

# **Intercontinental Press**

*Africa*

*Asia*

*Europe*

*Oceania*

*the Americas*

Vol. 13, No. 13

© 1975 by Intercontinental Press

April 7, 1975

50¢

# **THE DEBACLE IN VIETNAM**

**Portuguese Workers Continue On-Job Take-Overs**

**Spain Racked by Deepening Crisis**

**Kissinger Loses Gamble for 'Miracle' in Arab East**

**Let Mao Free the Trotskyists Still Held in Jail**

**Scholars Protest Repression in Yugoslavia**

**Red Lion Square—Where Were the Heroes of the WRP?**

## U.S. Intervention in Portugal Begins

Washington is already intervening in Portugal. The State Department is mobilizing its European satellite powers to put heavy pressure on the Portuguese government. Kissinger's aim is to reverse the revolutionary process now under way there.

Five NATO countries—West Germany, Belgium, the Netherlands, Denmark, and Italy—have issued formal protests to Lisbon against the growing strength of the left in Portugal. Washington has announced that nine European governments are drafting a joint statement expressing concern about the course of events. Sweden, not a NATO member, is likewise reported to have made representations to Lisbon.

At a March 26 news conference, Kissinger acknowledged Washington's hand in these maneuvers.

Three unidentified "top-level American officials" have indicated that NATO is already "considering moves to impose a kind of quarantine on Portugal within the alliance," according to the March 27 *New York Times*.

NATO Secretary-General Joseph Luns has spoken of NATO's "preoccupation" with the possibility that a government "hostile to the West" could come to power. He pointedly recalled that "under the Salazar and Caetano regimes . . . at least Portugal was very pro-Western and a strong ally."

These ominous moves have been accompanied by calls for stepped-up White House intervention. Senator James Buckley, a right-wing Republican, has proposed military action, ostensibly to protect the U.S. base on the Azores. Senator Hubert Humphrey, a liberal Democrat, has urged Ford to do more "to support democratic elements in Portugal."

Under the Salazar dictatorship, Washington was quite complacent about the absence of democracy in Portugal. Today "Made in the State Department" propaganda clamors about the "danger" to democracy in that

country. The real source of the emotion is that the Portuguese masses are moving in an anticapitalist direction.

The revolutionary upsurge of the workers and poor farmers in Portugal is a profoundly democratic movement. The masses are occupying banks, factories, and hospitals. They are purging officials of Salazar's dictatorial regime, and moving to establish democratic control over housing, health, education, and other fields. They are taking steps to destroy the economic and social basis for right-wing reaction. They are initiating moves toward the most advanced form of democracy—proletarian democracy.

The scope and depth of this upsurge have been almost completely obscured in the bourgeois news media. A virulent propaganda campaign has been opened against a mythical "take-over" attempt by the Communist party, inspired by Moscow.

The masses' actions and demands have gone far beyond the class-collaborationist program of the Portuguese Communist party. Its leaders have done their utmost to control and divert the upsurge; nevertheless, neither the Portuguese bourgeoisie nor the State Department are convinced that

the Communist party can do more than gain time.

They are thinking of an application of armed force and the reinstallation of a brutal dictatorship. Consequently, the immediate aim of the bourgeoisie and their Washington backers is to strengthen the conservative, anti-Communist forces within the military.

Capt. João Tomaz Rosa, a top official of the Armed Forces Movement, held private talks in Washington with representatives of the Ford administration. In an interview, Rosa stressed that none of the members of the military's High Council of the Revolution sympathize with the Communist party. He also declared his support for NATO and continued U.S. occupation of the base in the Azores.

The *New York Times*, in an editorial March 28, cited Rosa's remarks along with other "indications that the situation inside Portugal's Armed Forces Movement . . . is still somewhat fluid," and called on Washington and its allies to "give every possible encouragement for a democratic solution."

No one should be taken in. The financing of "democratic" bourgeois opposition forces was the guise adopted by the CIA in its covert activities that ended in the overthrow of the Allende government and the massacre of the Chilean workers.

A key task now facing the international workers and socialist movement is to counteract the silence and the lies of the bourgeois news media by publicizing the facts about the mass upsurge in Portugal and by exposing and combating the moves to smash the Portuguese revolution. □

## Let Mao Free the Trotskyists Still Held in Jail

Nearly 300 reactionary opponents of the Chinese Revolution were released from prison in the People's Republic of China March 19. According to Hsinhua, "The war criminals released by special amnesty this time numbered 293 in all, including 290 war criminals originally belonging to the Chiang Kai-shek clique, two war criminals of the puppet 'Manchukuo' [government] and one war criminal of the puppet 'Inner Mongolian Autonomous Government.'"

Now that the Stalinist regime in China has released these genuine counterrevolutionaries, what about the proletarian revolutionists who, if they are still alive, remain in Mao's jails? What about the Chinese Trotskyists who were imprisoned twenty-two years ago?

Is the Maoist regime going to stand before the international working class and try to claim that it is humane to release the blood-stained lieutenants of Chiang Kai-shek and Japanese imperialism but that the

Chinese Trotskyists must continue to rot behind bars?

In December 1952 and January 1953, Mao's police arrested all known Trotskyists, their friends, relatives, and sympathizers—about 200 persons in all. No indictment was ever handed down. No public trial was ever held. Why? Because those arrested had obviously committed no crime.

Unlike the genuine counterrevolutionaries who have now been set free, their only "crime" was to have aired their revolutionary-socialist views publicly—a right guaranteed under both the 1954 constitution and the new one passed in January. In fact, these revolutionists were jailed precisely because they demanded that democratic rights be extended to all who supported the revolution.

The greatest irony is that many of these Trotskyists had—as founders and leading members of the Chinese Communist party—been jailed by China's former impe-

### Next Week

Interested in American labor history? In how to handle an incipient fascist movement? Read an absorbing excerpt from Farrell Dobbs's forthcoming book *Teamster Politics*, "How the Silver Shirts Lost Their Shine in Minneapolis."

Next week in *Intercontinental Press*.

rialist rulers and by the Kuomintang, perhaps even by some of the convicted war criminals who have now been released.

Who are these Chinese Trotskyists Mao judges to be more of a threat to the Chinese workers state than the Kuomintang counterrevolutionaries? They include:

- Chen Chao-lin, a founding member of the Chinese CP and the Chinese Trotskyist movement, a leader of the 1925-27 revolution. Chen, if he is still alive, would be about seventy-five years old. He would now have spent thirty years in jail—seven under Chiang Kai-shek, twenty-three under Mao.

- Chiang Tseng-tung, a leading activist in the Shanghai labor movement and a participant in the Shanghai uprising and general strike of 1925. If still alive, he would now be about sixty-five.

- Ho Chi Sen, a student leader in Peking in the early 1920s who joined the Chinese CP shortly after its formation. He played a leading role, together with Mao, in the 1925-27 expedition of the Kwangtung revolutionary army. After Chiang Kai-shek's coup at Shanghai in 1927, Ho worked in the underground to help revive what was left of the Chinese CP.

- Ying Kwan, a student in France with Chou En-lai in 1920 and a leading activist in the Chinese CP in the Province of Anhwei during the 1925-27 revolution. He was jailed twice by the Kuomintang police in the 1930s. If still alive, he would be about seventy-five years old.

These are only four of the Trotskyist militants held as political prisoners in Mao's China. The jail sentences and persecution they suffered under the imperialists and their puppets testifies to their loyalty to the revolution.

Peking—"acting on instructions from Chairman Mao," according to Hsinhua—granted amnesty to 219 officers of Chiang Kai-shek's army, 21 Kuomintang party and government officials, 50 Kuomintang police agents, and 3 government officials who served puppet imperialist regimes. At the same time, the Mao regime refuses to even provide information on the fate of the Trotskyist militants it holds as political prisoners. Are they still alive? Have some or all of them been forced to undergo secret trials? What crimes have they been charged with?

If elementary proletarian democracy is to be observed in China, these militants must be released. We ask all organizations that support the Chinese Revolution to take a stand on this issue and to demand observance of the rights guaranteed in the Chinese constitution.

Two hundred ninety-three counterrevolutionaries have been granted amnesty at Mao's orders. In face of this, it is a monstrous violation of socialist democracy to continue to hold revolutionary-socialist militants as political prisoners. □

## In This Issue

Closing Date: March 31, 1975

FEATURES	466	New Facts on U.S. "Secret War" Against Bolsheviks—by David Frankel
VIETNAM	452	Swift Rise in Anti-American Sentiment in Saigon—by Peter Green
PORTUGAL	454	Workers Continue On-Job Take-Overs
	456	Which Way for Portuguese Workers?
	457	Trotskyists Respond to Spínola's Coup Attempt
ARGENTINA	459	Peronist Regime Steps Up Attack Against Militant Unions—by Judy White
ARAB EAST	460	Kissinger Loses Gamble for "Miracle"—by David Frankel
BRITAIN	461	International Women's Day Marked—by Phyllis Hamilton
	468	Red Lion Square—Where Were the Heroes of the WRP?—by Joseph Hansen
	469	14 Face Trial for "Conspiracy" to Leaflet Soldiers
SPAIN	462	Franco Tries to Hang On—by Joaquín Canales
ITALY	464	How One City Combats Right-Wing Terrorists
U.S.A.	464	The News Gets Around
DOMINICAN REPUBLIC	465	Orlando Martínez Gunned Down
IRAQ	465	French Writers Denounce Repression of Kurds
NEWS ANALYSIS	450	U.S. Intervention in Portugal Begins
	450	Let Mao Free the Trotskyists Still Held in Jail
AROUND THE WORLD	470	
DOCUMENTS	476	Portuguese Trotskyists Call for Intensified Struggle
	477	On Portugal's Bank Nationalizations
	478	Sakharov Demands Release of Kovalyov
	479	Scholars Protest Repression in Yugoslavia
	479	Pennington Replies to WRP Slanders
FROM OUR READERS	480	
DRAWINGS	459	María Estela Martínez de Perón; 460, King Faisal; 463, Francisco Franco—by Copain
EN ESPAÑOL		
ESPAÑA	472	Franco se Aferra al Poder—por Joaquín Canales
AMÉRICA LATINA	474	Entrevista con Hugo Blanco Sobre la Necesidad de Ayudar a los Presos Políticos
E.U.A.	475	Las Noticias Vuelan

Intercontinental Press, P.O. Box 116, Village Station, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Editor: Joseph Hansen.  
Contributing Editors: Pierre Frank, Livio Maitan, Ernest Mandel, George Novack.  
Editorial Staff: Michael Baumann, Gerry Foley, Ernest Harsch, Judy White.  
Business Manager: Reba Hansen.  
Assistant Business Manager: Steven Warshell.  
Copy Editor: Mary Roche.  
Technical Staff: Bill Burton, James M. Morgan, Earl Williams.

Published in New York each Monday except last in December and first in January; not published in August. Intercontinental Press specializes in political analysis and interpretation of events of particular interest to the labor, socialist, colonial independence, Black, and women's liberation movements.

Signed articles represent the views of the authors, which may not necessarily coincide with those of Intercontinental Press. Insofar as it reflects editorial

opinion, unsigned material expresses the standpoint of revolutionary Marxism.

Paris Office: Pierre Frank, 10 Impasse Guéménée, 75004, Paris, France.

