of the development of capitalism.

With respect to solar energy, for example, many estimates show that modest investments to develop research into the conversion of radiation into electricity through photovoltaic cells, and the large-scale manufacture of these units, could cut the present cost of solar kilowatts by a factor of 100 to 200 within the next ten years, bringing it within a cost range where it would be competitive (from the point of view of the capitalist market). But, you see, the trusts are not interested in taking this risk for the coming period. And under the capitalist system, the necessary public investments are controlled by the general interests of the bourgeoisie. It's an open and shut case.

4. *The nuclear market can undergo rapid expansion*, for two reasons:

- A power plant's life expectancy is



short, around twenty years. The need to renew and extend the reactor bank offers a stable outlet for big industry. This would not exactly be the case, for example, with solar installations, which are much more durable and which must be based on very long-term investments to be profitable. But no one is going to invest in an enterprise if told it won't pay off for a century.

- It is a market, moreover, whose "geographical" extension (to the Arab countries, India, Iran, and so on) is guaranteed for years to come, in view of the strategic importance of nuclear arms and the fact that the indispensable elements for manufacturing these arms can be obtained with some powerful reactors.

### 1. Consider the social costs.

In addition to these historical factors, the present decisions are explained by *structural factors*. In capitalist society costs are evaluated at the company level or a given branch of the economy. Thus the official calculations for the French nuclear program have not taken account of the following:

- The costs of grids, transformers, and distribution to consumers in cases where electrical energy must be substituted for other forms of energy.

- More generally, *overall social costs*, for example harm to the environment and restoration of a site after a power plant has been dismantled (which would cost at least as much as the construction of the plant!)

Researchers from the Economic and Juridical Institute of Energy (IEJE)<sup>6</sup> have been able to show that if the social costs of the nuclear chain are compared with the social costs of the oil chain, "the first are out of proportion to the second."

### 2. A negative energy balance sheet.

An estimate that sought to take into account all of these costs ignored by capitalist accounting procedures would, for example, have to calculate the *cost in energy of the production of energy*. Such calculations have recently been made by several teams of scientists and engineers. Their results are a devastating indictment of the capitalist system.

J. Price's figures,<sup>7</sup> for example, although

he probably overestimates the real load factor, show that the construction of a series of reactors like those called for in the present program of the EDF would consume energy like a *veritable bottomless hole*.

His figures estimate the *energy balance* of a bank of nuclear reactors, comparing the sum of energy it consumes in construction and replacement with the sum of energy it furnishes over a given period.

He proves that if the power-plant building program is too rapid, the nuclear program consumes more energy than it supplies! For example, from 1978 on, to carry out the French nuclear program would require:

- As much energy as is produced at present by all the hydroelectric dams in France.

- As much energy as could be produced by twelve 1,000-megawatt nuclear reactors.

But in 1978 the EDF will have only five or six big nuclear power plants. *For more than ten years the energy balance sheet of the French nuclear program would be practically nil!*

We know that the life expectancy of a nuclear power plant is about twenty years. For this same EDF program, it would be necessary, beginning in the 1990s, to begin to build about fifteen new plants each year—seven or eight to replace those going out of service and the same number to increase the existing bank. The total energy of the seventy-five plants under construction would then have to be allotted to the production of twenty-five plants of the kind already in operation!

This *absurdity* is all the more revolting in that any later attempt to convert to other energy sources would pose serious problems—the redeployment of tens of thousands of workers, the financing of substitute installations, the irreversible deterioration of the environment, and so on.

One can be sure that if the overall balance sheet of the nuclear program is very problematical, *the financial balance sheet of the nuclear trusts will generally be very positive!*

### 3. Start from the real needs of the workers.

That's not all! The major argument in official justifications for the nuclear race is the demands of economic growth and the resulting growth in energy needs. It is easy to prove that one of the essential factors behind the present impasse in energy supplies is a fantastic wastage in energy that is structurally linked to the capitalist mode of production. Some examples:<sup>8</sup>

- *Domestic consumption of energy* in France accounts for 20% of total energy consumption. Proper insulation of buildings would permit a saving of 40% of the energy

spent on heating. Solar energy could cover 20% of heating and hot water needs, and geothermic energy, 10%.

- *The way transportation is now organized promotes waste* by encouraging individual rather than mass transportation, and road rather than rail transport for freight movements (although railways consume five times less energy in terms of load carried over equal distances).

- *The waste of energy affects all capitalist production*. For example, through the "planned obsolescence" that shortens the life expectancy of products, the production of useless commodities, the lack of recycling of energy for urban and agricultural heating.

An alternative energy policy would be possible, capable of more adequately meeting the real needs of the workers with smaller quantities of energy. *The problem must be posed not in terms of restrictions, but in terms of investment in sectors where waste can be restricted.*

This alternative policy implies the establishment of a single nationalized company with a monopoly on foreign purchases, production, and sale of industrial energy. That would permit not only the creation of centralized decision-making, suppression of competition on the energy market, and greater control over pollution problems, but also the development of new sources of energy that do not upset the energy equilibrium of the atmosphere (such as solar energy). It would thereby take into account all social costs in a policy planned in the interests of the workers and controlled by them.

This alternative policy *implies above all a socialist revolution*, for it could not realize its potential within the framework of a bourgeois state. That is the precondition for an energy policy formulated in terms of human needs (the production of use-values) and not in terms of narrow profitability criteria linked to the uncertainties of the capitalist market (the production of exchange values).

This alternative policy also implies shattering the narrow national framework of the borders of the bourgeois state and replacing it with international cooperation and planning in the interests of the workers—which is incompatible with the existence of multinational corporations.

Once again the law of profit has led to the hasty development of an uncontrolled technology; the price to be paid has become an "economic necessity." History will undoubtedly retain from the oil age the image of millions of tons of hydrocarbons spilled each year into the oceans, of burned-off gases that make the air of the big cities unbreathable, creating a spectacular increase in the number of serious illnesses.

5. Sigurd Eklund, "Energie nucléaire, sécurité et environnement" [Nuclear energy, safety and the environment], in *Revue Française de l'énergie*, January 1974.

6. An interesting official evaluation of costs will be found in a document just published by researchers for the Economic and Juridical Institute of Energy (IEJE) in Grenoble: "Alternatives au nucléaire" [Alternatives to nuclear energy], Presses Universitaires de Grenoble, February 1975.

7. These figures are taken from J. Price, *Dynamic energy analysis and nuclear power*, which has just been published in a French translation by Les Amis de la Terre, 16 rue de l'Université, 75007 Paris.

8. IEJE study, "Alternatives au nucléaire."



The "Nuclear Age" threatens to leave behind an even more bitter memory.

"Here is clean energy," the supporters of nuclear power plants shamelessly proclaim.

To expose the lies of these officials, we need only recall the present policy of official bodies on the security plan in the nuclear sector.

The work agreement at the CEA officially states that researchers are subject to professional secrecy. Surveillance over each center is carried out by a security service directly under the Ministry of the Interior. The government, and it alone, decides the orientation of research and whether or not the results should be published.

What confidence can be placed in these walled-off departments, usually run by high civil servants committed to government policy? They sometimes resort to the most far-fetched arguments to defend and justify this policy: an example is the celebrated Pellerin,<sup>9</sup> director of the department of protection against ionizing radiation.

Despite this system of secrecy, some facts are available to the public. Thus, a recent AEC study showed that workers in nuclear power plants already in service, or in maintenance plants, had on the average been exposed to up to ten times the natural radiation between 1969 and 1973, and that this exposure will increase as the power plants become older. That's only an average. Some workers are regularly exposed to fifty times natural radiation.

With the French nuclear program, several tens of thousands of workers are in danger of being subjected to such radiation levels by 1985. Today, protection against radioactivity in the EDF power plants—especially for maintenance workers—is carried out by a *private* specialized company over which the workers have no control. The same applies to the companies controlled by Schneider. Trade-union delegates on the hygiene and security commission of the CEA are forbidden access to the site where radioactive debris is stored at La Hague.

Those are the conditions in which the safety of nuclear-industry workers is assured today!

From these preliminary remarks, it follows that these workers are entitled to raise some demands of direct concern to them:

*For strict control over:*

- The level of harmful effects, both standard and nuclear.
- The methods of measurement and evaluation of the so-called danger thresholds.

9. Among his many declarations, we can cite this: "Never, throughout the history of technology, have we witnessed such a flood of foolishness as in respect to the dangers electronuclear energy would produce. . . . To go further (in safety measures) would be to fall into the same irrationality." (In a talk before the students of the Ecole Polytechnique in March 1973.)

## French Scientists Call for Moratorium on Constructing Nuclear Power Plants

More than 400 French nuclear physicists and other scientists have signed an appeal calling on the population to "reject the establishment of nuclear power plants until people have a clear understanding of the risks and the consequences involved."

The appeal, reprinted in the February 11 *Le Monde*, criticizes the French government's nuclear program in the following terms:

"As research workers, engineers, and technicians, we think the government is making a thoughtless decision, risking serious consequences. There are several kinds of risks. Some affect the safety of power plants—accidents involving possible [radioactive] leaks, while unlikely, could have appalling results. There is the danger to the climate and ecology from thermal pollution. And there is the danger involved in transport, storage, and possible theft of radioactive products; in particular, the problem of disposal of waste is being treated light-mindedly. . . .

"We think that the policy being followed ignores the real interests of the population and of future generations and that what is being termed a scientific decision is in fact political. What is needed is a real debate and not this semblance of hasty consultation."

Those signing the appeal, in addition to physicists, included mathematicians, chemists, biologists, agronomists, and toxicologists.

*Le Monde* reported that the appeal originated in the "sanctuary" of France's nuclear-physics establishment, the Laboratoire de Physique Corpuscu-

laire of the Collège de France. The former directors of the laboratory, Professors Francis Perrin and Louis Leprince-Ringuet, both now retired, were closely involved in the decision to begin immediately construction of nuclear plants.

"It all began in June 1974," the Paris daily said, "when the science council of the National Institute of Nuclear Physics and Particle Physics, an agency of the CNRS [Centre National de Recherche Scientifique—National Center of Scientific Research], presented an outline report that was to serve in the elaboration of the Seventh Plan.

"The two reporters, Messrs. René Klapisch, head of research at Orsay, and G. Ripka, a physicist at the CEA, thought they were in a position to approve the official energy policy and dismiss pollution by the plants as negligible. Their view was immediately disputed by the other members of the council, who, considering themselves ill-informed, did not want to endorse this decision. A sharp debate erupted within the council, and six specialists were assigned to make a serious study of the problem of nuclear power plants. . . .

"From the outset, the data they assembled worried them. Moreover, they were unable to give clear answers to local officials who approached them. During this time the government was making decisions. Hence their intervention, through this 'appeal to the people.' . . ."

Further information on the scientists' appeal may be obtained from Appel des Scientifiques, 2, rue François-Villon, 91407 Orsay, France.

- Constant medical inspection of workers subjected to radiation, including knowledge of individual results for those concerned, and publication of statistical results affecting the population.