To Subscribe: For one year send \$15 to Intercontinental Press, P.O. Box 116, Village Station, New York, N.Y. 10014. Write for rates on first class and airmail.

For airmail subscriptions in Europe: Write to Pathfinder Press, 47 The Cut, London SE1 8LL. In Australia: Write to Pathfinder Press, P.O. Box 151, Glebe 2037. In New Zealand: Write to Socialist Books, P.O. Box 1663, Wellington.

Special rates available for subscriptions to colonial and semicolonial countries.

Subscription correspondence should be addressed to Intercontinental Press, P.O. Box 116, Village Station, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Please allow five weeks for change of address. Include your old address as well as your new address, and, if possible, an address label from a recent issue. Copyright © 1975 by Intercontinental Press.



### Swift Rise in Anti-American Sentiment in Saigon

By Peter Green

"A rout beyond our wildest fears," was how one "Western military analyst" in Saigon described the crumbling of the puppet troops in face of the advance of the liberation forces.

The disintegration and rolling back of Thieu's army—trained, equipped, and paid by the Pentagon—constitutes a massive defeat for imperialism. The defeat is irreversible. It marks the end of the road for Washington's large-scale effort to gain a military beachhead on the Asian continent and to take over the French colonial holdings. It is Washington's Dien Bien Phu.

"After 21 years, a million dead and devastating impact on life and thought here and across the seas," said Dan Oberdorfer in a March 29 dispatch to the *Washington Post*, "the second Indochina war seems to be lurching toward its end."

But the success of the operations conducted by the Provisional Revolutionary Government, along with the speed of the Saigon collapse, has made it a very rapid lurch. It has "begun to resemble a newsreel run at double, triple and quadruple speeds," said Oberdorfer. "One day's events cannot be recorded—or even comprehended—before being superseded and overwhelmed by another set."

Province after province is being liberated, at the rate of about one a day. Tens of thousands of puppet troops are surrendering or going over to the other side. Millions of people have come under the control of the PRG. As one U.S. official quoted in the March 28 *Wall Street Journal* put it in an understatement, Vietnam is being "territorially redefined." What the Pentagon and its puppets calculated would be a shrewd "strategic withdrawal" has turned into a major military and political disaster.

"The fall of China in 1949, when the Nationalists were completely defeated even though 4 million troops remained, is much in the minds and sometimes on the lips of Vietnamese and foreign observers here," wrote Oberdorfer.

A graphic illustration of the extent of the rout was to be seen in the chaos reigning in Da Nang, South Vietnam's second largest city, on the eve of its capture by the liberation forces.

The demoralized, fleeing puppet troops rampaged through the city. Mobs of soldiers set fires and openly looted shops and houses, killing anyone who resisted. "... soldiers fought each other, not the Com-

munists, in shooting matches over food and other looted items," Andrew Malcolm reported in the March 31 *New York Times*.

Da Nang airport was mobbed by soldiers and refugees. The last flight out was described as "a flight out of hell" by United Press International reporter Paul Vogle. People fought one another and died in the stampede to the plane, he reported.

"I saw a South Vietnamese soldier kick an old woman in the face. . . .

"South Vietnamese soldiers fired with machine guns at hundreds of frantic refugees trying to get aboard. . . .

"As we started rolling, insanity gripped those who had missed their chance. Government troops opened fire on us. Somebody lobbed a hand grenade toward the wing. The explosion jammed the flaps full open and the undercarriage in full extension."

The pilot took off from the taxiway, running over soldiers and refugees who jammed the tarmac. "There was no way we could have survived the gunfire and got onto the main runway," Vogle said. People clung to the undercarriage of the plane. Some fell to their death in flight. The mangled body of one soldier was retrieved from the undercarriage when the plane reached Saigon.

The plane had gone to Da Nang to pick up women and children. Only two women and one baby made it aboard. The rest of the 270 or so passengers crammed in were soldiers from the Black Panther unit, the "meanest" troops in Saigon's army, according to Vogle. The floor of the plane was covered with blood.

The morale of Thieu's army had been low and going still lower. The panic-stricken retreat from two-thirds of the country finished these troops as an effective fighting force.

Retreating soldiers are jettisoning not only their heavy equipment and rifles. They are trying to get rid of their uniforms and get into civilian clothes. In the retreat from Hue, thousands of soldiers threw away their boots, pants, and weapons and waded out to navy and civilian vessels offshore.

Saigon's troops have already lost more than \$1 billion in U.S.-supplied weapons and equipment, Bernard Weinraub reported in the March 29 *New York Times*.

"The abandonment of hundreds of artillery pieces, trucks, planes, mortars, tanks, armored personnel carriers, rifles and ammunition—coupled with the rapid retreat

### Peace Returns in Liberated Areas

Peace and calm have rapidly returned to the newly liberated areas with the departure or surrender of Saigon's troops.

Officials of the Provisional Revolutionary Government described the situation at a news conference in Saigon held March 29 at their compound at Tan Son Nhut airport established under the 1973 Paris cease-fire agreement.

"Life is normal already," said Maj. Nguyen Phuong Nam. Newly appointed provincial officials have already taken over in many provinces. Shops have reopened and business is generally resuming.

*Nhan Dan*, the Communist party newspaper in Hanoi, published a page of pictures from Hue in its March 28 issue. They showed smiling soldiers and civilians casually strolling in the streets.

Col. Vo Dong Giang, the deputy chief of the PRG delegation in Saigon, said thousands of refugees had returned to their homes. He promised "every assistance to these people to earn an honest living."

He blamed the Thieu regime for the refugee crush and accompanying hardships. Saigon "has spared no tricks and no methods of murder to force the people to run to them."

He urged all fleeing refugees to return home.

of army units—is viewed by Vietnamese and Western sources as a stunning and quite possibly irreversible military and psychological blow for South Vietnam."

A senior Western official said it was "a catastrophic loss." Dozens of planes and helicopters were left behind at Pleiku, as well as 100,000 tons of ammunition and signal equipment worth about \$5 million.

Mass defections of Thieu's troops to the side of the liberation forces have occurred. A broadcast by Hanoi Radio urged all Saigon troops, police officers, and administrative personnel to switch sides quickly. There were reports that the National Liberation Front was leafletting the troops calling on them to come over en masse, promising them the same pay, same rank, and the right to keep their units intact.

Tens of thousands of soldiers have deserted, defected, or surrendered. "We captured 10,000 at Hue alone," said a PRG official. "They did not fight."

Even before the rout began in earnest, the desertion rate for the South Vietnamese army was estimated at 24,000 a month.



About 100,000 troops had been stationed in the Da Nang area, and very few escaped south.

"I would say a good portion of the South Vietnamese Army—perhaps half of their combat divisions—have either been dispersed or are not combat effective," said one "informed Western source" quoted in the March 29 *New York Times*.

The Pentagon recognizes that Thieu cannot recoup his losses. One U.S. officer quoted by Drew Middleton in the March 28 *New York Times* said that "the prospects for restoring the old situation in the north are pretty slight and everything rests on the four divisions around Saigon."

"The officers studying the situation," Middleton reported, "believe that the best the South Vietnamese Government can hope for is to hold the Saigon area with the forces now on that front."

Faced with this reality, Pentagon chief Schlesinger is already trying to play down the enormity of the defeat. Southeast Asia was a "very slight weight indeed" in the world balance of power, he was quoted as saying in the March 23 *Philadelphia Bulletin*. The impact of the outcome, he affirmed, is "primarily psychological."

As the retreat snowballed into a rout, the White House tried to cover up. Amid great fanfare an emergency airlift to evacuate 350,000 refugees from encircled Da Nang was announced. That was pure publicity. Once U.S. officials and their families, pets, and souvenirs were out, the airlift ended.

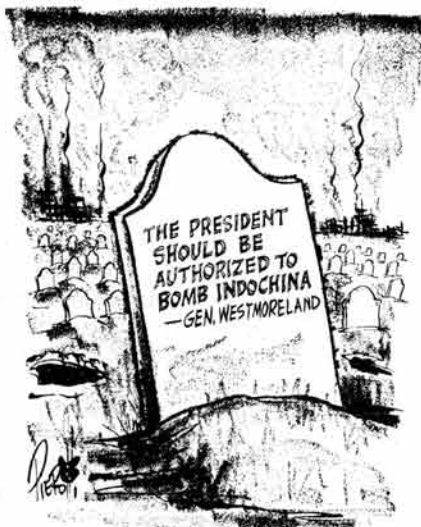
On March 29 Ford announced that he had ordered U.S. Navy ships and other vessels to evacuate "helpless refugees" from coastal cities in South Vietnam and to take them to "safe havens in the south." In an effort to spread the responsibility around a bit, he also called on "all nations and corporations that have ships in the vicinity of the South Vietnamese coast to help. . . ." The Labor governments of Britain and Australia obligingly offered their services.

Ford then took a plane for a nine-day vacation at Palm Springs, California. A few days before, however, he had expressed his "respect and admiration for the courage and determination South Vietnam had displayed in fighting the Communist invasion," as paraphrased by Richard Madden in the March 26 *New York Times*. The "courage and determination" of the Saigon troops was not easy to see; but Ford's speech writers were not just being cynical. They were grinding a political ax.

American imperialism and its puppet are each blaming the other for the disaster.

The rising tide of anti-Americanism in the Saigon-controlled areas is one indication of this. South Vietnamese soldiers at Chu Lai fired on an American helicopter that had evacuated the consulate staff from Da Nang. A crew member and a woman passenger were wounded. Some officials of

## Some Moral Small-Yield Nuclear Weapons Needed



Pierotti/New York Post

With Washington's Indochina policy tumbling down about its ears, reporters sought out Gen. William Westmoreland, the former commander of U.S. forces in South

Vietnam, to see if he had any pearls of wisdom to offer as a solution to the crisis.

It was "regrettable," he said in an interview March 28, that Ford couldn't resume bombing the North Vietnamese, whom he labeled "international outlaws" and "the Prussians of the Orient."

Such a course was now "moot," he thought, since Congress had "hamstrung White House initiative." "But we never have committed enough force in this war, and that's the only thing those people understand."

"I never recommended it when I was involved, but who knows, when the total history is written it just might show that the use of several small-yield nuclear weapons at some early point conceivably could have put an end to the whole thing and caused less suffering in the short run than subsequently was caused in the long run."

"For the life of me," he lamented, "I can't understand why the people of the United States are not incensed. . . why we Americans don't see our moral obligation."

the U.S. consulate in Da Nang had to flee over the back fence when an angry crowd smashed its way in, wrecking and looting and shouting accusations of abandonment and betrayal. U.S. embassy officials in Saigon are worried about possible assaults against Americans there.

Dr. Tran Van Do, former foreign minister under Nguyen Cao Ky, who signed the Geneva accords for South Vietnam in 1954, attacked "big brother" for betraying. "Nobody can ever believe in American promises," he said.

Other newspapers and legislators also attacked the U.S. "betrayal."

Many South Vietnamese have started to refer to the Americans as "chay lang," a gambling term for persons who run away from a game after losing it, without paying the other gamblers their winnings.

Even Thieu has said: "Many Vietnamese now have the feeling that they actually have been lured into all this and then abandoned." Thieu's fear of personal abandonment must be growing rather acute, of course. In moves to strengthen his position against the possibility of a U.S.-assisted coup following mounting calls for his resignation, he has clapped some of his opponents in jail and transferred loyal generals and units to Saigon.

In Washington, the White House and Congress were blaming each other at the beginning. Now they have united in trying to shift all the blame for the debacle onto

Saigon. The brass in Saigon is in a "funk"; there is a "failure of leadership up and down the line"; the army simply fell apart; the "strategic withdrawal" was a good idea (it was the Pentagon's) but the execution was rotten; the corruptness and decay of the Saigon puppet clique made the defeat inevitable.

An editorial in the March 30 *New York Times* called for the overthrow of Thieu. It was obvious, declared the editors, that Thieu would be unable to "rally the armed forces to an effective stand north of the capital." Therefore "the creation of a broadly representative government" was "an instant imperative." Not for "continued warfare," heaven forbid, but for "efforts to seek a political solution to the conflict," they said.

The editors of this mouthpiece of the American ruling class have lowered their sights. They hope to establish a defensible enclave around Saigon, giving them time to negotiate a "political solution," a continuing presence for imperialism.

But the only "political solution" acceptable to the masses in Vietnam is the complete removal of American imperialism and its puppets. There is nothing to negotiate about this, and working people in the United States and around the world must demand that Washington end its aid to the Saigon regime and get out of Indochina now. □

## Portuguese Workers Continue On-Job Take-Overs

[The following article, signed by D.B., appeared in the March 21 issue of *Rouge*, the French Trotskyist weekly. *Rouge* indicated that the article was written following a visit to Portugal by the author. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

\* \* \*

The response to the abortive coup of March 11 has produced a new leap forward in the consciousness and organization of the working class. Something irreversible has occurred, which the bourgeois journalists, attracted by the personal aspect of political intrigues, seem not to have grasped. This awakening, this rapid progress of the Portuguese workers toward independent organization, self-defense, and workers control, is especially impressive in view of the fact that it comes after forty years of obscurantism, silence, and dictatorship.

In the wake of the attempted coup, the workers and office employees in the banks and insurance companies formed picket lines, demanded immediate nationalization of these establishments, and hung hastily made banners reading "People's Bank" and "The Bank Belongs to the People" across the fronts of the buildings.

The nationalization of the banks and insurance companies decreed by the High Council of the Revolution constitutes a victory for the workers' mobilization. While it had in fact been demanded by the Communist party, the nationalization was not part of the emergency economic plan recently drawn up by the MFA [Movimento das Forças Armadas—Armed Forces Movement].

Of course, this measure is not in itself a revolutionary one. For the Communist party, the objective is above all to centralize credit and slow down speculation in order to neutralize the power of the big monopolies and provide effective aid to small and medium-sized companies, which are regarded as favored allies within the framework of national reconstruction. But these nationalizations occur in the context of an extraordinary mass mobilization, which gives them quite another dynamic and puts them in a completely different light.

### Unions Call for More Nationalizations

In many companies workers commissions or trade unions are already calling for new nationalizations. Even before March 11, the general assembly of the workers at CUF

[Companhia União Fabril], the chemical trust, were demanding that their company be nationalized immediately. Following their example, the employees of Eurofil, an advertising agency, raised the same demand.

After March 11, the movement increased in pace. The workers of the merged gas and electricity companies, the CRGE, decided on March 17 to organize pickets to keep check. They had noticed that an abnormal amount of filed material was being destroyed in the administrative offices and concluded that the employers, threatened with nationalization, were in a hurry to get rid of certain documents. "In view of this situation, we have decided to set up pickets to keep check and prevent the removal and destruction of documents," a union delegate explained.

But in this company the union delegates are still moderate; while they think nationalization is desirable, they do not think it is possible in the immediate future, because foreign capital, in this case Belgian, owns 20 percent of the company's shares.

On the other hand, the unions of the CTT [Correios, Telégrafos e Telefones—Mail, Telegraph, and Telephone, the state postal system] are demanding nationalization, as are those in the transport industry. And they have gone further.

The transportation industry is the linchpin of the national economy, they explain. Since September 28\* the truck owners association has been sabotaging the industry, as their counterparts did in Chile, and has refused to meet the demands of the workers. So the unions have issued an ultimatum and have asked transport workers whose demands are not met within one month to take their vehicles to the union headquarters, which will then operate them itself.

### Some Experiments in Workers Control

There are also many examples of factory occupations and experiments in workers control. The workers commission in the Ormis packaging plant, concluding "that successive administrators have committed serious errors in management," decided to carry out a "productive occupation" of the factory.

The paper workers union in the Santarém district observed that the cellulose industries were no longer furnishing the necessary raw materials to the paper manufac-

turing industries, while at the same time they were exporting 80 percent of their production. So the union decided that the orders of Portuguese firms would be filled on a priority basis and called on the workers in the cellulose companies to organize pickets to keep a check on inventories and shipments as an act of solidarity.

In Fogueiteiro, the workers at Aluferco, a modern metal-products plant in the Setúbal district, voted unanimously in a meeting to occupy the premises and set up pickets under the control of a democratically elected workers commission. They had noticed irregularities in the company's accounting procedures designed to bring about a phony bankruptcy through fixing the books for the previous year's operations. They also found evidence of tax evasion and falsified inventories.

Another development is the creation of emergency hospitals, people's emergency dispensaries, and child-care centers, often on the initiative of far-left groups. The clinic at Santa Cruz, in Carnaxide, was nationalized on March 17 and its direction turned over to the Santa Maria hospital. That decision was the result of a three-month struggle by the workers of the clinic, who had shut it down and occupied it, later forming a joint commission with the workers at Santa Cruz in order to initiate a national health service. As part of this project, they had already drawn up a practical program to meet the needs of the population.

At Belém, the Amadeu Duarte hospital has been occupied since March 4 by cells of the Popular Socialist Front [FSP]. It has been renamed the People's Hospital. At Aveiro, the deluxe Santa Joana clinic was also occupied by the populace and transformed into a "center for rest and support of temporary and permanent invalids." The people of the neighborhood provided supplies to the workers occupying the clinic.

In the Corroios region, the Do Muxito combination motel and hotel, owned by an émigré Yugoslav capitalist and known to be a hangout of ill repute for well-heeled bourgeois elements, was occupied on March 7 by the people of the area. They decided to make it into a combined senior citizen's rest center, festival center, people's soup kitchen, and child-care center, equipped with a playing field, swimming pools, and such things.

Immediately after the occupation, 4,000 persons lined up to pay a visit. The canteen,

\* The date of Spínola's first attempt to carry out a right-wing mobilization.—IP



which can serve between 300 and 400 persons, is about to be opened. The head of the occupation committee comments: "In this way the working people will devote their struggles to transforming this luxurious hotel complex of the bourgeoisie into a place for the less well-off workers to enjoy themselves—into a people's canteen, a child-care center, and a center for aid to senior citizens. The working class and all working people want to show the exploiters and prove to themselves that they are capable of resolving their own problems."

Almost every day various social centers are requisitioned or created in this way. As for the clinics, the scenario is often similar. A group of militants takes over a sizable building that is unoccupied or belongs to a fascist or capitalist. It gets in touch with doctors, asking them for a list of needed supplies. It asks the workers commissions in the pharmaceutical companies for contributions. Then it conducts an occupation.

The population soon flocks to these dispensaries, where the management is in the hands of a committee, appointed by the inhabitants of the neighborhood, which takes charge of maintaining and improving the building. The doctors and hospital personnel collaborate willingly. In fact, the contributions and concern of these personnel don't stop there. When it was learned that the Portuguese government had requested health-care assistance from the United States, workers in the psychiatric field, meeting in a general assembly, sent a letter to the minister of social affairs. The letter called attention to the fact that this supposed aid, whether in health care or other fields, is carried out through the Inter-American Development Agency. It pointed out that this organization is known to be an instrument of the CIA, which had been involved in engineering coups in Chile, Santo Domingo, Bolivia, and Guatemala.

#### Hopes That Go Beyond the Factories

The workers movement to organize and take over society is not limited to the factories. It has affected to a greater or lesser extent the most diverse aspects of social activity, including housing, health, education, transportation, and prices.

For example, the workers in Vila Real de Santo António decided to organize civic-action groups to fight fascism. The groups were divided into four commissions to deal with housing, health and hygiene, checking prices, employment, and "purging."

The housing commission is supposed to control rents and see to it that speculation is stopped. It takes a census of unoccupied houses in order to turn them over to the most underprivileged layers.

The commission on health and hygiene is supposed "to put an end to bureaucracy in medical and social services," "to step up



FRANQUISTA EN 1936, NAZI EN 1942, ASESINO DE AMILCAR CABRAL Y VERDUGO DE LOS PUEBLOS DE GUINEA BISSAU, MOZAMBIQUE Y ANGOLA DESDE MÁS DE 10 AÑOS... HUBIERA PODIDO SER PEOR!

SPÍNOLA THE BUTCHER

"Francoist in 1936, Nazi in 1942, assassin of Amílcar Cabral and butcher of the peoples of Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and Angola for more than 10 years . . . I could have done worse!"

efforts to establish day nurseries, child-care centers, and kindergartens," "to inform the population about the general rules of hygiene and prevention of illness," and "to oversee hygienic and health-care assistance in the factories."

The commission to check prices is supposed "to fight the rampant speculation afflicting the people, and to help expose merchants who fail to abide by the laws," as well as "to keep watch on market prices by acquainting people with the maximum authorized prices."

The purge commission is aimed at "exposing and cleaning out all persons linked with the fascist regime," and "compiling a list of those on the local council who were involved with the fascist regime."

Thanks to this organized vigilance, the people of Labradio in the Setúbal district, for example, noticed a lack of sugar in the supermarket for several days. They concluded that the supermarket owner was hoarding stocks in expectation of a price increase. The people went to demonstrate at the store, shouting, "We're fed up with being robbed." They forced the owner to give in.

In general there is an increase in the number of district or neighborhood mass assemblies bringing together the major workers parties, the Intersindical [the national trade-union federation], and the various democratic associations. These assemblies, which are in fact coalitions of organizations, are often bureaucratically controlled by the Communist party; the people of the neighborhood or the district can attend but they do not elect delegates.

Despite these limitations, the mass assemblies encourage the workers to discuss and debate many problems that concern them, especially housing, transportation, health, and education. With the increasing occupations of empty houses by the inhabitants of shantytowns, it is often the commissions established by these assemblies that register and authorize in their own fashion these seizures of apartments.

#### Control Without Collaboration

This many-sided and varied wave of mobilization of the workers and the populace still has a confused character. However, it registers a fundamental modification in the relationship of forces since March 11—a firmer desire to take control of things. Now it is a question of clearly formulating the demands of the workers, particularly regarding nationalizations.

The government has continued to be evasive on the question of compensation for the nationalized banks and insurance companies. At the same time, it is proposing a system of comanagement involving the unions but not the workers commissions (the trade-union law rejects recognizing the representative character of the commissions). The situation at Garantia Funchalense, where a representative of the bosses participates in the appointed management commission, does not sound good.