*An end to all scientific and technical secrecy.* Secrecy is incompatible with the need for the fullest possible information on the overall ecological consequences (on people in particular) of nuclear power plants.

These rights will not be granted. They will be won only through struggle!

More generally, we fight alongside all those on whom the bourgeoisie will try to impose the consequences of its energy policy:

- Small farmers threatened with exprop-

riation in return for miserable compensation.

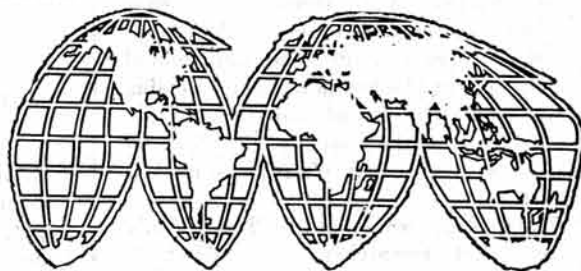
- Workers of the sea, whose fishing grounds are in danger of being made sterile by the thermal and chemical pollution of coastal waters resulting from the construction of nuclear plants.

In addition, we say:

- No, to the policy of restricted energy consumption that the bourgeoisie is trying to impose on the workers!
- No, to capitalist waste!

We must force full and complete publicity on all the problems posed by the construction of nuclear power plants! We must force the government to declare a moratorium on their construction, as demanded by the majority of the ecology movement! □

# AROUND THE WORLD



## France Forced to Release Leaders of Guyane Opposition

Seven of the eight Guyanese opposition leaders arrested and jailed in France arrived back in Cayenne February 7 and were met at the airport with cries of "National independence" and "Arise Guyanese" from several hundred youthful supporters.

The eight leaders of the movement for autonomy and independence from France were arrested December 23, 1974, in the wake of the mass upsurge against colonial rule during the fall. They were jailed in Santé prison in Paris on charges that included "attempting to substitute an illegal authority for the authority of the state" and possession of firearms. The eight were released January 20, but still face trial in Guyane.

"The stupidity and repressive ardor of the prefect of Cayenne turned this 'Christmas plot' into a damp squib that makes an ass of the colonial regime," commented the February issue of *Libération Antilles-Guyane*, monthly organ of the émigré section of the Groupe Révolution Socialiste (GRS), Antilles section of the Fourth International.

"It was a sign of weakness, but also a demonstration of the complete arbitrariness that rules in the French possessions in America. The first round has been won, thanks to the legal defense, but also thanks to the mobilization that threatened to grow and have considerable repercussions on an affair that has been badly botched by the regime."

In Martinique, the GRS has initiated the formation of a United Support Committee, including trade unionists and left-wing political organizations, to campaign for the dropping of all charges against the eight.

## Recession Deepens in U.S.

By later this year the recession gripping the United States could run to almost twice its current depth, the chief economist for New York's First National City Bank said March 11. He estimated industrial production could drop 15 to 20% from its November 1973 peak.

Unemployment continues to rise. The figures released for February showed the unemployment rate "steady" at 8.2%, but the total number of employed persons

dropped by more than half a million. Many simply gave up trying to find a job and thus were not counted as unemployed in the government's statistics.

Black teen-agers have been the hardest hit by the capitalist crisis. Even in times of relatively high employment they fare the worst—in 1969, when the overall unemployment rate was 3.5%, the Black teen-age unemployment rate was 24%. Now more than 41% of Black teen-agers are out of work.

The unemployment rate in Detroit rose to 21% in February. In Buffalo, another important industrial center, it is 17%.

"We now have all the historical preconditions for large-scale social unrest," said Herbert Hill, the national labor director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, when the new unemployment statistics were announced.

## Shah Decrees One-Party State for Iran

The shah of Iran decreed March 2 that Iran would be a one-party state. He called on all those "who believe in the royal regime, the Iranian Constitution and the Iranian revolution" to join the new party, the "National Resurrection party," which is to be headed by Premier Amir Abass Hoveida. Hoveida had been the secretary-general of the former ruling Iran Novin party, which was dissolved by the decree along with the opposition Mardom party.

## Ultrarightists Attack Offices of 'Révolution' in Paris

The offices of the left-wing Paris weekly *Révolution* were sacked March 5 by a commando squad of the ultraright Groupe d'intervention nationaliste (Nationalist Intervention Group). After bursting into the offices, the attackers assaulted one person, ransacked the place, and started a small fire.

A statement issued by the group *Révolution*, which publishes the newspaper, protested the attack and called on "all revolutionary forces to organize immediately the most energetic response possible."

## Bhutto Loses By-election in Sind

In its first electoral defeat in three years in the province of Sind, Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's Pakistan People's party

lost a by-election to the provincial legislative assembly in Hyderabad February 16.

The winner of the election was Mohammed Usman Kennedy of the Jamiat Ulemai Pakistan (Party of Religious Scholars of Pakistan).

The electoral defeat in his home province came only a few days after Bhutto banned the opposition National Awami party.

## Firing of Trade Unionists Protested at Rally in Tokyo

About 300 persons, mostly trade unionists, rallied in Tokyo February 26 to protest the dismissal of three union leaders at a language instruction company in Tokyo. In addition to the secretary-general of the Japanese union, two English instructors, Joseph Allerdice and Charlotte MacDonald, who had organized a trade union of foreign workers, were fired in January. MacDonald said that although the company opposed the foreign workers union, the number of members had increased significantly. Representatives of both the Japanese union and the foreign union declared at the rally that they would continue their activities.

## 100 Pickets at London Hearing Into 'Conspiracy' to Leaflet Soldiers

One hundred persons picketed Lambeth Crown Court March 3 as proceedings opened against fourteen supporters of the British Withdrawal From Northern Ireland Campaign. The defendants, all of whom are pacifists, face charges for alleged violations of Britain's 1934 "Incitement to Disaffection Act." The charges stem from distribution of a leaflet containing information about ways of leaving the army.

According to a report in the March 7 issue of the London fortnightly *Peace News*, supporters on the picket line "came from Cambridge, Cardiff, Liverpool, Leeds, London, Manchester, Oxford, from the War Resisters' International office in Brussels, and even, during lunch, from the House of Commons (Maureen Colquhoun and Jo Richardson)."

The fourteen defendants are Albert Beale, Wendy Butlin, Phil Cadbury, Bill Hetherington, Juliet Hornsby, John Hyatt, Frank Keeley, Ronnie Lee, Chris Roper, Paul Seed, Bob Thomas, Rick Walker, Mick Wescott, and Gwyn Williams.

Thomas has already lost a job because of



the case. Keeley has learned that his mail is being intercepted. Among the letters that have "vanished" at the post office are one from his lawyer and two from local defense committees. Other letters that have arrived show obvious signs of having been opened.

Protests against the trial of the fourteen may be sent to Home Secretary Roy Jenkins and Prime Minister Harold Wilson, 10 Downing Street, London, England. Copies should be sent to the British Withdrawal From Northern Ireland Campaign Defence Group, Box 69, c/o 197 Kings Cross Road, London WC 1, England.

## 200 Demonstrators in Stockholm Demand Independence for Cyprus

About 200 Greek and Turkish Cypriots demonstrated in Stockholm March 1 for an independent, united Cyprus, without any ties to NATO. The group, which was organized by a newly formed solidarity committee, marched on the U.S. embassy and delivered a formal protest against Washington's policy on Cyprus.

"The note said that because of the U.S.'s arms deliveries to Turkey, they regarded it as responsible for the mass slaughter that has taken place on Cyprus," the Stockholm daily *Dagens Nyheter* reported in its March 2 issue. A similar protest was handed to officials in the Turkish embassy nearby.

The demonstrators also called on the Swedish government, as a member of the United Nations Security Council, to support independence and sovereignty for Cyprus. The note said:

"It is now slightly more than eight months since the Greek junta in Athens staged its coup in Cyprus and since the subsequent Turkish invasion of the island. The coup and the invasion, which were openly supported by the U.S. and NATO, were a tragedy for the Cypriot people.

"More than 200,000 refugees continue to live in miserable conditions, and the economy of Cyprus is in ruins.

"The proclamation of a Turkish state, which is opposed by the majority of the Cypriot people, means the end of Cyprus's existence as an independent state. The independence of the country has been

brutally attacked with the clear aim of forcing a partition of the island—a project that has long been supported by the U.S. and NATO."

## Opposition Leader Killed in Kenya

Josiah Mwangi Kariuki, a leading critic of the Kenyan regime and considered a possible successor to President Jomo Kenyatta, was found assassinated March 3 twenty miles from Nairobi. Two of his three wives identified the body March 11. Kariuki had advocated land reform and free education in Kenya. On March 14, police dispersed a crowd of students who were protesting the assassination.

Some members of the Kenya parliament have called for an investigation into the murder and into the police handling of the case. There were allegations that Kariuki was last seen being led from a hotel in Nairobi by men dressed in the uniform of the General Service Unit, the security police. The weekend before the body was identified, the regime leaked a story to the press that Kariuki was "safe and well" on a business trip to Zambia. But by then, it was estimated, Kariuki had already been dead a week.

## Pentagon Seeks \$\$\$ to Make 'Safer' Poison-Gas Bombs

The U.S. armed forces have again requested funds from Congress to develop a "binary bomb" containing nerve gas. Such bombs hold two chemicals that are nontoxic when kept separated but become deadly when mixed together.

Funding for the project has been a source of congressional embarrassment for the last year, as the army has continued to push for permission to start production of artillery shells containing the new nerve gas. A vote for bankrolling such projects is not considered an asset at the polls.

The new request, made February 5, seeks \$2 million for the navy's development project and \$12.3 million to support army plans to begin building a production facility for the gases and to continue research.

Although the 1925 Geneva Protocol bans "first use" of such chemical weapons, this is

not interpreted as making it illegal to produce them for "retaliation." It is thought that Washington has already stockpiled as much as fifty million pounds of chemical munitions, much of it in conventional nerve gas.

It is this conventional nerve gas the Pentagon wishes to replace, arguing that it is much less safe—both in storage and when placed in artillery shells—than the new binary chemicals would be. In the improved version, the Pentagon claims, the two chemicals would be mixed together only as the bomb is dropped from an airplane.

According to one estimate, \$250 million will be required to produce the new poison-gas bomb. It will cost almost as much to destroy the old ones.

## Probe Into Oil Companies Uncovers 'Gouging' in 300% Price Increase

The United States Customs Service and the Federal Energy Administration are conducting an investigation into why oil prices rose so rapidly during the past eighteen months. The investigation has so far uncovered conspiracies by oil companies and organized crime to overcharge hospitals, schools, and other consumers by anywhere from \$1 billion to \$3 billion.

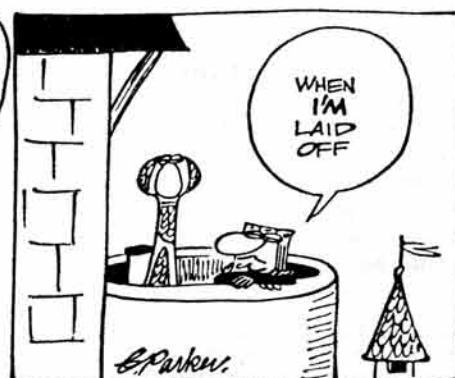
In a typical case cited by the Federal Energy Administration, the price of a shipment of oil was increased 300 percent in a transaction that involved moving it "only a few miles from a refinery to a fuel storage terminal." On the basis of this and other cases of rapid increases, the FEA says it suspects "potentially widespread price gouging."