To prevent the nationalizations from being transformed into a rationalization of the capitalist system, and to advance along the lines of workers control of production, our comrades of the LCI [Liga Comunista Internacionalista, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International] are putting forward the following demands:

1. No compensation for the bosses.
2. Workers control over nationalized companies; refusal to participate in the management commissions; election of workers commissions that will carry out a



thorough purge of the old management and enforce the right of the workers to remove the state-appointed administrators; reduction in the hours of work and the holding of general assemblies during working hours to discuss the situation in the company, to comb through the books and expose all maneuvers and irregularities; workers' veto over layoffs as enforced by the workers in the CAF, who have refused to participate in

the management commission.

3. The right of the workers to demand immediate nationalization without compensation of their factory, as the workers at Eurofil and CUF have already done; the nationalization of all companies receiving state assistance and of all companies whose owners collaborated with the reactionary forces involved in the attempted coups of September 28 and March 11. □

comandos, and bringing them together in an assembly counterposed to the bourgeois state apparatus, offered its hand to the military and groveled before the Christian Democrats.

- A policy of class collaboration that, instead of organizing the soldiers in committees and applauding their vigilance, instead of arming the workers against the threats of a coup, allowed the generals to jail the revolutionary soldiers of Valparaíso and to disarm the factories.

- A policy of class collaboration that, instead of mounting an energetic struggle against sabotage and the flight of capital, instead of extending the nationalizations under workers control and expropriating imperialist foreign capital, continued to retreat from its nationalization program and used the labor of the Chilean people to meticulously pay off the imperialist trusts, which financed the CIA and the putschists.

#### 2. At the moment of the coup.

The reformists' successive capitulations to the bourgeoisie and their rejection of any revolutionary counteroffensive had thoroughly paved the way for the final capitulation.

Heroically, almost without weapons, and without any direction from their reformist leaders, the Chilean workers resisted the coup in their factories and their neighborhoods.

Broadcasting from the besieged Moneda palace, while he could still use the radio, Allende issued—not a call for general strike, the formation of militias, and a counteroffensive—but only appeals for calm and a stationary defense, factory by factory!

These lessons should remain branded with a hot iron in the memory of the workers of the world.

#### The Lessons of Spain: Barcelona and Madrid in 1936

The experience of the workers' response to Franco's military uprising of July 19, 1936, has provided us with further valuable lessons. In Barcelona and Madrid the coup was blocked. In Sevilla, Zaragoza, and Córdoba, it was victorious. Why?

In Barcelona, the strong and experienced working class was in a state of alert. Before July 19, the anarchist union leaders had already demanded arms from the Republican government. They had demanded at least 1,000 guns. When the government refused on legalistic grounds, the longshoremen took over all the weapons they could find on the boats, on the night of July 18-19. It was high time!

The next morning, July 19, 12,000 dissident soldiers were to march toward the Plaza de la Cataluña. The soldiers of the Pedralbes barracks began to march. Other garrisons hesitated. The Catalan proletari-

## Class Collaboration or Revolutionary Struggle?

## Which Way for Portuguese Workers?

[The following article, signed by D.B., appeared in the March 21 issue of *Rouge*, the French Trotskyist weekly. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

\* \* \*

After the events of March 11 in Portugal, it is important to recall the lessons of the workers' defeat in Chile, and to consider them coolly, unexcitedly, and without exaggeration. For although in Portugal the threat of a putsch has receded temporarily, and the bourgeoisie has undergone a political defeat, it has in no way abandoned the defense of its privileges. As long as private ownership of the means of production remains, the bourgeoisie retains strong roots. As long as the bourgeois state apparatus, courts, and police remain—even if these institutions are "democratized"—the bourgeoisie retains instruments to be used against the workers. Moreover, it has substantial international supporters and allies. Thus the workers cannot rest content with fleeting victories.

The Chilean revolution and working class suffered a defeat on September 11, 1973.

#### Lessons of the Defeat in Chile

It is necessary to understand the major reasons for this tragic defeat. In the first place, it was not an accident, but the result, the culmination, of an entire reformist and suicidal political line.

The Chilean bourgeoisie had in fact prepared the ground and tested the relationship of forces several times.

In October 1972 the reactionary truck owners' strike disrupted the economy and provoked a first test of forces. The workers responded to this attack by forging their own fighting instruments: the "cordones industriales," which coordinated and centralized the workers forces in the industrial zones and suburbs; and the "comandos

comunales," which grouped the poor peasants, the people of the poor urban neighborhoods, and the members of the workers parties around the workers. Instead of basing themselves on this spontaneous response by the workers, the reformist parties of the Popular Unity—the Communist party and the Socialist party—made a huge concession to the bourgeoisie. They opened the door of the government to the military. Among the new military ministers were the future hangmen of the Chilean people.

In June 1973 the Chilean putschists launched a premature attempt at a coup—the "tancazo." This time too the workers responded admirably; the "cordones" and "comandos" were strengthened.

These instruments constructed by the workers in the course of their struggle were not used to conduct an energetic purge of the army and police, and to push for workers control in the factories. Instead, the reformists of the CP and SP concentrated on prolonged negotiations with the bourgeois party that was plotting a coup, the Christian Democrats. Once again they opened up the government to the military, including, this time, Pinochet himself.

They gave the military the right to search the factories and the workers' houses and to seize arms—disarming the workers and allowing the military to proceed without interference in the preparation of their coup.

It can be said without exaggeration that the Chilean reformists turned the working class of their country over to their hangmen.

Any summary of the causes for the defeat in Chile must therefore emphasize the following points:

#### 1. Before the coup.

- A consistent policy of class collaboration that, instead of relying on mobilizing the workers, centralizing the organs of proletarian power like the cordones and

at, however, did not hesitate. It declared a general strike! Rather than remain on the defensive, it went on the offensive! Millions of workers rushed toward the Plaza de la Cataluña and threw themselves against the soldiers. Many worker militants fell, but the rebel soldiers were overwhelmed by the onrush and driven back onto the defensive.

The determination of the workers made hesitant soldiers incline in their direction and neutralized the more timid. Four thousand soldiers went over to the side of the workers. The garrison at Montjuich shot its officers and distributed arms to the people. On July 20, the rightist dissidents raised the white flag.

In Madrid, the worker militants were also prepared. They had unearthed weapons that had been carefully hidden. Here again, the workers' determination rallied some officers to their support. Five thousand rifles were distributed by an officer who had gone over to their side.

Looking back, we can see that wherever the working class waited or put trust in the declarations of the officers, the putsch was triumphant. At Algeciras, Córdoba, and even Oviedo, a stronghold of the workers movement, the rulers refused to distribute arms to the people because the officers had declared their loyalty to the Republic. This left the initiative to the officers, enabling them to await a turn in the situation and to choose their moment to strike. That is how the working class was defeated at Zaragoza, Córdoba, Algeciras, and Oviedo.

In Sevilla, where the workers movement was strong, the union leaders hesitated, and did not call for a general strike. When they began to resist it was too late: The army had already established its positions, disarmed the soldiers loyal to the Republic, and taken control of the radio. Nine thousand workers were massacred in a heroic rearguard battle.

#### From September 28 to March 11

September 28, 1974, the day set for the big demonstration of the supposed "silent majority" of the Portuguese bourgeoisie, had been prepared by an extensive political campaign mounted by the right wing. The workers, for their part, had been alerted by a campaign by the workers organizations, including the CP.

On September 28, the railway unions refused to carry demonstrators for the silent majority to Lisbon. Barricades were erected at the outskirts of Lisbon and Oporto, and the workers searched the cars that entered the cities.

There was no call for a general strike. But the workers commissions (for example, at Lisnave, Setnave, TAP, CTT and Applied) took the initiative for a centralized action in the streets by calling the workers to a central counterdemonstration in Lisbon.

## Trotskyists Respond to Spínola's Coup Attempt

[The following is the text of a leaflet distributed by the Liga Comunista Internacionalista (Internationalist Communist League), a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International, on March 11, the day of the attempted coup by pro-Spínola officers. The LCI distributed 60,000 copies of this leaflet in Lisbon. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

\* \* \*

**THE REACTION HAS STRUCK**  
*The RAL No. 1 is Being Bombed!*  
 Let us launch a counterattack against the industrialists and bankers!

Comrades:

Since about 1:30 p.m., the RAL No. 1 [Light Artillery Regiment No. 1] has been under machine-gun fire from air force officers in the pay of the reactionaries, who are seeking to extend the confrontation, smash the workers' counteroffensive, and impose a right-wing military government.

This attack comes immediately after the events in Setúbal, where the PSP [Polícia de Segurança Pública—Public Security Police] machine-gunned hundreds of demonstrators. It comes in the wake of the broadening attack by the capitalists, who have been seeking, by whatever means necessary, an electoral victory through which they could put an

end to the economic, political, and trade-union rights won by the working class. They have now launched their military offensive!

*Workers, We Must Mobilize in Action:*

- In the factories, we must hold immediate mass meetings, form armed workers pickets, and centralize the initiatives of the elected Workers Commissions.

- In our neighborhoods, we must erect barricades to confront each advance of the reactionaries.

- We must assure our support to all the revolutionary soldiers, sailors, and officers.

- The PSP and the GNR [Guarda Nacional Republicana—Republican National Guard, the riot police], and all the fascist organizations, such as the CDS [Centro Democrática Social—Social Democratic Center] and the PDC [Partido Democrático Cristão—Christian Democratic party], must be dissolved.

- All the fascists must be seized and tried publicly.

*Everyone, gather in the Rossio and at the Porta dos Quartéis!*

Everyone, unite to defeat the exploiters once and for all!

*The sole solution—Smash the reaction  
 For a revolutionary workers government*

Lisbon Regional Committee  
 Liga Comunista Internacionalista

There were many instances of soldiers fraternizing with the people on the barricades and collaborating with them in searching cars, even when the officers opposed it. However, the workers' offensive was a limited one. The case of Baixa da Banheira, where the Republican National Guard post was occupied and disarmed, remained an exception.

However, September 28 was not an attempted coup. The workers' counteroffensive inflicted a clear defeat on the political mobilization of the reaction. March 11 was an aborted attempt at a military putsch, and the response was of a completely different kind. The reaction suffered a new defeat, and the workers made a new leap forward in consciousness.

March 11, 1975, was therefore an attempted military coup that counted on its surprise effect. But the alert was sounded very quickly. Warned almost at the moment of the attack, the LCI [Liga Comunista Internacionalista—Internationalist Communist

League, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International] within an hour or so put out 60,000 copies of a small leaflet. [See text of leaflet elsewhere in this issue.] There were no barricades, as on September 28, but spontaneously or in response to the call of the workers organizations such as the CP and the LCI, the population rushed toward the barracks to form picket lines at their gates, and the unions mobilized in the factories.

At Santarém, the cavalry regiment, known for its pro-Spínola sympathies, was blockaded in its barracks by the pickets. At Socavan, when the workers headed for the Light Artillery Regiment No. 1, thousands of persons were already gathering around the barracks, and the soldiers who parachuted in for the attack got caught in the crowd, which talked and debated with them, trying to fraternize with them.

The main counteroffensive was being organized at the same time. In Oporto, the Intersindical began calling for a general



strike at 12:30. In both Oporto and Lisbon the workers organizations called major demonstrations for the evening. All the workers organizations—the CP, the LCI, the MES [Movimento da Esquerda Socialista—Movement of the Socialist Left], and the FSP [Frente Socialista Popular—People's Socialist Front]—participated shoulder to shoulder. Even the Socialist party joined in the united response this time, with sparse contingents. Only some Maoist groups held separate mobilizations.

This time, the rest of the country also went into action. Demonstrations and factory occupations took place at Leiria and Amarante in the Alentejo region. Everywhere the headquarters of the right-wing parties—the CDS [Centro Democrático Social—Social Democratic Center], the PDC [Partido Democrático Cristão—Christian Democratic party], and even those of the PPD [Partido Popular Democrático—People's Democratic party] in Oporto and Coimbra—were attacked and destroyed.

In Marinha grande, Algueirao, Moita, and Mem Martins (in the south), groups of militants laid siege to the headquarters of the Republican National Guard (GNR) and the Public Security Police (PSP). In Leiria, the soldiers called for their commandant to oppose the coup and to communicate that decision to Lisbon. When he refused, the soldiers forced him to telephone Lisbon under threat of being shot.

In Amarante, a worker comrade of the LCI, wounded in the demonstration at Oporto against the CDS congress, called his factory out on strike as soon as he learned of the attempted coup. The workers left behind a picket force to guard the factory and marched through the city calling on other workers to join them in a general strike.

On the very day of the attempted coup, March 11, the soldiers of the Light Artillery Regiment No. 1, which had been attacked, published several communiqués in the name of "all the officers and NCOs of RAL 1." They said that they had been singled out for attack because they saw their task as "one of defending the workers and fighting all the reactionaries." They demanded that all the putschists be shot. And they concluded: "Death to fascism, death to capitalism."

In another communiqué they declared: "Comrades, the soldiers are sons of the people. The soldiers and all the antifascist officers will always turn their weapons against the bourgeoisie, the fascist and reactionary officers, and put them at the service of the people. Comrades, the soldiers and all the military men of RAL 1 who have struggled up to now against fascism and its allies will continue their struggle against the exploiters and oppressors with greater force.

"We demand that all the fascists, whether

they are officers or not, generals or not, be immediately court-martialed and executed."

At the March 15 funeral for the soldier Luis, who had been killed March 11, the soldiers of RAL 1 demonstrated alongside the workers.

Several important lessons flow from the experiences of September 28 and March 11:

- The necessity for a centralized counter-offensive by the workers against the threats of reaction. Examples are the central demonstrations called on September 28 by the workers commissions, the call for a general strike issued in Oporto on March 11, and the general strike as it was concretely organized in Amarante.

- The necessity for a common front of the workers—a nonexclusionary united front of the workers organizations against the bourgeoisie. This class-struggle front must wage an irreconcilable struggle against the bloc between the exploiters, the profiteers, and the putschists. The workers parties, the revolutionary organizations, and the unions clearly showed what side they were on by participating in the picket lines and demonstrations of March 11. By not participating, the PPD showed what side it was on.

- The necessity for independent organization of the soldiers, the uniformed sons of the people and the workers, who can place no confidence in their officers. The soldiers of the RAL 1 and of Leiria have shown the way forward by fraternizing with the workers. But it is necessary to go still further. It was above all the mass mobilization of the workers and soldiers that blocked the coup, dissuaded hesitant officers, and created a relationship of forces that crushed the reaction. To go beyond fraternization, committees of soldiers must be organized, trade-union and workers militias must be established, and the workers organizations must be armed.

#### What Next?

On March 11 the reaction was defeated, but it was not crushed. It did not throw all its resources into the fray. The workers must continue their offensive, and go forward from this, their first victory.

First, we must draw all the necessary conclusions from March 11.

- There must be an energetic and ruthless purge of the army, the police, and the governmental administration, to be conducted by workers and soldiers vigilance committees!

- The extreme right-wing parties and groups must be disbanded!

- Portugal must withdraw from NATO, and the Iberian Pact must be terminated!

- The PPD has shown its real colors. No agreement or collaboration with the bourgeoisie! The PPD must be kicked out of the government! For a government of the workers organizations!

- The working class and the workers in soldier's uniform have demonstrated that their struggle is the best bulwark against reaction. No restrictions on workers' right of assembly, right to strike, and right of association! No restrictions on the freedom of the workers press!

Behind the reactionary forces and the putschists stand the bourgeoisie, big business, and imperialism, whose plan for national reconstruction—the emergency economic plan—calls on the workers to collaborate. No to big business's plans for reconstruction at the expense of the workers! No to unemployment and the high cost of living!

- For a minimum [monthly] wage of 6,000 escudos [about US\$252]! For a reduction in the workweek! For a sliding scale of wages and hours!

- For establishment of a state monopoly of foreign trade!

- Nationalization without compensation and place under workers control foreign-owned companies and all companies whose bosses were implicated in the March 11 coup! For the right of workers to demand further nationalizations, as they have done at CUF [Companhia União Fabril]! For the right of workers to hold assemblies during working hours. For the right to open the books, to oversee inventories, orders, and the pace of work! For the right of workers to replace administrators appointed by the state!

The alert of March 11 must serve as a lesson. The working class and the peasants must remain vigilant. The bourgeoisie will draw its own lessons. The next attack will be better prepared, better planned, and more determined in its execution. The workers must begin now to block it, to disarm the bourgeoisie and arm the proletariat, and to draw up their own plan of action.

- For the right of soldiers—workers in uniform—to organize in committees and unions.

- For election of delegates subject to recall at all levels of the shops and factories—such elections to be coordinated and centralized by the Intersindical and the workers commissions!

- For the formation of a workers militia. Weapons must now be handed out to the Intersindical and the workers commissions!

- The working class must remain on a state of alert and prepare to launch a revolutionary general strike throughout the country in response to any new initiative by the reaction!

- Build international solidarity of the workers to counter the international subversion by big business. It is especially necessary to establish and strengthen regular contact with the workers organizations in Spain. □



## Peronist Regime Steps Up Attack Against Militant Unions

By Judy White

Argentine Minister of the Interior Alberto Rocamora announced March 20 the discovery of a "terrorist plot of vast proportions" to sabotage heavy industry in the industrial belt north of Buenos Aires. The "plot" was the pretext for raids by 4,000 federal and provincial police.

The cops cordoned off the Acindar and Metconsteel plants, closed the headquarters of the UOM (Unión Obrera Metalúrgica—Metalworkers Union), searched homes and factories, and arrested about 200 trade unionists. Among those arrested was Alberto Piccinini, the general secretary of the Villa Constitución section of the UOM.

Metalworkers at Acindar and Metcon responded immediately. Five thousand workers downed tools to protest the arrests. Within hours they were joined by railroad workers, textile workers at the Silsa plant, and workers in the grain-processing industry.

On March 21 most stores in Villa Constitución were closed and all urban transport was stopped in further acts of solidarity.

The March 23 issue of the Buenos Aires daily *La Opinión* listed new metal, textile, and tire plants that had joined the strike, bringing the total number of workers involved to 20,000.

The Confederación General del Trabajo (CGT—General Confederation of Labor) dissociated itself totally from the work stoppages. The Labor Ministry declared the occupations illegal and threatened to apply the harsh terms of the National Security Law<sup>1</sup> if the strikers did not resume work.

The UOM in Villa Constitución is headed by a class-struggle leadership known as Lista Marrón, the name taken from the slate elected by a large margin in last November's union elections. Lista Marrón was voted into office after a strike led by Piccinini forced the government to end four years of direct intervention in the local union.

In a background article the March 22 *La Opinión* said:

"As a result of these elections held last November, the control of the local UOM passed into the hands of a group of radicalized trade-union forces, including the class-struggle tendency, the Communists, the Juventud Trabajadora Peronista [Peronist Worker Youth], and others. Newspap-



MARÍA ESTELA PERÓN: Jailed 200 trade unionists for demanding pay hike.

er reports yesterday that credited the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores [PST—Socialist Workers party, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International] with a major role in the zone were termed exaggerated by union circles, although the group is also part of the trade-union scene in Villa Constitución."

The PST has actively supported the struggle in Villa Constitución. Moreover, during a subscription drive to *Avanzada Socialista* last fall, the party sold more than seventy subscriptions in the Acindar plant alone.

Last fall the government cracked down on the class-struggle tendencies in the auto workers and light and power unions in Córdoba,<sup>2</sup> and the militant Buenos Aires printers union was placed under direct government control. Warrants are out for the arrest of leaders of the Córdoba unions, and Raimundo Ongaro of the Buenos Aires

printers union is already behind bars.

That left the UOM in Villa Constitución, the sugar workers union at Ledesma (the plant with the largest number of workers in the country) in northwestern Argentina, and the teachers union as the main strongholds of opposition to the Peronist regime's efforts to hold the line on wages.

The sugar workers union at Ledesma has also been taken over by the government. The March 23 *La Opinión* reported that four persons were shot when federal intervenor Oscar Guarduli attempted to take over the union's Jujuy headquarters. Labeling the incident "subversive," local police issued a warrant for the arrest of union head Melitón Vázquez on the pretext that he had violated the National Security Law.

These latest moves are part of an almost year-long campaign to intimidate worker militants and others who criticize the Peronist regime. In addition to attacks on the unions' right to function independently, the campaign has been marked by assassinations of trade-union militants and leftists by the parapolice AAA (Alianza Anticomunista Argentina—Argentine Anticommunist Alliance). The AAA killed twenty-four persons in Argentina between March 20 and March 22 alone.

The immediate motive behind the Peronist regime's moves against the class-struggle leaderships in Villa Constitución and Ledesma is suggested in part by a headline in *La Opinión* March 23: "After Confirming the Arrest of UOM Leaders, the Demand for a Wage Increase of 100,000 Pesos [US\$67.50] Was Made Public."

This wage demand came on the heels of an offer by the Gran Paritaria (Great Parity Commission, a body of top representatives of big business, the regime, and the CGT) of an emergency wage increase of 40,000 pesos. The offer is totally inadequate in the face of an inflation rate that has hit 50 percent in the last twelve months and has been met by a wave of strikes across the country.

In an editorial in the March 12 issue of *Avanzada Socialista*, the PST commented: "In general, these struggles are the response to the bosses' and government's plans for exploitation. They testify to the rejection of the 40,000-peso joke, which would fix wages at 200,000 pesos when a worker's family needs almost three times that amount to live." □

1. See *Intercontinental Press*, January 13, p. 18, for a description of this antilabor law.

2. See *Intercontinental Press*, October 21, 1974, p. 1347.

# Kissinger Loses Gamble for 'Miracle' in Arab East

By David Frankel

Any hopes Henry Kissinger had of winning a second Nobel peace prize collapsed March 22 along with his attempt to engineer a new Egyptian-Israeli deal in the Sinai.

Israeli troops are concentrating along Arab borders, especially on the Israeli-Lebanon frontier. The *Washington Post* reported March 28 that the Israeli armed forces have been placed on alert.

Washington, too, expects another war, the *Post* reported. "The Air Force is prepared to fly its giant C-5 transport planes from the United States to Israel in one hop if that should become necessary during another Mideast crisis."

The *Post* added: "Ever since last summer the Air Force's Military Airlift Command has been practicing the refueling of the C-5 in mid-air in case foreign nations should refuse to let the plane land en route to the Mideast."