Grand juries have been convened in New York, Los Angeles, and Jacksonville, Florida, to examine charges that importers and suppliers falsified customs documents and set up dummy corporations to double and triple the price of oil.

## Let Them Eat Cake

It has been estimated that for £29,250 which is the price of a Camargue, the latest model Rolls-Royce, 10,000 starving persons in Bangladesh could be fed for an entire month.

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## Se Juzga a la Dictadura Chilena en México

Por Joaquín Canales

La tercera reunión de la Comisión Internacional Investigadora de los Crímenes de la Junta Militar en Chile se llevó a cabo del 18 al 21 de febrero en la ciudad de México.

*Excelsior*, principal diario de la capital mexicana informó extensivamente sobre la reunión. En su número del 19 de febrero comentó:

"Dirigentes de los comités de solidaridad con el pueblo chileno: Apolinar Díaz Callejas, de Colombia; Luchio Lussanto, de Italia; Stephen Shalayev, de la Unión Soviética; Pham Van Bach, de Vietnam del Norte; el premio Nobel norteamericano George Wald; el finlandés Jacob Soderman, desfilaron por la tribuna de Bellas Artes durante horas, ayer, en mensajes de apoyo a la democracia y en contra del fascismo.

"Se leyeron saluciones del primer ministro de Dinamarca, Paul Hartling; del senador norteamericano Edward Kennedy; de los obispos de la Conferencia Católica de Estados Unidos y de diputados norteamericanos."

Con esto, además de un discurso de apertura del presidente mexicano Luis Echeverría, se inauguraba el tribunal para juzgar los crímenes de la junta militar.

La Comisión Internacional, cuya sede está en Helsinki, ya ha tenido otras dos reuniones. Una en la capital finlandesa en marzo del año pasado, y otra en Copenhague en junio. Esta está compuesta, entre otros, por diferentes juristas y abogados de todo el mundo además de tener el apoyo del gobierno de la Unión Soviética.

Desde el día 15 de enero se había integrado el Comité Mexicano de Apoyo a la Comisión Internacional Investigadora. *Excelsior* informó el día 16 de enero, "... se constituyó ayer con representantes de distintos sectores: priístas,\* comunistas, socialistas, dirigentes campesinos, obreros, escritores, intelectuales y rectores de varias universidades. El licenciado Jesús Reyes Heróles, presidente del PRI, fue designado coordinador general."

Al mismo tiempo *Excelsior* informó: "El objetivo del Comité, es la formación de un frente 'antifascista' para respaldar la tercera sesión de la Comisión Internacional que se efectuará en esta capital, a partir del 18 de febrero próximo. ...

"En su primera declaración pública, el Comité hace un llamado 'en contra del

fascismo, por la democracia y la libertad de Chile."

"'Todo aquel que se precie de creer en las libertades, en la democracia, en la vida y las instituciones jurídicas, debe participar en una lucha universal por el retorno a la vida democrática y jurídica de Chile,' dice el llamamiento de solidaridad del Comité."

Más adelante informa *Excelsior*: "En la opinión del Comité, la próxima reunión de la Comisión Internacional 'es un esfuerzo más, de carácter internacional, de quienes, apoyándose en los principios morales y políticos incontrovertibles, luchan en contra de la regresión y el neofascismo.'"

Estas fueron las palabras del doctor Samuel Sívís de la Academia de Ciencias de la URSS, uno de los responsables por parte de la Comisión Internacional de la organización de la tercera reunión de ésta.

Con anterioridad ya se había anunciado que el presidente Luis Echeverría pronunciaría el discurso de apertura del acto. De esta manera el gobierno mexicano le daba todo su respaldo al juicio contra la dictadura chilena. Esto proporcionaba al comité con el apoyo directo y abierto de un gobierno para propagandizar mejor las denuncias a los crímenes de la junta chilena.

Sin embargo los principales periódicos estadounidenses le dedicaron escasas y escondidas notas al tribunal. El *New York Times* le dedicó un artículo corto que de hecho no informaba gran cosa. Esto es significativo de la posición de los círculos gobernantes de los Estados Unidos al respecto de los crímenes de sus socios militares en Chile.

El Comité de Apoyo Mexicano en sí reunió a toda la izquierda moderada y al gobierno de Echeverría. El comité se formó por gente conocida nacional e internacionalmente. Entre otros estaban:

Arnoldo Martínez Verdugo, secretario general del Partido Comunista Mexicano; Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas, hijo del presidente nacionalista mexicano Lázaro Cárdenas; Pablo González Casanova, ex rector de la Universidad Nacional de México; los escritores José Revueltas, Carlos Fuentes, Elena Poniatowska y Carlos Monsiváis; el dirigente electricista Rafael Galván; el obispo Sergio Méndez Arceo; el líder del Senado Enrique Olivares Santana; el caricaturista Eduardo del Río (Rius); los dirigentes del Partido Popular Socialista, del Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores, y del Partido Mexicano de los Trabajadores;

el gerente del Canal 13 de TV (canal oficial); y los rectores de las Universidades de Guerrero, Nuevo León, Puebla, Sinaloa y Veracruz.

Una coalición tan extensa y tan poco vista en México, llevó a un comentarista de *Excelsior* a sugerir una alianza más duradera. Angel Granados Chapa comentó el 18 de febrero, "Sería lamentable que los distinguidos mexicanos referidos pudieran instrumentar una acción conjunta sólo en lo que concierne a un fenómeno como el cuartelazo de septiembre de 1973, y no pudieran hacerlo respecto a otras circunstancias graves que reclaman una acción democrática concertada."

Y más adelante proseguía: "Un frente democrático amplio, nacionalista, popular, revolucionario, dotado de lucidez política y de notorio sustento social, es indispensable para que la sucesión presidencial se resolviera en el sentido de dotar al país de los instrumentos y los ejecutores capaces de sacar adelante a la república, para bien de sus mayorías."

El tribunal fue un acto donde se reunieron por primera vez toda una serie de funcionarios y personajes de la Unidad Popular de Chile. Entre otros estuvieron:

Clodomiro Almeyda, ex ministro de Relaciones Exteriores; Hortensia Bussi de Allende, viuda del Presidente asesinado; Orlando Letelier, ex ministro de Defensa; Pedro Vuscovic Bravo, ex ministro de Economía y Carlos Altamirano, Secretario General del Partido Socialista Chileno.

Durante el tribunal se hicieron denuncias por parte de testigos presenciales de la masacre y las torturas. *El Diario*, periódico neoyorquino en español, informó sobre las denuncias hechas en el tribunal el 23 de febrero, "Jorge Tohá murió en marzo de 1974 en Santiago, tras varios meses de detención en la austral Isla Dawson. La Junta Militar dijo que se había suicidado, pero la señora [la viuda de Tohá] dijo que Tohá, que medía 1.95 metros, pesaba sólo 54 kilogramos en el momento de su muerte.

"... cuando lo vi, la semana anterior [a su muerte], no tenía fuerza suficiente como para levantar su cabeza de la almohada."

Otro testigo, Luis Alberto Corvalán, hijo del dirigente del Partido Comunista Chileno, aún detenido por la junta, dijo según el comunicado de UPI en *El Diario*, "que él y su esposa habían sido detenidos y su hijo separado de los padres durante varios meses.

"A punto de estallar en llanto comentó: 'El mayor crimen es el cometido contra los niños.'"

*Excelsior*, por otro lado, destacó la denuncia de Letelier: "'El lunes 10 de septiembre de 1973 (un día antes del golpe) recibí en audiencia al general Pinochet. Hizo alarde de sus convicciones democráticas, de su lealtad a Allende, de su honor de soldado, y

\*Miembros del Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI), partido gobernante en México durante aproximadamente cincuenta años.



sin embargo, 48 horas antes, había suscrito un documento en el que se comprometía a derrocar a Allende.' . . .

"Luego reveló como los miembros de la junta 'que han masacrado y creado campos de concentración' pretendieron descalificar después a los hombres de la Unidad Popular.

"Se nos acusó de traficantes de armas, de programar el asesinato de un millón de chilenos, entre ellos empresarios y gente de la oposición, de huir con dinero, de desfalcos, de intentar cambiar la bandera, de transmitir secretos militares a las potencias, de llevar una vida escandalosa y licenciosa, de estar metidos en el tráfico de estupefacientes.' . . .

"Aseguró que él y otros detenidos fueron tratados como prisioneros de guerra, sin que estuviera en guerra su país; que se les ofreció aplicarles las normas de la convención de Ginebra sobre prisioneros de guerra, pero que ni siquiera esto respetaron."

Un día anterior, el gobierno mexicano había aceptado la oferta de Pinochet de enviar 200 presos políticos a México. *La Opinión* informó el 19 de febrero, "... el canciller Emilio O. Rabasa [el secretario de Relaciones Exteriores de México] informó que durante la investigación de la lista en la que figura Laura Allende, hermana del ex presidente chileno, se supo que '49 de los prisioneros que figuraban en la lista entregada por el gobierno chileno a la representación venezolana (México rompió relaciones con Chile el 26 de noviembre pasado) habían manifestado su voluntad de no dejar su país y esperar la finalización de los juicios hasta quedar en libertad.'

"Rabasa agregó que 'vamos a aceptar a los 151 restantes, con lo cual nuevamente México demuestra que practica el Derecho de Asilo y se preocupa porque reciban adecuada protección aquellas personas que, como el caso presente, puedan estar en peligro algunas de sus libertades.'

"El canciller manifestó que tanto la Secretaría de Gobernación como la de Relaciones Exteriores, por averiguaciones realizadas en Chile 'creen que la mayor parte de los prisioneros ofrecidos a México son perseguidos políticos y están comprendidos dentro de las normas tradicionales de amparo,' aunque, 'nunca hay absoluta seguridad tratándose de un extranjero.'" Señaló también que México ha admitido a unos 800 refugiados.

El presidente mexicano aprovechó el acto para poner en claro cual era la política del gobierno. En primer lugar aseguró a la Comisión Internacional Investigadora que podía trabajar en México:

"Como Jefe de un Estado que se ha constituido sobre la tesis del nacionalismo revolucionario, puedo ofrecerles, a nombre de México, asiento para su sede y libertad para las deliberaciones."

Más adelante dijo, "Están ustedes revesti-

dos de prestigio y significación internacional. Ello confiere aún mayor valor a sus juicios. México les ofrece, por su parte, no sólo un techo material sino un techo de libertades para el logro de sus tareas."