The military situation in the area was described in a House Armed Services Committee report in the March 12 *Congressional Record*:

"The Israeli Defense Forces (IDF), largely as a result of the \$2.2 billion aid program voted by Congress last year, have more than made up their losses in the October War of 1973. They now have more aircraft than on October 6, 1973; more tanks; more armored personnel carriers; and a substantial increase in the number of artillery pieces. The Arab forces on the borders of Israel have, as a whole, also increased their strength; but they have not improved their posture to the extent of the IDF."

### Nuclear Bomb Threat

One aspect of the situation not mentioned in the congressional report is the growing nuclear bomb threat in the Arab East—a peril that Washington has recently increased. On January 23 the Pentagon announced that it would sell Israel 200 Lance missiles.

"Thus far," *New York Times* reporter John Finney said at the time of the announcement, "the missile has been regarded by the United States army as primarily a nuclear weapon, largely because of Congressional doubts that the weapon would be effective, in terms of its cost, with a conventional warhead."

"... According to weapons experts, it would not be too difficult for Israel to develop an atomic warhead to fit into the



FAISAL: Assassinated March 25.

relatively small Lance missile."

Even if Israel decides that it is unnecessary to use its nuclear capabilities, a new war in the Middle East is likely to be even more bloody and destructive than those that have already taken place.

### Washington Annoyed

The failure of Kissinger's mission was a substantial blow to the resurgence of Washington's influence in the Arab capitals following the October 1973 War, and the Ford administration made no secret of its annoyance with its Israeli clients.

Even before the negotiations broke off, Ford had sent a letter to Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin criticizing his "stubborn" position. On March 24 Ford ordered a review of U.S. policy in the region, including "all aspects and all countries." And in an interview made public March 27, Ford complained, "If they [the Israelis] had been a bit more flexible, you can say a greater risk, I think in the longer run it would have been the best insurance for peace."

While indicating that the amount of military aid going to Israel was to be reviewed to ensure greater responsiveness, the Ford administration made clear that the disagreement with Tel Aviv was only tactical. As Kissinger explained at a closed

hearing of the House Foreign Affairs Committee March 25, Washington would not let Israel "go down the drain."

Kissinger said further that "talk about reducing aid to Israel was nonsense." In a news conference the following day, he said again, "The United States remains fully committed to the survival of Israel."

Indeed, in view of the economic and strategic importance of the Arab East for American imperialism, and the continuing threat of the Arab revolution, Washington is hardly inclined to reject the services of the Israeli colonial-settler state. The one constant in the region's politics is the sinister alliance between Tel Aviv and Washington, since the continued existence of the Zionist state hinges on the fragmentation and weakness of the Arab world.

Washington's need for a stable counterrevolutionary base in the Arab East was highlighted by the assassination of King Faisal in Saudi Arabia, and the accompanying period of uncertainty. Although little change is likely to occur in the policies of that monarchy, the new king will not be able to play the same role internationally that Faisal did on behalf of Washington.

### Search for a 'Miracle'

Nevertheless, as much as Washington needs Israel as a praetorian guard for its interests in the Arab East, the presence of the Zionist state in the region also generates new instability and is a factor in preventing the long-term stabilization that Washington would like to see.

As *Business Week* noted April 7, a new Middle East war over the territories seized by Israel would probably result in a new oil embargo, and "a new oil embargo would no doubt trigger demands in the U.S. for military action against the oil producers. Some Washington officials hint that the Administration would equate an embargo with the 'strangulation' that Kissinger said, in an interview with *BUSINESS WEEK* last January, would be grounds for U.S. intervention in the Persian Gulf. Such intervention, in turn, would inflame the entire Arab world. . . ."

Kissinger explained his approach to these problems as he was beginning his ill-fated attempt to negotiate a new Israeli-Egyptian agreement: "The basic mood is hoping for a miracle—that we'll come up with something undefinable that will solve all the problems."

By wheedling Sadat in the so-called step-by-step negotiations, Kissinger hoped to at least set up a situation in which Israel could fight Syria without Egyptian intervention, and perhaps, without any oil embargo.

Thus, the fact that a new war is expected to follow the breakdown in negotiations does not mean that Kissinger's trip would have secured peace had it been successful.



It would have resulted merely in a different type of war threat.

What is most significant about the course of the Israeli-Egyptian talks is the renewed confirmation they gave of the impossibility of any compromise between Israel and its Arab neighbors. Sadat was clearly willing to make a separate peace with Israel so long as a face-saving formula was provided. His servility was limited only by his fear of his own people's reaction.

New York Times columnist James Reston reported March 26 that in Kissinger's view, "he had persuaded President Sadat of Egypt to agree (1) that the problems of the Middle East could be settled only by negotiations; (2) that there would be no recourse to force to settle the political differences; (3) that para-military operations by Arab guerrillas against Israel would not be defended by Egypt; and (4) that a compromise agreement between Israel and Egypt on these terms could not be replaced unless Israel agreed. In other words, that Israel could determine the length of the agreement. . . .

"In short, Mr. Kissinger apparently believes that Mr. Sadat offered the 'functional or practical equivalent' of non-belligerency toward Israel, but that the Israeli Government rejected this semantic compromise, and on the assumption that time was on its side, decided to go to Geneva and count on the support of the United States Government."

#### Israeli Strategy

Since any Arab government that publicly agreed to a state of "nonbelligerency" with Israel while Israel continued to occupy its land—even leaving aside the question of the Palestinians—would suffer an immense loss of prestige, it is clear that no agreement was possible on Israeli terms.

Whether the Israeli regime decides to go to Geneva and play a game of stalling remains to be seen. A section of the Israeli leadership holds the view, as described by Harvard professor Stanley Hoffmann in the April issue of *Foreign Affairs*, that "Israel would benefit from dragging out matters until the time when Kissinger's common front of the consumer countries, set up to deal both with the problem of energy independence and with the problem of recycling the petrodollars, had restored the broken world balance."

However, others in Israel are pushing openly for a surprise attack against the Arab states like that of the June 1967 War, in hope of "teaching the Arabs a lesson" and restoring Israel's formerly unchallenged military supremacy.

Washington, having failed in its search for a miracle, apparently will now go to Geneva counting on a helping hand from

Moscow. Kissinger had sought to keep the Soviet government out of the picture, calculating that the more Washington could

achieve on its own, the stronger would be its position in later negotiations with Moscow. □

## Thousands March for Equal Pay, Free Abortion

### International Women's Day Marked in Britain

By Phyllis Hamilton

LONDON—International Women's Day, March 8, was celebrated by rallies in Cardiff and Birmingham, and by demonstrations in Glasgow, Manchester, and here.

In London, 4,000 persons marched in an action focused on a number of demands, including equal pay for equal work, equal educational and job opportunities, free contraception and abortion on demand from the National Health Service, and twenty-four-hour child-care centres.

Participants in the march expressed their solidarity with the struggles of women all over the world—including women in prison in Spain and Chile and women struggling for the right to abortion, particularly in France, Italy, and Germany.

Among the participants in the demonstration were many women's liberation and student groups, the Communist party, the International Marxist Group, and the International Socialists.

Actions held the preceding week to help build the demonstration included a February 28 rally called by the IMG. More than 500 persons attended to hear women speakers from Chile, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, France, Denmark, Switzerland, and Britain discuss the international struggle against the oppression of women. In particular, the speakers reported on the stage of the struggle for the right to abortion in each country.

On March 3, more than 100 women attended a meeting initiated by the Working Women's Charter (WWC) and the Abortion Law Reform Association (ALRA). A National Abortion Campaign was set up to fight any attempts to restrict the abortion law and to ensure that it becomes a woman's right to choose whether to terminate a pregnancy. Among the organizations present that agreed to work in support of the campaign were the IMG, ALRA, the International Socialists, the League for Socialist Action, and the Brent, Hackney, Islington, and South London WWC groups.

On the eve of International Women's Day the Trades Union Congress (TUC), representing ten million workers, 2.5 million of them women, published a twelve-point charter on women's rights. The charter, a revised version of a document first adopted

by the TUC in 1963 but never acted upon, aims to make clear the right of women to equal treatment by their employers.

In particular, the charter calls for equal pay for equal work. Although this demand is already covered by the Labour government's Equal Pay Act of 1970, which is supposed to be fully implemented by the end of this year, women's earnings still lag far behind those of men. Whereas men's average hourly earnings are about £1.07, those of women are about £0.61 (£1 equals about US\$2.42). In addition, about 85 percent of women workers still earn less than TUC's recommended minimum wage of £30 a week.

The Wilson government has promised to introduce antidiscrimination legislation to complement the pay act, but the proposed enforcement machinery is totally inadequate. The TUC charter, however, merely parallels the government's proposals and does not put forward any perspective for activity independent of the government's legislative measures.

Apart from equal pay, the TUC charter also calls for equality in education; equality in job opportunity, including in apprenticeships; and equal opportunities for promotion. It calls for sick pay and occupational pension schemes for all workers, paid maternity leave, advice centres to help women returning to the work force, and provision of day nurseries and nursery schools.

The key omission from the TUC charter is the right of women to abortion, a right that has recently been attacked by Labour party MP James White. (See *Intercontinental Press*, February 24, p. 251.) The Labour government argues that abortion is not a fundamental democratic right of women but merely a matter of conscience for individual MPs. It has thus refused to take a clear stand in favor of women's right to choose whether or not to terminate their pregnancies.

Many women inside and outside the Labour party refuse to accept this position, and as the actions around International Women's Day show, abortion rights forces are beginning to mobilize against the attempts to restrict even further the limited right of women in Britain to abortion. □



## Spain Racked by Deepening Crisis

By Joaquín Canales

[The following is a translation of the article entitled "España Sacudida por Crisis Profunda," which appears elsewhere in this issue. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

\* \* \*

The crisis in Spanish society and the mass mobilization it is generating have been the biggest and most far-reaching registered in that country since the Spanish Civil War. This crisis results from a combination of the following factors:

1. The advanced decomposition of the Franco regime.

2. The agitation that is shaking the entire Mediterranean region, Portugal being the clearest example.

3. The world economic crisis, which has had a big impact on Spain.

4. The weakening of imperialism, especially American imperialism, which is unable to provide aid on a scale sufficient to slow down or smash the working-class upsurge.

The sectors that have been mobilizing are quite broad. They include the working class, students and teachers, parts of the peasantry, housewives, actors, public employees, small merchants, and others.

There are fights within the ruling circle over the best way to control the working class. Some prefer the "iron fist" to smash the working class; others prefer to concede a bit to the demands. While this dispute deepens, the masses are advancing and the situation is becoming more explosive.

### The 'Spanish Miracle' Is Over

Spain has begun to feel the economic crisis of world capitalism. From tourism to the automotive and construction industries, the Spanish economy is faced with difficulties. The decline in building affects the sector providing construction materials. The decline in the textile industry has also created substantial unemployment, especially in Catalonia, as has the downturn in the automotive industry and its subsidiaries.

The unemployment problem in Spain has been constantly worsening. The Madrid magazine *Posible* forecast a "hot spring" with half a million out of work.

A secretary of the Comisión de Actividad Profesional of the Colegio Central de

Economistas,<sup>1</sup> Miguel Pellicer Trullén, described the situation:

"Although the first half of 1974 cannot be considered a recession for the Spanish economy, it did mean the disappearance of the escape valve that eased all our problems. In 1975 it is to be feared that it will even turn against us. Let us take the case of the probable return of emigrants in massive numbers: We have to keep in mind that during the 1966-67 crisis in Germany the net return of our citizens who had been settled there was close to 95,000. Well, according to recent information, 30 percent of the workers who came to Spain to spend their last Christmas vacation have no possibility of returning to their jobs in Europe."