ECHEVERRÍA

Por otro lado, el presidente aprovechó la oportunidad para propagandizar su posición ideológica: "Dicho esto quiero señalar, de manera que no pueda dar motivo a ningún equívoco, que México sigue fiel a su proyecto histórico: el nacionalismo revolucionario. Nacionalismo revolucionario determinado por su propio desarrollo cultural, sus condiciones internas, su valoración concreta de la realidad que nos es común a los mexicanos y que se ha convertido en una alianza de clases con un objetivo específico: el cambio social en la libertad y el progreso económico soberano y distributivo."

También señaló las razones por las cuales apoyaba el juicio contra la junta: "Más intolerables [las formas de ingerencia en Chile] cuando respondían, en gran parte, a la defensa de intereses multinacionales privados que se comportan, en nuestro tiempo, como un estado dentro del Estado. . . .

"América Latina no puede asistir impasible, por razones éticas y de sobrevivencia, a situaciones como las que ha generado el derrocamiento del régimen de Salvador Allende, cuya memoria exalto en este día, ante ustedes y ante el mundo entero."

Aunque atacó al imperialismo norteamericano, sin mencionarlo directamente, también dejó bastante claro que no actuaba bajo la influencia de Moscú: "México entiende, sin vacilaciones, que el proyecto

histórico revolucionario que nos es propio descansa y radica en la expresión práctica de las libertades humanas.

"Cuando no es así se puede caer en un desarrollo económico totalitario, tecnocrático o burocrático. En esos casos existe el riesgo de la perpetuación en el poder de minorías, que se arrogan el derecho a la permanencia en nombre de ideologías que funcionan, en la práctica, como falsas ideologías."

Echeverría terminó diciendo, "A nombre de México, declaro inauguradas las tareas de esta comisión que debe esclarecer, en la forma y en el fondo, que la dictadura y la represión, no sólo constituyen un salto atrás en la historia, sino un fracaso trágico puesto que nada en el mundo impedirá a los pueblos la recuperación de su soberanía y su libertad."

El gobierno mexicano tiene tradición de aceptar refugiados políticos. Durante el gobierno de Cárdenas, México aceptó a miles de refugiados de la guerra civil española. En 1937, el gobierno mexicano le dio asilo al revolucionario soviético León Trotsky cuando los gobiernos tanto imperialistas como obreros lo corrían de sus países o lo hostigaban.

El régimen de Echeverría quiere mantener esta reputación. Es por eso que ha sido uno de los pocos países que les ha dado asilo a los perseguidos en Chile. La Embajada Mexicana en Chile les daba asilo cuando otras embajadas (la de China por ejemplo) cerraban sus puertas. El gobierno mexicano ha sido el único de un país capitalista de América Latina que ha roto relaciones con Chile, las rompió el 26 de noviembre.

Sin embargo, aunque el gobierno mexicano desee dar la apariencia de que en México se respetan las libertades democráticas, la realidad es bastante diferente. Las cárceles en el país están llenas de presos políticos.

El 5 de enero pasado se encontró muerto en su celda al profesor jubilado Hilario Moreno de 62 años, miembro del Partido Comunista Mexicano desde 1937. La Dirección General de Policía y Tránsito informó que se había "suicidado." Al profesor Moreno se le detuvo bajo la acusación de falsificar actas de nacimiento y pasaportes mexicanos, guatemaltecos y salvadoreños. Según la policía los falsificaba para introducir ciudadanos de esas nacionalidades a México para que formaran "parte del PCM para luego cometer actos subversivos en México." La fecha de nacimiento en las actas falsificadas eran en su mayoría de 1895.

El día 10 de junio de 1971 se atacó una manifestación estudiantil donde perecieron alrededor de cincuenta estudiantes. Los asesinos fueron los "halcones" (grupo paramilitar gubernamental clandestino), amparados por la policía. El mismo Echeverría, ante la indignación pública, prometió

que se castigarían a los culpables. Hasta la fecha no se ha arrestado a ningún "halcón."

La política de evitar manifestaciones ha sido sostenida por el gobierno desde la famosa masacre del 2 de octubre de 1968 en la ciudad de México (Echeverría era en aquel entonces ministro de Gobernación [Interior]). Sólo permite aquellas manifestaciones que aprueba o las que no critican al gobierno directamente.

La lista es larga; cuando Echeverría habla de democracia, sus palabras son palabras al viento.

En Chile los diarios, voceros de la junta, calificaron al tribunal de ser un "show" del marxismo. Por ejemplo, el diario *El Mercurio* abordó el tema señalando que "posible-

mente se inspire en la desesperación del comunismo ante los crecientes signos de cansancio e incredulidad externa frente a las invectivas anteriores."

De hecho es precisamente lo contrario lo que ha forzado a la junta a liberar a algunos de los tantos presos políticos en las cárceles de la dictadura. El sentimiento de repugnancia que ha creado internacionalmente los crímenes de la junta los ha obligado a exilar aquellos presos a los cuales preferiría callar para siempre. Sin embargo las cárceles chilenas aún están repletas de víctimas de la persecución militar. Es por eso que es importante impulsar la lucha por la libertad de los presos políticos. □

destruido en la carretera para detener al convoy imaginario. En realidad, a juicio de los expertos militares occidentales que se encuentran aquí es prácticamente imposible transportar un tanque por carretera de Addis Abeba a Asmara por lo increíblemente tortuoso del terreno montañoso y de los pasos entre las dos ciudades."

Entre otros ejemplos, Ottawa cita la historia de un avión de la fuerza aérea etíope derribado por proyectiles de tierra a aire. "Sin embargo, tanto los expertos militares occidentales como los etíopes, inclusive aquél cuyo avión había, según informes, sido derribado, dicen que las guerrillas eritreas todavía no tienen tales proyectiles, o al menos aún no los han usado."

El informe de Ottawa fue confirmado por Thomas A. Johnson en el *New York Times* del 2 de marzo. Refiriéndose a las dificultades con las que se enfrentan los reporteros, agregó:

"Es obvio que algunas de las fuentes disponibles para los periodistas tienen el propósito de proveer información que apoya o condena uno u otro bando. Toda la información tiene que ser evaluada teniendo esto en cuenta."

Esto es aún más cierto cuando las historias se refieren a atrocidades como las que están enviando las agencias noticiosas. Estas brindan una detallada información respecto a los actos de salvajismo, sin embargo carecen de reportajes más amplios.

Una de las más notables carencias es la falta de noticias sobre la hambruna. Hace varios meses que a Etiopía la desbastaba el hambre y esto era informado detalladamente con fotografías y con material verídico otorgado por organizaciones responsables involucradas en tareas de salvamento. ¿Qué pasó con la hambruna que fue una de las principales causas de la actual agitación social y la lucha civil de hoy?

Hasta que no se tengan noticias más exactas de Etiopía lo mejor es reservarse los juicios finales acerca de los acontecimientos en ese lugar. □

### Huida Presidencial

El Presidente Luis Echeverría se equivocó en sus cálculos al penetrar la Universidad Autónoma de México el pasado 14 de marzo. Se habían congregado 10,000 estudiantes para protestar la visita del presidente con motivo de la inauguración del año escolar.

Con gritos de "fuera, fuera," se le evitó decir mucho. Aunque rompió el record de ocho años en los cuales ningún presidente de la república había podido entrar, Echeverría tuvo que abandonar el auditorio por una puerta lateral bajo una lluvia de proyectiles. Evidentemente los estudiantes no han olvidado la masacre del 68.

## Reportajes Imaginativos en Addis Abeba

[La siguiente es una traducción del artículo "Fanciful Reporting in Addis Ababa" publicado en *Intercontinental Press* el 10 de marzo de 1975.

[La traducción es de *Intercontinental Press*.]

\* \* \*

La actual lucha entre las guerrillas eritreas y el ejército etíope ha recibido en la prensa burguesa una publicidad sensacionalista. A pesar de eso los informes han sido contradictorios, y lo que en realidad sucede no está claro. Por lo tanto se recomienda ser bastante cauto al sopesar la información.

En un comunicado de Addis Abeba aparecido en el *Washington Post* del 26 de febrero, David B. Ottaway revela que mucho de lo que se está informando desde la capital de Etiopía está basado en rumores e inclusive mentiras.

Ottaway responsabiliza de esto primordialmente al gobierno militar etíope, que se ha rehusado a reunirse con los corresponsales, "prohíbe a todos entrar a la zona de guerra, no ha dado informes sobre los combates y actúa como si todo marchara normalmente en este reinado en las montañas, y que la prensa occidental 'imperialista' trata de 'sabotear la revolución etíope' con historias de guerra exageradas y falsas."

Las consecuencias, según Ottaway, han sido "una cacofonía de informes sobre la guerra que demasiadas veces son falsos o engañosos. . . ."

"Lo triste es," prosigue, "que ninguno de los corresponsales aquí presentes, ha presenciado una batalla, visto algún guerrillero o soldado muerto, tomado una fotografía de alguna batalla o podido apreciar directamente la situación en la provincia, ni siquiera en las afueras de la

misma capital provincial de Asmara. (Sin embargo, un periodista etíope y tres norteamericanos se las ingeniaron para pasar una noche arrinconados en un hotel de Asmara escuchando los cohetes, la artillería y el fuego de armas de grueso calibre afuera, y pasar un día visitando hospitales y centros de refugiados.) La guerra de Eritrea es quizá la primera en la historia que ha sido reportada en su casi totalidad por medio de llamadas telefónicas de larga distancia desde el frente de batalla."

Algunos de los corresponsales no han ido más allá de "recurrir a su imaginación acerca de lo que está pasando en la guerra de Eritrea debido a la falta de datos verídicos, por estar bajo la presión de los plazos fijos de las publicaciones y debido a la enconada competencia."

Además, "tenemos a las intrigantes potencias extranjeras interfiriendo en los asuntos internos de Etiopía y quizá inclusive planeando una conjura para instaurar a sus respectivos hombres en el poder." Estos pueden ser "ya sean los árabes . . . o . . . los norteamericanos con su Central Intelligence Agency. . . ." Una agencia noticiosa inclusive dice que "los pequeños hombres de Pekín vestidos con sus túnicas Mao visitan constantemente el palacio gubernamental. . . ."

Ottaway da como ejemplo de reportaje imaginativo la historia que se publicó en el *Washington Post* del 6 de febrero "de un convoy militar etíope grande, compuesto de 52 tanques y 20 carros blindados, avanzando penosamente en la provincia durante días bajo 'encarnizada lucha' y tratando de rodear un puente demolido para llegar a la 'sitiada' capital de Asmara."

"Ahora sabemos que nunca existió tal convoy de tanques y carros blindados y que no había en aquel entonces ningún puente



## La Huelga de la AAA y Su Resultado

[La siguiente entrevista se llevó a cabo a mediados de enero en la ciudad de Nueva York. Tony Merle es un militante activo de la Liga de Juventud Comunista, grupo trotskista recién formado en Puerto Rico. La entrevista fue hecha por *Intercontinental Press*.]

\* \* \*

*Pregunta. ¿Cuáles fueron las demandas de los empleados de la AAA [Autoridad de Acueductos y Alcantarillado] en la huelga que se llevó a cabo recientemente?*

*Respuesta.* Se luchó por un convenio de dos años, con un aumento de 119 dólares, mejoras en el plan médico y mejoras en el plan de retiro.

*P. ¿Ganaron los trabajadores sus demandas durante la huelga?*

*R.* No, no las ganaron. Entraron a trabajar sin haber firmado ningún convenio colectivo.

*P. ¿Recibieron los empleados de la AAA apoyo de otros sectores durante la huelga?*

*R.* Este tipo de huelgas, por ser una huelga del agua, tiende a ser impopular entre las masas. Por lo tanto, desde el principio la actitud estaba dividida entre los que apoyaban y los que no. Pero al fin y al cabo se logró un gran apoyo del movimiento estudiantil y de otras uniones [sindicatos] bastante fuertes. Inclusive llegaron a llamar a un paro general.

*P. ¿Nos podrías explicar cómo se dio esta amenaza de paro general?*

*R.* Lo que ocurrió fue que se encarcelaron a once líderes obreros. Se les estaba tratando de aplicar la Ley de Arbitraje Compulsorio. Esta es una junta de arbitraje compuesta por administradores de la AAA y dirigentes de la unión. No accedieron a negociar bajo estas condiciones y prefirieron ir a la cárcel. El día que fueron sentenciados a cárcel hubo un llamado del movimiento obrero a las distintas uniones y amenazaron con llevar a cabo un paro general.

*P. ¿Quién lanzó la consigna de paro general?*

*R.* La llamó el Movimiento Obrero Unido.

*P. ¿Cómo se desarrolló la huelga de la AAA?*

*R.* Al principio los trabajadores llamaron a una huelga de brazos caídos, después vieron que no les daba mucho resultado, porque de todos modos no les estaban pagando, así es que decidieron irse a la línea de piquetes.

*P. ¿Qué papel jugaron las trabajadoras durante la huelga?*

*R.* Jugaron un papel muy activo dentro de la línea de piquetes, en la distribución de comidas y la distribución de boletines para las movilizaciones.

*P. Haz una descripción de los atentados con bombas y el sabotaje que se llevó a cabo durante la huelga.*

*R.* En cuanto a las bombas hubo un momento en que aparecían por todos lados, pero no explotaron. Ya finalizando la huelga, explotaron algunas en empresas norteamericanas, y éstas sí afectaron, cambiaron la opinión pública en contra de los trabajadores. Pero muchas de las bombas eran falsos rumores.

*P. ¿Qué efecto tuvieron los atentados sobre la huelga?*

*R.* La opinión pública se volcó contra los obreros, se empezó todo una campaña contra el terrorismo. Los obreros rechazaron estas acciones.

*P. ¿Quiénes fueron los responsables de los atentados?*

*R.* Públicamente ningún grupo de la izquierda o la derecha se hizo responsable por lo de las bombas. La posición que adoptó el Partido Socialista Puertorriqueño (PSP) dando un apoyo moral a los atentados, lo consideramos incorrecto. El terrorismo es inadmisibles en la lucha de clases precisamente porque baja el nivel de conciencia de las masas, al poner en duda su propio poder como clase capaz de liberarse a sí misma y hacer depender su liberación en un gran libertador.

*P. ¿Qué les pasó a los trabajadores que fueron arrestados bajo el supuesto cargo de haber cometido sabotaje?*

*R.* Suspendieron cerca de treinta trabajadores acusados de haber puesto

bombas y de hacer sabotaje, y les pusieron unas fianzas altísimas. Luego de terminada la huelga fueron puestos en libertad, pero fueron suspendidos de sus trabajos. La unión está luchando para que vuelvan a integrar a esos trabajadores a sus trabajos.

*P. ¿Cómo ha usado el gobierno los atentados para atacar al movimiento radical?*

*R.* El gobierno ha utilizado los medios masivos de comunicación. Desató toda una campaña contra el terrorismo, indirectamente acusando a la izquierda, específicamente al PSP, aunque no lo dijeron públicamente. Esto causó una gran confusión dentro de las masas.

*P. ¿Hay muchos trabajadores sindicalizados en Puerto Rico? ¿Existe una central sindical? ¿Existe algún partido político de masas?*

*R.* Solamente un 20 por ciento de la clase obrera del país está sindicalizada, la mayoría de ellos pertenece a las empresas de la industria pesada, a las petroquímicas y a los servicios de luz y agua. El 20 por ciento es en realidad muy poco. En cuanto a una central obrera, no existe todavía. Hubo una en los cuarentas pero fue destruida por el gobierno. Lo que existe ahora es el Movimiento Obrero Unido. En cuanto al partido de masas, no existe ningún partido de masas de la clase obrera en el país.

*P. ¿Cómo ha reaccionado la clase obrera ante la creciente inflación y el deterioro del nivel de vida?*

*R.* La clase obrera en estos momentos está iniciando toda una serie de luchas lanzándose a distintas huelgas. El alto costo de la vida y el aumento fantástico en el desempleo en los últimos meses han causado una reacción en contra del gobierno y de la política que está llevando a cabo. Creo que este año en específico, comenzarán una serie de huelgas que contribuirán a la lucha de la clase obrera.

*P. Un factor importante durante la huelga fue la movilización de la Guardia Nacional. ¿Cuáles han sido los precedentes para este tipo de acción? ¿Qué pretexto utilizó el gobierno para dicha acción?*

*R.* El precedente se tuvo hace un año cuando durante la huelga de los trabajadores de la luz, se movilizó la Guardia Nacional contra los obreros. Esto causó una reacción en el movimiento obrero. Empezaron una serie de reuniones en apoyo a los trabajadores de la luz, fue entonces cuando tomó fuerza el movimiento obrero. La mayoría de las uniones y la izquierda en el país, condenaron la

movilización de la Guardia Nacional. Esta última vez el pretexto que utilizó el gobernador para movilizarla contra la AAA, fue que se necesitaba proteger la propiedad privada y la salud del pueblo. Sabemos que la Guardia Nacional estaba sobre aviso mucho antes de que rompieran la huelga de la AAA, porque también hubo amenazas otra vez durante una huelga de los trabajadores de la luz.

*P. ¿Cómo actuaron los trabajadores de la luz durante su huelga?*

*R.* Los trabajadores de la luz a diferencia de los de la AAA se quedaron dentro de la fábrica disminuyendo el ritmo de trabajo. Llevaron sus demandas a la administración de las autoridades de las fuentes fluviales, pero éstos se las negaban. Por cerca de dos meses los delegados se reunían todas las semanas, y discutían las proposiciones. Se volvían a reunir con la administración y se las volvían a negar. Todo esto bajo la amenaza de huelga. Entonces fue cuando hicieron una huelga de brazos caídos. El director de las fuentes fluviales se dio cuenta de lo que iba a pasar, o sea que una cuarta parte de la isla se iba a quedar sin electricidad y accedió a todas las demandas.

*P. ¿Cuál fue la actitud del Partido Independentista Puertorriqueño (PIP) ante el conflicto?*

*R.* El PIP condenó duramente el terrorismo. Fue algo raro, porque por un lado condenaban el terrorismo pero al mismo tiempo decían que apoyaban acciones de los trabajadores en defensa de sus derechos democráticos y en defensa de sus demandas; pero al condenar el PIP al terrorismo, muchas de las uniones que responden a su liderato les retiraron el apoyo a los trabajadores de la AAA. Esto contribuyó a su debilitamiento en ese momento.

*P. Es decir que utilizando el terrorismo como pretexto, ¿retiraron el apoyo a la huelga?*

*R.* Exacto.

*P. ¿Qué influencia han tenido el PSP y el PIP en el Movimiento Obrero Unido y en los sindicatos en general?*

*R.* Tanto el PSP como el PIP tienen, se podría decir, una gran influencia en el movimiento obrero. Pero esta influencia es a través de la burocracia sindical. Ellos negocian y hacen los tratos con los líderes pero en sí, no hacen ningún trabajo con la base de las uniones.

*P. ¿Ha tomado represalias el gobierno*

*contra los grupos de izquierda en conexión con el terrorismo?*

*R.* Una vez terminada la huelga, la reacción del gobierno fue llevar a cabo una serie de incursiones dentro de las casas de los militantes del PSP. A consecuencia de esto arrestaron a uno de sus líderes acusándolo de posesión de armas y bombas. El caso se está llevando ahora mismo en la corte federal y según tengo entendido continúan llevándose a cabo este tipo de allanamientos.

*P. ¿Cuál es el carácter de la Guardia Nacional en Puerto Rico?*

*R.* La mayoría de los que componen la Guardia Nacional son trabajadores. Muchos de ellos son inclusive estudiantes. No es un ejército permanente. La mayoría de ellos tienen un trabajo. Son llamados a hacer ejercicios dos veces al mes y van al

campamento una vez al año. Muchos de los que están entrando a la Guardia Nacional lo hacen por presiones económicas. Al entrar a la Guardia Nacional tienen una ayuda extra que junto con el sueldo, los ayuda a enfrentar el alto costo de la vida.

*P. ¿Qué participación tuvo la Liga de Juventud Comunista?*

*R.* Participamos con un programa de transición, elaboramos una serie de demandas que creemos que fueron buenas, porque fueron aceptadas por los trabajadores. También cuando se movilizó a la Guardia Nacional fuimos la única organización que distribuyó un boletín que se tituló "Militar, Tú También Eres Trabajador." Este causó un efecto bastante positivo dentro de los militares. A pesar de ser un grupo pequeño, hemos sido los únicos que hemos hecho este tipo de acción. □

## Framed-Up for 'Plot' to Kill Other African Leaders

### Ndabaningi Sithole Arrested in Zimbabwe

By Tony Thomas

The Reverend Ndabaningi Sithole was arrested by Rhodesian police March 4. Sithole is a leader of the African National Council (ANC), a coalition of African groups that has been negotiating with Rhodesia's authorities. He is also the leader of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), the most militant group within the ANC.

The Rhodesian regime claimed that Sithole was being arrested because he was plotting to murder other leaders of the ANC to gain the leadership of that organization. Officials in Salisbury announced that he would receive a secret trial.

Rhodesia (which is called Zimbabwe by its African majority) is ruled by a white-settler regime that excludes the overwhelming African majority from political representation and from many civil and economic rights.

Sithole, a fifty-four-year-old teacher and Protestant minister, was held in prison eleven years for his support to Black majority rule. He was released last December so that he could participate with other African leaders in negotiations aimed at bringing about eventual majority rule.

In the negotiations, Sithole took a more militant stand than leaders of the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) and

the original ANC. ZAPU, ZANU, ANC, and Frolizi (Front for the Liberation of Zimbabwe) united in December under the name of African National Council to present a united front in negotiations with the white-settler regime.

While leaders of the other groups favored positions that might gradually lead to African majority rule after a period of years, Sithole demanded immediate majority rule. His organization refused to halt armed actions against the colonialist regime until major concessions were made.

According to a report in the January 30 *Christian Science Monitor*, ZANU also "wants a socialist government, dramatic land reforms and other radical changes." The report quotes a leader of ZANU as saying, "We do not want to just replace white faces with black faces. The system itself is unjust and needs to be changed."