*La Opinión* of Buenos Aires commented February 27 on the inflation in Spain:

"Although the Spanish government still has not issued official figures, it is calculated that during 1974 inflation rose to 35 percent. At least, that is what a study carried out by Bilbao family associations maintains. The investigation attributes the inflationary spiral to high food costs."

Further on, to round out the Spanish economic picture, the Buenos Aires daily said:

"The growth in gross national product barely reached 0.2 percent in 1974 in contrast with the 6.9 percent registered in 1973.

"Now it is thought that the balance of payments at the end of this year will be negative, because import costs will rise by \$450 million."

And unfortunately for the Spanish government, it is not only the "normal" crisis of the world capitalist system that is affecting the once prosperous Spanish economy. Drought also brought havoc. The Mexican daily *Excelsior* of January 8 reported:

"Spain faces its worst drought of this century. It has affected almost the entire country since last summer, experts asserted here today.

"Except in the northern region, many cattlemen are sacrificing their herds because of a lack of feed, and agricultural experts report that at least half of their crops have not germinated.

"The almost total lack of rain in seven months is now affecting supplies of potable water for the cities and threatens the sources of hydraulic energy.

"Some technicians have said in recent weeks that the situation in their areas is 'catastrophic,' and their reports indicate that the economy will not have the means to meet the calamity nationally."

This critical situation of the Spanish economy has sharpened labor conflicts and at the same time drawn new sectors into struggle.

### The Struggle Is Political

"They now number more than 220,000 throughout the country," reported *Excelsior* on December 13, referring to the number of strikes in Spain. The workers movement was very active last year—especially during the final two months. The Madrid weekly *Triunfo* of February 8 gave the following official figures on the number of labor conflicts during 1974:

"This week the Comisión Permanente of the Organización Sindical<sup>2</sup> held a meeting where they reported the following generalizations [for 1974] on labor conflicts: 1,141 companies affected by 2,196 conflicts with the participation of 669,861 workers and a loss of 1,820,995 workdays. The number of conflicts per 100,000 active members of the work force is 17.1.

"The sum total of collective-bargaining conflicts during 1974 affected 5.23 percent of the active work force in Spain, the highest percentage since 1963. However, the total number of conflicts, workers involved, and workdays lost continues to be well under that of the Common Market countries."

Official figures are not always trustworthy. In this case, it is to be expected that the government is trying to hide or distort the facts. Even so, if we take their figures at face value, they show that the upsurge in labor conflicts during 1974 was the biggest since 1963. Nonetheless, the first months of 1975 showed that the conflicts were increasing progressively. *Triunfo* gave some idea of how tense the atmosphere was at the beginning of February:

"The news about other labor conflicts could be read that same day [January 30] in the headlines: 'Strike of Housing Ministry Functionaries' (in Valencia), 'Basque Country: 8,000 Workers on Strike, Affecting a Total of 15,000,' 'Strike at Astano in El Ferrol,' 'Liaisons at Hauser and Menet Ask to See Fernández Sordo,' 'Two Arrested in Tarragona (as a result of the labor conflict that affected installations at the oil refinery),' . . . 'Three Hundred Vine Growers Lock Themselves in a Church in Seville,'

1. Professional Activities Committee of the Central College of Economists.

2. Standing Committee of the Trade-Union Organization, the Falangist-controlled "union."

'Work Stoppages and Sanctions in Naval Subcontracting Firms in Oviedo,' 'Renfe Employees Ask for Collective-Bargaining Agreement,' 'Torrelavega: New Suspensions at Empresa General,' 'Work Stoppage in Vulcano (Vigo),' 'Subway Workers' Negotiations Broken Off' (in Barcelona), 'Work Stoppages in Manlleu Metal Companies,' 'Philips Group Asks for 11,000-peseta Wage Increase.'"

Another point not touched on by the official report was the character of the conflicts. The tension is explosive because each labor struggle tends to become a political struggle, inevitably coming into direct confrontation with the state and its repressive apparatus. Thus economic demands are combined with the struggle for democratic freedoms (freedom of assembly, speech, demonstration, and so forth).

In some areas these conflicts are combined at the same time with nationalist demands (Basques, Catalans, etc.). Their struggles range from the fight for self-determination for the oppressed nationalities to the right to cultivate national languages and traditions.

Thus conflicts at this level are much more dangerous (for the government) and explosive because they question the state's political power, not simply economic exploitation by the bosses.

The battle for the right to strike has also played an important role, since in Spain strikes are illegal. The bourgeois magazine *Mundo* from Barcelona in an article published March 1 analyzed the effect of the strikes:

"... a strike could be the external expression of a conflict rather than a conflict in itself. But that's not it. It is much more: It is the flowering of consciousness and a definite act of power. . . .

"The worker who goes on strike can be activated by economic motives, but during the course of the strike, his motivations begin to change; they go beyond the initial levels, and the mood among the strikers transcends the initial goals. The astute see the danger here: The worker becomes conscious of his power, notices that he is not alone, and sees in fact that the established hierarchical castle is crumbling. Persons who were always inaccessible seek him out and even sit down at his desk (offices, formal requests for meetings, official communications, and administrative silence have disappeared . . . the air has gone out of the balloon).

"... For organizing illegal strikes no strike funds are available. Furthermore, the companies make use of exceptional measures, like sanctions and firing of workers, legal proceedings against trade-union representatives, lockouts, forceful removal of workers from plants, and—failing all else—the help of the police. But experience has

shown that the workers movement has not been slowed down by all this. On the contrary, it continues to become more conscious of its possibilities as well as its limitations."

The students have played a very important



FRANCO: Whiff of decomposition.

role in the mobilizations in Spain. By the end of February Madrid's and Barcelona's five universities were almost paralyzed by their 130,000 students. In addition, the student struggle has spread to new sectors, such as the labor universities, where traditionally little activity has taken place. The February 5 issue of the Barcelona daily *La Vanguardia Española* reported:

"A thousand undergraduate students . . . from 'Francisco Franco' Labor University in Tarragona refused to enter the center's dining room at mealtime.

"It appears that these students were taking a stand in solidarity with their fellow students at the Labor University of Gijón. Like them, they are asking for greater participation in the activities of the center."

The same day *La Vanguardia Española* reported on a work stoppage by public employees in Madrid:

"The strike wave that is racking numerous Spanish provinces has reached the heart of the administration. Several hundred administrative aides and auxiliary personnel have carried out work stoppages to protest the economic conditions they face as a result of the latest wage increases, which are much lower than the almost 20

percent increase in the cost of living during 1974.

"In the Education, Foreign Affairs, Public Works, Development Planning, and Labor and Industry ministries more than 600 subordinates and administrative aides have joined the work stoppage, and in some cases, the public has been affected by this strike."

Another strike in a sector where conflicts have seldom occurred was the actors' strike. It affected sixty-five theaters and 2,500 actors in Madrid. The character of this strike is important to note; according to the February 6 *La Vanguardia Española*, the actors were protesting "... the refusal by trade-union authorities to recognize a committee of representatives elected by the actors at a mass meeting held last December 15. The committee was formed to intervene with voice and vote in the next collective-bargaining negotiations."

Moreover, even the small merchants have joined those opposing the regime. The Argentine magazine *Panorama* in its February 28 issue reported:

"The government began to feel overcome when on Monday the third [of February] Madrid merchants declared a strike to protest the toughness with which municipal inspectors had begun to act. Picket lines of young people surveyed the markets, butcher shops, fish stores, and vegetable stands, ordering them to close. By mid-morning there was not a food store open. 'This reminds me of the Cordobazo,'" commented a surprised professor from Río Cuarto, Argentina, who is in Spain on vacation. The rapid spread of the conflict worried all and created problems in supplying the capital for two days."

Thus the radicalization continues, taking in increasing sectors of the population. Women also are playing a role. The February 1 issue of the magazine *Posible* carried a manifesto signed by a number of organizations.<sup>4</sup> It included the following paragraphs:

"In their fight for equality and liberation, women in Spain run up against serious

3. The 1969 semi-insurrection in the Argentine city of Córdoba.

4. The signers were el Seminario de Estudios Sociológicos Femeninos, la Asociación Castellana de Amas de Casa y Consumidoras, la Asociación Española de Mujeres Universitarias, la Hermandad Obrera de Acción Católica, la Comisión del Año Internacional de la Mujer del Club de Amigos de la UNESCO, las Asociaciones de Amas de Hogar de Moratalaz, Ventas Chamartín y Aluche, las Asociaciones de Amas de Casa de Tetuán y Getafe, la Comisión de Defensa de la Profesión del Colegio Oficial de Doctores y Licenciados, el Movimiento Apostólico Seglar, la Asociación de Mujeres Separadas, and la Juventud Obrera Católica.



difficulties owing to the traditional predominance of men and the consequent dependency of women. These difficulties also flow from the nature of Spanish political development, which has restrained the social and political participation of men and women. . . .

"The absence of basic human rights recognized in other European countries—the right of association, meeting, expression, demonstration, strike—seriously damages any protest movement. But it is doubly oppressive for the sectors of society kept back the most, as women are. . . .

"Apart from legislative discrimination, there are norms of conduct in official spheres and in family life that tend to exclude women from the life of the nation.

"These features confirm the fact that in daily life the ruling class acts to perpetuate women's submission and dependence, despite all its talk of their advancement and equality. Women are human beings, not instruments to curb all possibilities of ideological change, which assures the elite's continuity of power."

The radicalization of women was also indicated by a news item published in *La Opinión* March 8:

"The police closed down fourteen housewives organizations for three months, accusing them of distributing subversive propaganda. The housewives had boycotted markets and merchants for one day to protest high prices."

[To be continued]

## 'Vigilance Committees' Patrol Streets

### How One Italian City Combats Right-Wing Terrorists

Since last November the residents of Savona, an industrial city about twenty-five miles southwest of Genoa, have been the target of several bomb explosions, all of them attributed to right-wing terrorists. Other cities in Italy have experienced bombings in recent years. But Savona adopted a highly successful method of combating the menace. The solution was described at some length in the March 11 issue of *Le Monde*.

The first bomb exploded November 9 in the provincial administrative offices. About fifty people attending an exhibition of paintings narrowly escaped injury. There were no victims in the second explosion, on November 12. But succeeding blasts, at three-day intervals—on the railway line, on a street, in an apartment building, on an expressway, and across from the police station—had bloodier results. One person has died and nineteen have been injured as a result of the bombings.

Neofascists claimed responsibility for only two explosions. But the seven other bombings bore all the characteristics of those two. For several years the extreme right wing in Italy has been carrying out such attacks as part of an alleged "strategy of tension" aimed at provoking a shift to a right-wing authoritarian regime.

Why did the neofascists choose Savona as a special target of their terrorist violence? It may be because the city of 78,000 inhabitants has a long left-wing tradition, going back to the days of the Resistance struggle against Mussolini's fascist regime. The municipal council is dominated by the mass reformist workers parties; seventeen of the forty councillors are members of the Com-

munist party, and the mayor is a Socialist. In the national referendum last May, Savona registered a record 74 percent "no" vote against repealing the law that permits divorce.