Despite political disagreements, the ANC has formed a united front in defense of Sithole. Bishop Abel Muzorewa, president of the ANC, announced that negotiations with the Rhodesian regime, scheduled to resume March 6, were canceled until Sithole was released. He said the arrest was an attack on the unity of the African National Council. □



## The Healyite Reply to Tim Wohlforth's Exposures

[In the past four issues of *Intercontinental Press*, we serialized a lengthy article by Tim Wohlforth, "The Workers League and the International Committee." We planned in the current issue to publish an article commenting on Wohlforth's revelations and conclusions. However, we have decided to postpone that article until next week. We are doing this out of courtesy to Gerry Healy, the general secretary of the London-based Workers Revolutionary party, and Fred Mazelis, the newly chosen national secretary of the New York-based Workers League, which deposed Wohlforth from leadership of Healy's American cothinkers.

[Up to the time we sent Wohlforth's article to the printers, neither the *Workers Press*, the "Daily Organ of the Central Committee of the Workers Revolutionary Party," nor the *Bulletin*, the "Twice-Weekly Organ of the Central Committee of the Workers League," had said a word about the reasons for the sudden elimination of the name of Tim Wohlforth from the pages of both organs. Now that silence has been broken. The February 21 issue of the *Bulletin* carried a statement by the "Workers League Political Committee" entitled "AN ANSWER TO THE SLANDERS OF ROBERTSON & WOHLFORTH."

[The statement was reprinted in the March 1 issue of the *Workers Press*. No comment or explanation was offered, although one would imagine that the circumstances calling for such a statement must appear obscure to the British readers of that publication. Perhaps Healy is waiting to see what the response might be to the attempt of his American disciples to reply to Wohlforth before taking up the question in his own more vigorous way.

[Below we are reprinting the entire text of the "Workers League Political Committee Statement," which—for the time being—is evidently intended to serve as the official rejoinder to the facts adduced by Wohlforth in his exposure of the degeneration of the Workers League and its mentor Gerry Healy.

[We trust that our readers will appreciate the opportunity to read and judge this reply to Wohlforth before turning to the article on the subject promised by *Intercontinental Press*, which will appear next week.]

\* \* \*

The Political Committee of the Workers League denounces the slanders and lies made against our organization in the

Robertsonite press, *Workers Vanguard*, January 31, 1975.<sup>1</sup>

The printed allegations leave the Workers League open to attacks from the police and the courts. The record must be cleared at once.

The Workers League is not a member of the International Committee. Because of the anti-working class Voorhis Act, the Workers League is a fraternal section in political sympathy with the International Committee.

This is known to the Robertsonites. It is also known that G. Healy, general secretary of the Workers Revolutionary Party of Britain, is politically barred from entry into the United States. But for their own reactionary reasons, they have produced a two-page article ("Wohlforth Terminated") which sets out to frame leading IC members.

The article names Healy and another member of the WRP Central Committee as having visited North America on IC business. This is a lie consciously designed to create the conditions for legal harassment of the IC by the police and immigration authorities.

The article belongs to Robertson. But the words were supplied by Tim Wohlforth, who deserted the Workers League on September 29, 1974. It is a political marriage that is pregnant with historical ironies.<sup>2</sup> But it is entirely right that they should rediscover each other in the campaign to smear the IC at this time when every revisionist's hand is raised against the building of the world party of the socialist revolution by the IC. The profusion of "bulletins" and scandal sheets have never been so frenzied.

Wohlforth was not "terminated," nor was he "purged." He resigned. He deserted the

1. The reference is to an article entitled, "Confessions of a 'Renegade': Wohlforth Terminated." While the article is unsigned, it captures the style of James Robertson so well that it could be taken for an original. The article quotes generously from Wohlforth's account of Healy's despotic organizational practices.

The anonymous author remains quite unsympathetic to Wohlforth, maintaining that he only got what was coming to him. —IP

2. It is not clear why the Workers League Political Committee concludes that Robertson and Wohlforth have consummated "a political marriage that is pregnant with historical ironies." Perhaps the WLPC misread the quip in the "Wohlforth Terminated" article: "As for Wohlforth, we can say with sincerity: it couldn't happen to a nicer guy." —IP

movement of which he was a founding member.

The circumstances of Wohlforth's resignation as presented by Robertson (and Wohlforth) are a pack of lies. It is reduced to the question of whether or not Nancy Fields, an ex-leading member of the Workers League and a close associate of Wohlforth's, was a CIA agent. That was not the issue.

It was the culmination of a long political struggle between Wohlforth's idealist and pragmatic method and the fight for a Marxist method. Wohlforth placed his own personal considerations before those of the Workers League.

He failed to obtain a security clearance for Nancy Fields, although he knew she had CIA family connections. He admitted knowing about these connections, but said he didn't think they were important!

The Central Committee of the Workers League voted unanimously on August 31, 1974, to replace Wohlforth as national secretary by Comrade Fred Mazelis and to suspend Fields pending an inquiry. Both Wohlforth and Fields voted for these decisions.

The inquiry fully substantiated that these CIA connections did exist. "From the age of 12 until the completion of her university education, Fields was brought up, educated, and financially supported by her aunt and uncle, Albert and Gigs Morris. Albert Morris is head of the CIA's IBM computer operation in Washington, as well as being a large stockholder. He was a member of the OSS, forerunner of the CIA, and worked in Poland as an agent of imperialism. During the 1960s, a frequent house guest at their home in Maine was Richard Helms, ex-director of the CIA and now US Ambassador in Iran." (Commission of Inquiry Report, November 9, 1974.) The report was unanimously accepted by the IC and the Workers League.

We believe that Wohlforth had a political responsibility to bring these connections to the notice of the leadership of the Workers League and his fraternal colleagues in the IC so that she should receive a security clearance, especially since she was delegated by the Workers League to undertake important political work.

In the revisionist circles, our deep concern on these matters is put down to "paranoia" about the CIA. Here is the petty bourgeois liberal face of all revisionist groups. This is

just one of the profound differences between us and them.

The revisionist camp is enmeshed in petty bourgeois radicalism, always trying to play down the dangers of State provocation and repression. The IC is continuously struggling to develop and train a leadership in the working class in the Bolshevik traditions of uncompromising hostility to the enemy camp.

Both Wohlforth and Fields refused to cooperate with the commission of inquiry which they had voted to set up. Indeed, Wohlforth's resignation came only a matter of days after he knew the inquiry was going to commence its work. As an ex-member, he was offered the opportunity to submit written or verbal evidence. He refused. So did Fields.

Having established that Fields was not connected with the CIA other than through family relations, the suspension on her was lifted immediately with the proviso that she not be permitted to hold any office in the Workers League for a period of two years. This was not an "arbitrary" decision, as Robertson claims. It was because of her politically unstable past and the fact that she had never broken from the opportunist methods of middle class radicalism which had led to outright destruction of the party's ranks.

The inquiry recommended that Wohlforth should withdraw his resignation and return to his place in the Workers League. Nothing was heard of Wohlforth until December, 1974, when he suddenly sought readmittance to the Workers League. When he refused to accept the political authority and discipline of the Workers League, he was refused admission.

In January this year, he produced an utterly revisionist "bulletin" in an attempt to throw up dust to cover his right-wing retreat from the Workers League and from the emergent struggles in the working class.

Excerpts from this document have found their way into the Robertsonite press.<sup>3</sup> In naming IC members, dates of visits, etc., these reactionary forces aid the capitalist class in attempting to disrupt the international work of our movement. Political differences are not discussed. In their frenzied hatred of the IC and through their own predilection for slanderous gossip, they reproduce lies which could be used by the ruling class under the Voorhis Act to attack our movement.

3. There was nothing untoward about this. Wohlforth released his article to the working-class public. As indicated above, the complete text is available in the preceding four issues of *Intercontinental Press*. —IP

## Thornett Hit by Lawsuit Following His Expulsion

[The following article by Alan Smith, which appeared in the March 3 issue of the *Guardian*, the liberal daily published in London, tells about a lawsuit that may be connected with the bureaucratic expulsion last December of nearly 200 members of the Workers Revolutionary party who had submitted mildly critical contributions in an internal discussion. (For the views of this group headed by Alan Thornett, see the January 13 and February 10 issues of *Intercontinental Press*.)

[As yet no information has been made public concerning the nature of the £4,000 loan claimed to have been made to Alan Thornett. Whether it was advanced for party purposes, for aid in the strike situation in which Thornett was involved last April, or for some other reason can only be guessed.

[To remove any suspicion that the lawsuit might be a spiteful reprisal in the factional struggle in the WRP, as the author of the article seems to imply, it would be well for the two Healyite journals (*Workers Press* in London and the *Bulletin* in New York) to break their silence and explain the matter to the working-class public. Otherwise reports like this one in the bourgeois press, which has its own ax to grind, may come to be accepted as accurate.

[In reprinting this article, we have corrected obvious typographical errors.]

\* \* \*

Vanessa Redgrave's claim for the return of £4,000 which she lent last year [for] Workers' Revolutionary Party activities has brought to a head the divisions which have caused the party to break up on the rocks of personal and doctrinal disputes.

Miss Redgrave has issued a High Court writ claiming the return of money "lent and advanced" to Mr Alan Thornett, who has

In its findings, the commission of inquiry noted that unless he corrected his political position, Wohlforth would find himself "outside the revolutionary movement and subject to the pressure of the most reactionary forces." In reaching what amounts to political accord with Robertson on the basis of this witch-hunt against the IC, this warning has been fulfilled.

Wohlforth loads the gun and Robertson fires it. This hysterical and lying attack on the IC comes at a time when our international movement is marching from strength to strength based on the most determined fight for Marxism in giving independent revolutionary expression to the struggles of the working class as it faces the task of smashing capitalism and taking power. □

led a breakaway from the WRP and formed the Workers' Socialist League—known as WSL, or "Wessel," among other Left-wing groups.

Mr Thornett led last April's unofficial strike at British Leyland's Cowley plant. He was then a shop steward, and local chairman of the WRP.

He was also a founder-member of the WRP's "All Trade Unions Alliance," and it is from this power base that he has been able to form WSL with about 200 former WRP members representing perhaps a third to a half of the WRP's peak strength, and what was its best-organised and most stable core.

The WRP was formed late in 1973 out of the 15-year-old Socialist Labour League, by Mr Gerry Healy. It claimed direct doctrinal descent from the Revolutionary Communist Party of the fifties. In the early days of Healy's leadership, the WRP was rigidly organised, shunning contact with Trotskyite and other Left-wing groups. It published the *Workers Press*, and much of the membership's efforts were dissipated in trying to establish a daily sale at factory gates. This ambitious exercise stretched the party's resources for little visible return.

The party also overreached itself, in the opinion of its defectors, in the run-up to the February 74 general election when it fielded nine candidates—with Miss Redgrave fighting Reg Prentice at Newham North East—and attempted to "go public," dropping its exclusivity and opening its ranks almost to all comers. At the same time, its public pronouncements became ever more cataclysmic, and this is where much of the disenchantment set in.

The projected scenario was a revolutionary situation that would be created with Edward Heath's refusal to accept defeat at the hands of the workers, the opening of concentration camps, and the rising of the

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masses against a military dictatorship. The party was also predicting up to 12 million unemployed, drawing the scorn of other Left-wing groups for its "economic catastrophism."

The effect of this kind of criticism finally convinced the middle ranks of the WRP that its leadership was moving in the wrong direction. And there was a growing feeling that the involvement of the acting fraternity was an irrelevance.

The intellectuals were the first to go, to the League for Socialist Action. Mr Thornett made his move early this year. Now, his breakaway WSL publishes the Socialist Press with scathing attacks on "The WRP School of Falsification."

And Miss Redgrave wants her money back. □

## 'Sunday Express' Account

[The March 2 London *Sunday Express* published the following account under the signature of Henry Macrory.]

Actress and Left-wing militant Vanessa Redgrave is suing fellow revolutionary Mr. Alan Thornett, the Trotskyist shop steward who brought British Leyland's Cowley plant to a standstill last year, over the return of a £4,000 loan.

The 38-year-old star, daughter of Sir Michael Redgrave, has issued a High Court writ to get back the money she claims to have lent Mr. Thornett last year.

Truck driver Mr. Thornett, 38, nicknamed "The Mole" by colleagues at British Leyland for his underground union activities, was at the centre of an 18 day stoppage at the Cowley works last April.

He led 150 drivers out on strike after the management refused to recognise him as a union official. Some 12,000 workers were laid off as a result and the company lost £17 million production.

Like Miss Redgrave, Mr. Thornett was a member of the Workers' Revolutionary Party, but has since formed a breakaway group called the Workers' Socialist League. He is no longer a shop steward after being voted down by fellow workers.

Miss Redgrave stood as a Workers' Revolutionary Party candidate in the last two General Elections in the Newham North East, London, constituency.

Her solicitors, Lord Goodman's firm of Goodman, Derrick and Co., refused to say how the dispute with Mr. Thornett had started. "You will have to ask Miss Redgrave that," said the spokesman.

Miss Redgrave, who is in Hollywood, refused to say why she was suing Mr. Thornett or why she had lent him the money.

Mr. Thornett, who lives in Oxford, was not available for comment. □

# Política Obrera Calls for United Front to Defend Argentine Workers Movement

[The following interview with Pablo Romero, a leader of the Argentine Union of Youth for Socialism (UJS), was published in the February 5-12 issue of *Informations Ouvrières*, the weekly newspaper that reflects the views of the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI—Internationalist Communist Organization) in France. The UJS is the youth organization associated with *Política Obrera* (Working-Class Politics), the OCI's cothinkers in Argentina.]

[The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

*Informations Ouvrières. Can you explain the context in which the extreme-right-wing terrorist actions are taking place?*

Pablo Romero. It is not possible to explain the appearance of terrorism against the working class without referring back to the Cordobazo of May 1969. This historic political strike of the exploited masses against the military dictatorship opened up a political offensive by the working class and the people. It was aimed at the heart of the Argentine bourgeois state and plunged it into a profound crisis.

In order to divert and crush the revolutionary upsurge, the bourgeoisie called for "institutionalization," and for the return to power of Perón and the Peronist movement, the only faction of the bourgeoisie that enjoyed the confidence of the workers.

The Peronist movement had the total support of the trade-union hierarchy and the workers organizations, and the counter-revolutionary collaboration of the left nationalists (the Peronist youth) and the Stalinists. Once in power it succeeded in dealing a serious political setback to the proletariat, while at the same time reorganizing the state apparatus to repress the masses.

However, what is most important is that the Peronist government has not succeeded in imposing a fundamental defeat on the working class, nor in smashing its resistance. The workers smashed the anti-working-class Social Pact through their own struggles. At the present time a number of mobilizations are taking place around wage demands, and the government's plan to lower living standards may well come to grief. What's more, in the midst of this repressive offensive an antibureaucratic and class-struggle slate won the elections in the strongest metalworkers union in the country, the one in Villa Constitución. This almost unprecedented victo-

ry demonstrates the advanced stage of the disintegration of the Peronist union forces.

The parapolice bands have appeared in this context of political and social attack against the conquests of the masses since the Cordobazo and the difficulties the bourgeoisie is encountering in its attempts to smash the workers' resistance through "legal and peaceful" methods. These goon squads complement the official repression, creating a climate of terror by doing what the government could not do without openly and directly coming into conflict with the masses. The terrorist repression, like the official repression, is selective: It is directed against the sectors that are evolving toward or have already arrived at positions of independent class-struggle politics, and against the militant youth. But its perspective is to confront the workers movement as a whole.

*Informations Ouvrières. How is the workers movement responding to the terrorist offensive?*

Romero. It is perfectly clear that the working class as a whole has not yet responded to this brutal offensive. It is this paralysis that explains the headway made by the anti-working-class terrorists.

In order to understand this paralysis, it is necessary to realize that the great majority of workers had confidence in the Peronist leadership. Now their illusions are colliding with the reality of the capitalist government, and they are going through a phase of great political disorientation.

The nationalist left and the Stalinists have played a key role in this political confusion by characterizing the anti-working-class government as a government of "national liberation," by refusing to pose an independent working-class alternative to the government, and consequently, by refusing to call for mobilizations against the right-wing offensive.

But each time the repression has struck directly at the workers they have responded despite the treacherous role of the phony leftist leaderships. When the former secretary of the CGT<sup>1</sup> in Córdoba, Atilio López, was assassinated, a general strike was called and a powerful mobilization took place during his funeral. When our comrades Fischer and Bufano<sup>2</sup> were kidnapped

1. Confederación General del Trabajo—General Confederation of Labor, the Peronist-led labor federation.—IP

2. For a report of the kidnapping and assassination of Jorge Fischer and Miguel Angel Bufano,

and assassinated, the workers in their factory immediately declared a strike and attended the funeral en masse. Under pressure from the proletariat in the northern zone of Buenos Aires, the Communist party was led to form a united committee with our party and the PST.<sup>3</sup>

*Informations Ouvrières. What is the role of the guerrillas of the ERP<sup>4</sup> in relation to the movement in the working class?*

Romero. The guerrillas, after having reinforced the peoples' illusions during the Peronists' rise to power (the ERP did not oppose voting on March 11, 1973,<sup>5</sup> and along with the CP used every means to boycott the presentation of an independent workers' candidacy against the candidacy of General Perón), are now carrying out a policy of assassinating military officers and capitalists.

Through this activity, the ERP has enabled the Peronist government to justify to its mass base not only its decree of strong repressive legislation, which is in reality directed against the workers movement, but even its failure to combat the parapolic actions, which the government can present as "defensive" actions. Thus the "foquistas'" actions have introduced a new confusing factor that has helped to delay the masses' break with the government and to paralyze their capacity to mobilize.

The foquistas present their actions as reprisals against the right-wing terrorist offensive, but the effect of such actions is to prevent a mass response by the working class and to keep the proletariat out of the political arena. This is consistent with the political perspective proclaimed by the guerrillas, which is to obtain an agreement with the "patriotic and democratic" bourgeoisie, which would be torn apart in the face of an "inevitable" ultrareactionary turn in the political situation. Its violence is in no way revolutionary, even assuming that it does not directly serve the interests of the enemy and the counterrevolution.

*Informations Ouvrières. What role does the Peronist government play in the parapolic offensive?*

Romero. The terrorist bands are acting

with complete impunity. It is enough to note that assassinations like those of our comrades Fischer and Bufano were carried out in broad daylight, with no attempt at concealment. And even though the assassins have now been identified by the police, no one has been detained or even charged. The same thing applies to the hundred or more previous assassinations.

The bourgeois opposition parties, which call themselves "democratic" and confine themselves to complaining in parliament against some excesses, consider the terrorism a "necessary evil," a complement to institutionalization (the rebuilding of the institutions of the bourgeois state). They criticize the "excesses" of the parapolic bands, out of fear that the workers will respond and that the definitive application of these methods will smash the present basis of the Great National Agreement.

In actual fact, even if today the terrorist bands complement the government's action, they are acting in the interests of a sector of the bourgeoisie that proposes, if and when a crisis arises, to substitute in place of the present bourgeois agreement a police state based on a compromise between the army, the trade-union bureaucracy, and the church.

*Informations Ouvrières. What perspective does Política Obrera offer in the face of the bourgeois offensive?*

Romero. We think that only a real mobilization, one that arouses the democratic impulses of the broadest masses, can put the brakes on right-wing terrorism, while dealing a stiff blow to the state that upholds it and thereby opening the road to a government of the workers organizations. The only thing that holds back this perspective is the confusion in the ranks of the worker militants and youth, and the pro-bourgeois policy of the Peronist left wing and the Stalinists.

Our general guideline for countering the repressive offensive is the demand addressed to the majority leaderships in the youth and the workers and democratic organizations to mobilize and to form a united front to defend democratic rights, and to organize means of self-defense.

In response to the assassination of comrades Fischer and Bufano, this watchword has been concretized in the call for the formation of a mobilization committee to expose the truth about the assassination of our two worker leaders. This committee is a response to the reprisal methods of the foquistas and the parliamentary whimpering of the opposition parties, which provide a cover for the repression. The activities of this committee must be a powerful point of departure for organizing a mass response to

the white terror and for slowing down its advance.

*Informations Ouvrières. The international bureau of the Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International<sup>6</sup> has decided to carry out an international campaign in defense of Trotskyism in Argentina. We know that Política Obrera has approached the PST to organize a common campaign. Can you give us more details on this?*

Romero. Yes, that is one of the objectives our party has set for itself: to initiate an international campaign for democratic rights and to clarify the circumstances of the assassinations of our comrades, as well as to defend all worker militants, especially those who are part of the Trotskyist movement in Argentina.

Our organization is under brutal attack. In addition to the recent assassinations, our central headquarters was destroyed by a very powerful bomb. Some comrades have been tortured. The PST has also undergone some very harsh blows. Seven of its members have been assassinated and its local headquarters have been closed by the police. In these conditions, we have in fact proposed to the leadership of the PST that we conduct this campaign together. I think that common activity could contribute enormously to the success of the campaign.

A common campaign by the Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International and the US [United Secretariat of the Fourth International] would be an important point of departure for getting international union organizations, workers parties and youth organizations, and parliamentary delegations of workers parties to intervene in defense of democratic rights and in defense of worker and anti-imperialist militants in my country. □

6. The name of the international organization to which *Política Obrera* is affiliated. The largest formation in this international grouping is the OCI. One of its prominent leaders is Pierre Lambert.—IP

### Calley Cashing In on His Story

William Calley, whose court-martial conviction for the massacre of twenty-two Vietnamese civilians was recently overturned by a civilian judge, is now busy turning his grisly story to good account. He started out on the lecture circuit March 6 at Murray State University in Kentucky.

"When I killed my first Communist, it was a she—she was not armed," he told the audience of 2,000. "I realized then that Communists come in human form and it shocked me." Calley received a fee of \$2,000.

*Intercontinental Press*

two members of the *Política Obrera* group, see *Intercontinental Press*, January 27, p. 95.—IP

3. Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores—Socialist Workers party, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International in Argentina.—IP

4. Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo—Revolutionary People's Army.—IP

5. This was the date of elections in which Héctor Cámpora headed the slate of the Peronist party as its presidential nominee.—IP



# Spanish Political Prisoners Appeal for Solidarity

[Members of the LCR-ETA(VI)\* who are imprisoned in Franco's Segovia jail have issued an appeal for international solidarity with Spanish political prisoners. The text of the appeal appeared in the January 24 issue of the French Trotskyist weekly *Rouge*. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

\* \* \*

To meet the increasingly numerous struggles of the Spanish working class, the dictatorship has resorted to an ever more ferocious repression. Today hundreds and hundreds of militants are being held in the Franco regime's jails.

In many of Franco's prisons, the political prisoners held a hunger strike during October to struggle against the system of physical and mental destruction they are subjected to. The gags and chains the dictatorship has used to try to silence revolutionists have instead been used to denounce a regime that bases its rule on naked repression.

This protest has had results: work stoppages in the CAF, Bilore, and Palmera factories; workers demonstrations at General Electric and Babcock-Wilcox; demonstrations also in Renteria and Saragossa; factory assemblies in the Madrid steel plants. These actions all testify to the determination with which the working class and popular layers have participated in the defense of the political prisoners, in the struggle to win their freedom. At the same time they are proof of the workers' own desire to free themselves from a totalitarian capitalist regime.

The historical period we are passing through is being transformed into a battlefield where the overthrow of the regime is being played out, a regime that has imposed "thirty-five years of peace" through terror and mystification, thirty-five years of bourgeois peace in fact. Francoism is caught between the hammer of the economic crisis and the anvil of the masses' struggles; it faces a crisis from which there is no escape.

The struggles at SEAT, Ferrol, and Nabarra; the bypassing of legal channels (the trade unions run by the regime, the labor courts, and so forth); the setting up of factory assemblies as decision-making bodies; the selection of workers delegates to take part in negotiations; the advancing of democratic demands going beyond the limits of a purely trade-union struggle; and

\*Liga Comunista Revolucionaria-Euzkadi ta Azkatasuna (VI)—Revolutionary Communist League-Basque Nation and Freedom (VI), a Spanish sympathizing organization of the Fourth International.

March 24, 1975

## Signers of the Appeal

The following members of the LCR-ETA(VI), prisoners in the Segovia jail, have signed this appeal.

*Andoni Arrizabalaga*, sentenced to death by a military court, sentence commuted, in prison for 6 years.

*Julian Arregi*, arrested after being wounded, sentenced to 12 years by a military court, imprisoned for more than 2 years.

*Andoni Pedialauneta*, sentenced to 25 years by a military court, in prison for more than 5 years.

*Josu Bilbao*, sentenced to 15 years by a military court, in prison for 6 years.

*Jose Luis Egireun*, sentenced to 20 years by a military court and 6 years by the Public Order Court; in prison for more than 3 years.

*Carmelo Gari Taomaindia*, sentenced to 25 years by the Public Order Court (the prosecutor added 24 years on a judgment in appeal in the military

court), in prison for more than 3 years.

*Iñaki Garzia*, sentenced to 25 years by a military court, in prison for more than 5 years.

*Patxi Jaca*, arrested after being wounded, sentenced to 20 years by a military court, and to 5 years by the Public Order Court, in prison for more than 6 years.

*Josu Loroño*, sentenced to 14 years by a military court, in prison for more than 5 years.

*Iñaki Viar*, sentenced to 20 years by a military court, and 5 years by the Public Order Court, in prison for more than 5 years.

*Juan Ma Zubigaray*, sentenced to three years by the Public Order Court, in prison for 2 years.

*Pedro Ma Zugadi*, sentenced to 16 years by a military court, plus another year for "lack of respect," in prison for more than 5 years.

first steps toward putting forward transitional demands that attack capitalist property rights—all this confirms that the vanguard role in the struggle to overthrow the dictatorship is being taken by a working class that is educating itself in socialist democracy and learning to run its future organs of power.

Parallel with this offensive by the working class, other popular layers are expressing more clearly their position toward the dictatorship. The oppressed nationalities are stepping up their struggle against the oppression of centralization. In Euzkadi, this struggle has a particularly dramatic character because of the ferocity with which the dictatorship is repressing their aspirations for national liberation.

University and high-school students are fighting the plans designed to make them unsalaried workers during their studies, to the profit of the capitalists. The liberal professions, doctors and young lawyers in particular, are refusing to permit their activities to be subjected to political control. The peasants have shown, through the "milk war" and the "pimento war," what they think about a regime that condemned them to neglect and refused to show the slightest concern for their problems.

The dismissal of Pio Cabanillas, the minister for information, and the resignation of Barrera Irimo, the finance minister, are the latest events resulting from the process of disintegration of the

bourgeoisie, a process that deepened with the execution of Carrero Blanco, the man responsible for the murder of thousands of workers while president of the Tribunal Against Freemasonry and Communism. This process of disintegration deepens with each event that rocks the country. The bourgeoisie, united in the past under the protective wing of the dictator, today looks more like a chicken coop with a snake running loose.

But what the regime's own apologists euphemistically term "ideological disarmament," "structural disorder," and so on does not prevent it from using with the greatest violence its most characteristic weapon: repression. Aside from the problems of conscience that the "political class" has about the uselessness of repression for preventing popular mobilizations, it has occurred to no one to doubt that the essential element of all governmental policy must be precisely the stepping up of repression.

The role of the dictatorship is shown by the execution of Salvador Puig Antich, the murder of revolutionary nationalists in Euzkadi, and the armed attacks against popular demonstrations at SEAT, Ferrol, and Carmona, for example. The aim is to stamp out any response to the arbitrary dictates of the capitalists, to liquidate all those who oppose the domination of the bourgeoisie.

But if bullets are the last resort of the repression, they are not the only one. The

national leaders of the workers commissions, a body forged by the working class through its struggles, have received sentences of twelve to twenty years. The military tribunals have imposed monstrous sentences on those who use methods of direct action against a state that uses the methods of civil war. The number of those imprisoned for political offenses has steadily mounted, which has led to the opening of new prisons and the packing of political prisoners into the old ones. These facts underscore the sterility of any discussion on the "opening" provided by the "July 18 regime."

The conditions the political prisoners are subjected to in the dictatorship's jails are another link in this chain of repression. They receive monstrous penalties and vile treatment. Prison officials apply their own censorship in addition to the censorship of the Spanish state. They are denied the slightest medical attention. It is impossible for them to have private meetings with their families because of the censorship.

In the end, all these repressive policies only serve to dig the dictatorship's grave even deeper. The murders, the jail sentences, and the persecutions only add to the debts that the dictatorship, we are sure, will soon have to pay.

In response to this situation, the political prisoners consider it their duty to take part in this offensive against twenty-five years of dictatorship in the struggle for:

- The right to assemble, demonstrate, and strike.
- Freedom for the peoples oppressed by Franco's drive for centralization.
- Freedom for political prisoners and the right of all exiles to return.
- The dissolution of the entire repressive apparatus, including the Civil Guard, the Social and Political Brigade, and so forth.
- The overthrow of the dictatorship!

This is why the political prisoners have

decided to begin an indefinite hunger strike at the end of November.

That is why we Trotskyists of the LCR-ETA(VI) imprisoned in Segovia jail call on our comrades of the Fourth International in Europe to build—through meetings, assemblies, and demonstrations—a campaign of

solidarity by the workers of Europe with the working class of Spain. Such a concrete campaign would extend the tradition of the International Brigades, of the mobilizations around the Burgos trials, and would give support to the struggle to overthrow the regime that was born under the protection of Hitler and Mussolini. □

## FROM OUR READERS

One of our readers in Washington, D.C., M.S., wrote us: "I just finished reading an article in this week's issue of I.P. entitled 'Turkish Workers Fight for Right to Choose Their Own Unions.' It was very exciting for me, as I'm very attached to the Turkish people, their culture, etc."

M.S. was in Turkey some years ago and learned to speak the language. As for *Intercontinental Press*, "I have been reading your magazine for about a year now. Your coverage of world events is so good I never miss an issue."

Meanwhile, from Ankara, Turkey, we received a letter from a reader asking for back issues. "I will be most grateful if you could send the above indicated issues which I would like to have very much, particularly because of the very well prepared and documented series of articles by Ernest Harsch about the famine."

The reference is to the series of five articles "The New Famine—Made in the USA." The series covered the following subjects: "The Rise of Hunger Around the Globe," "Grasping Tentacles of American Agribusiness," "Why They Slashed the Production of Food," "What Road for the Underdeveloped Countries?" and "The Prospects for Unlimited Abundance Under Scientific Planning of Socialism."

The Business Office will be glad to send anyone the five issues containing the series. The cost is \$2.50.

We get a surprising number of requests for back issues. Sometimes a reader has loaned a friend a copy, who passed it on instead of returning it, and so on ad infinitum. Sometimes a copy doesn't arrive. (No doubt eaten by the ponies of the Pony Express.) A prisoner in New York wrote us after being transferred:

"I do miss very much not having received *Intercontinental Press* since the last issue dated Dec. 16, 1974. If at all possible I would very much appreciate it if you could send me the back issues from the above date. There is absolutely no complete reporting or analyzing of the world revolutionary struggles against imperialist forces and puppets than yours. As a result I am

missing very much in not receiving my issues."

To indicate the type of problems that our readers in prisons in the United States can run into on such a simple matter as receiving a magazine like *Intercontinental Press*, we offer as an exhibit the following letter received by us from the Department of the Army, Headquarters United States Disciplinary Barracks, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas 66027:

"This is in reference to our recent correspondence concerning rejection of your publication intended for [ . . . ], an inmate at this institution. As indicated previously, the rejection was based on a Library Board meeting in May 1974. My investigation revealed that the publication determined objectionable was from *International Headquarters* and your 4 November 1974 issue was mistakenly confused due to similarity in publisher's name. The copy submitted in your letter of 24 January 1975 has been approved and delivered to Inmate [ . . . ].

"The mistake on our part is regretted. I anticipate future issues will not meet with any resistance. If I can be of any assistance in the future, do not hesitate in writing."

We have previously mentioned that we accept contributions to help prisoners subscribe to *Intercontinental Press*. The need is indicated in a letter we received from an inmate in a Kansas prison:

"I am a prisoner and a pro-Marxist here at the [ . . . ]. There are a growing number of persons here who increasingly study, read and discuss the Marxist point of view . . . and I am constantly questioned upon Marxism by non-Marxists. . . .

"But though I accept Marxist theory and can see it is true I have difficulty breaking it down to others who have not studied the same. Further, Marxist literature is very limited around here and my purpose in writing was to inquire whether or not you have a policy whereby I might receive the *Intercontinental* publication without charge. I would like to do so if this is at all possible. In this way I can further my own understanding and my associates may do the same. . . . Your publication would be a needed addition to our progress as a group."



Alternativa