Political activists have played an important role in the organized resistance to the right-wing attacks. But the initiative for the movement came from parents whose children attended the school that was the target of the second bombing. For several months, the national government has been "investigating" Italy's terrorist bombings, but without many results. The parents in Savona, however, did not wait for action by Rome.

"The most spectacular aspect of the resistance in Savona," *Le Monde's* special correspondent Robert Solé reported, "has been the formation of 'vigilance committees.' These people's militias—unarmed and comprising several thousand citizens in all—patrolled day and night in November and December, guarding buildings or forming flying patrols. They initiated a type of collaboration with the 500 police reinforcements that is unprecedented in Italy. Groups of citizens even began to stop suspicious cars whose license numbers had been furnished to them by the police. These operations, which verged on illegality, provoked some bad feeling among persons who were searched, but never any incidents. Similarly, no acts of violence were committed against the local headquarters of the Italian Social Movement [Movimento Sociale Italiano], the extreme right-wing organization, when demonstrators marched in front of it."

The vigilance committees apparently had

the desired result. The bombings stopped for a while after November.

At the end of February, however, two bombs exploded within twenty-four hours of each other. One, behind the police station, resulted in seven injured; the other, under an electric pylon, caused extensive property damage. As a result, several vigilance committees have been reorganized. □

### The News Gets Around

[The following news dispatch appeared in the March 20 issue of the Buenos Aires daily *La Opinión*, under the title "Querella al FBI el Partido Socialista norteamericano" (American Socialist Party Accuses FBI). The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

\* \* \*

#### Washington

The FBI (Federal Bureau of Investigation) systematically carried out acts of provocation against the American Socialist Workers party, according to documents made public in Washington yesterday.

According to the documents, its objective was to destroy the infrastructure of this political movement, which was founded in the 1930s.

The party, a Trotskyist tendency whose candidates have always been defeated in city and congressional elections, recently filed a \$27 million lawsuit against the FBI for having violated its constitutional rights. It is extremely unusual in the United States for a political party to institute legal proceedings against the country's highest police organization.

A federal court turned over to the American Socialist Workers party dossiers containing 3,000 pages of revealing documents on the Cointelpro program established by the late J. Edgar Hoover, former director of the FBI.

The aim of the program was to carry out provocations, damage the reputations of the party's candidates by sending anonymous letters to newspapers, encourage racial turmoil inside the party, and in general, make life impossible for its members.

One of the documents (cited as an example) indicates that the FBI authorized its office in Denver, Colorado, to use an anonymous letter to sabotage the campaign of Allen Taplin, a candidate for the school board.

In 1964, another anonymous letter was sent to the editor of the *Paterson*, New Jersey, *Morning Call*, denouncing the political opinions held by journalist Murray Zuckoff. Zuckoff, a member of the SWP, was eventually forced to give up politics to keep his job. □

*Intercontinental Press*



## Orlando Martínez Gunned Down in Santo Domingo



El Nacional de ¡Ahora!

ORLANDO MARTÍNEZ

More than 200 persons, the overwhelming majority Dominicans, picketed the Dominican consulate in New York March 26. The demonstrators, shouting, "Stop government complicity with right-wing terror" and "Stop repression in the Dominican Republic," were protesting the murder of Dominican journalist Orlando Martínez.

The demonstration was called by the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners and Derechos Humanos, a New York based Dominican defense committee. It was supported by a wide range of political and civil-liberties groups, mainly from New York's Latin American community.

Martínez, a widely read columnist of the Dominican daily *El Nacional de ¡Ahora!* and managing editor of the weekly magazine *¡Ahora!*, was gunned down March 17 while driving his car. He had been threatened several times by right-wing terrorist groups recently and had unsuccessfully sought police protection.

In recent columns Martínez had called for thoroughgoing land reform, criticized efforts to apply a guerrilla strategy to the Dominican Republic, and argued against depending on bourgeois demagogues to lead movements for social change. He was well known for his consistent defense of Latin American political prisoners.

*El Nacional de ¡Ahora!* reported that thousands attended Martínez's funeral March 18, including top government func-

tionaries. On the same day and the following one, demonstrations at high schools in three cities protesting the assassination were broken up by police, who used tear gas and fired shots into the air. More than seventy students and teachers were reported injured, and about forty persons were arrested.

Public statements demanding the apprehension of the killers were made by a number of Dominican political groups, and by several trade unions, professional associations, student governments, and civic organizations.

In the United States, Socialist Workers party presidential candidate Peter Camejo issued a statement of protest March 26. "I join with all those who are demanding that President Balaguer immediately apprehend the real murderers of Orlando Martínez and prosecute them to the full extent of the law," Camejo said.

Instead of searching for Martínez's murderers, the Balaguer regime has responded by arresting several journalists who reported the killing and five leaders of the PLD

(Partido de la Liberación Dominicana—Dominican Liberation party). The PLD is led by Juan Bosch, the former president of the island who was overthrown in a 1963 military coup.

Bosch reported that the PLD members were being held even though the police knew they had nothing to do with the crime. He pointed out that none of the arrested PLD members had even been questioned by the police.

Bosch said that the arrests of his supporters were part of a "plan to create a climate of public opinion that would culminate" in his arrest.

Bosch himself was asked to come to police headquarters March 25 in conjunction with the Martínez slaying. So was José Francisco Peña Gómez, the general secretary of the Partido Revolucionario Dominicano (Dominican Revolutionary party). The PLD and the PRD are the two most influential political forces to the left of the Balaguer regime.

More than 100 persons have been killed in the past year by right-wing gangs in the Dominican Republic but not a single arrest has been made.

Balaguer's method of "investigating" the murder of Martínez tends to lend credence to the widely held belief that his regime was directly involved in the assassination. □

## French Writers Denounce Repression of Kurds

[The following appeal appeared in the March 21 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde*. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

The situation in Kurdistan has taken a tragic turn. The Iraqi government has conducted full-scale operations there for a year against the Kurdish minority, which constitutes close to one-third of the population. Coming on the heels of the April 1972 Soviet-Iraqi treaty, which deprived the Kurds of an important source of political support, and of the Turkish-Iraqi agreement of last summer that guaranteed the strict closing of the Turkish border, the accord signed at the beginning of March 1975 in Algiers between the shah of Iran and the vice-president of the Iraqi council completely cut the Kurdish fighters off from all logistical support.

The connivance of the regimes in the region, whatever their declared ideologies, resulted in the suppression of an oppressed national minority's struggle for self-determination.

The Kurdish people fought because they rejected the Arabization policy of the Iraqi government, the amputation of the richest half of their territory, and a political leadership subject to the authorities in Baghdad.

Refugees by the tens of thousands have already fled the bombings and the excesses of the Iraqi army, and it is feared that the actual offensive will take on a particularly atrocious character. Public opinion should be alerted to this situation (especially since France sells arms to Iraq). The crushing of a national minority remains a criminal act, even if those responsible for such a policy call themselves socialist.

The signers of the text, members of the France-Kurdistan Association, reaffirm the Kurdish people's right to self-determination, denounce the Iraqi military offensive aimed at liquidating the Kurdish national movement, and appeal to the international organizations and democratic forces to intervene to prevent a massacre.

P. Baudouin, J. Bertolino, S. de Beauvoir, E. Braquet, J.-P. Canet, G. Chaliand, J.-M. Domenach, E. Ducourau, D. Eudes, R. Garaudy, H. Grall, M. Halbwachs, G. Halimi, G. Héraud, A. Kastler, R. Lafont, M. Leiris, S. Manucci, R. Marienstras, T. Mignon, J. Mincés, E. Morin, L. Panigel, Y. Person, R. Pic, M. Rodinson, C. Roy, M. Royot, J.-P. Sartre, M. Schaub, L. Schwartz, P. Thibault, Vercors, P. Vidal-Naquet, J.-P. Viennot, S. Vogel. □

## New Facts on U.S. 'Secret War' Against Bolsheviks

By David Frankel

Secret wars, cover-ups and laundered money, according to some U. S. liberals, are aberrations of the Vietnam era and Watergate. But researchers at Auburn University in Alabama have unearthed a conspiracy dating from 1917 whose script would require only minor alteration to bring it into line with more recent scenarios.

The Auburn scholars, in the course of studying State Department records on microfilm, found documentary proof that United States intervention against the Bolshevik revolution did not begin in July 1918, as was previously thought, but was initiated almost immediately after the Bolsheviks came to power.

By December 1917, one month after the revolution, the government of President Woodrow Wilson had begun to secretly finance the formation of counterrevolutionary armies and to set up an espionage apparatus as a preliminary step along the road to more open intervention.

According to a report on the Auburn research in the January 12 issue of the *Atlanta Journal and Constitution Magazine*, on December 10, 1917, U. S. Secretary of State Robert Lansing "proposed to Wilson that the United States inform the anti-Bolshevik group led by Cossack chief Alexey Maximovich Kaledin of its nonrecognition of the Bolsheviks and its readiness to recognize a government capable of restoring order in Russia and carrying out Russia's role in the war against Germany. Lansing said Kaledin must be given hope of moral and material aid from the United States. Financing was not to be done openly, but through loans to the British and French. President Wilson approved of this approach.

"Treasury Department representative Oliver T. Crosby was directed to consult with British and French authorities, but he was instructed to stress the importance of secrecy concerning the American role."

That same month Washington authorized the use of government funds to finance the printing of 3.9

billion rubles—the equivalent of \$1 billion in 1917 dollars—for the deposed Provisional Government. Also in December 1917, the U. S. government transferred 110 tons of bar silver to the White forces through the British.

Crosby sent Treasury Secretary William McAdoo and Lansing a telegram from London on February 14, 1918, according to the Auburn historians. The cable reported that "3,668,652 ounces bar silver purchased out of funds advanced by the United States government was handed over by Russians to British in San Francisco." After being minted into coins, the silver was to be sent to southern Russia to pay troops who would not accept paper rubles.

The U. S. money going to the White Guards was laundered by having Russian counterrevolutionaries in the United States handle all aid. This was done by cycling the money through a \$60 million account set up in a U. S. bank by the Provisional Government before its overthrow.

While these financial maneuvers were going on, U. S. diplomats in Russia were busy setting up a full-scale intelligence network. Lansing asked the U. S. ambassador in Petrograd "for detailed political, military and military-political information from all parts of Russia" in late December 1917, the *Journal and Constitution Magazine* reported.

In March 1918, "the secretary of state in effect bypassed the ambassador and put Maddin Summers, the American consul-general in Moscow, to work on the intelligence-gathering task. Lansing told Summers to employ National City Bank and International Harvester representatives already in Russia 'as far as practicable' and to 'spare no reasonable expense' to keep the State Department regularly and fully informed of what was going on in Russia."

The intelligence network was established, and it prepared the way for the open intervention of 7,000 U. S. troops on the side of the counterrev-

olution. The first American troops arrived in Siberia in August 1918, but as the State Department's own records reveal, the policy under which they were sent had really been formulated in secret eight months earlier.

This fact allows us to appreciate the full hypocrisy of Wilson's "Fourteen Points," written in December 1917. The first of these proposals called for "open covenants of peace, openly arrived at, after which there shall be no private international understandings of any kind, but diplomacy shall proceed always frankly and in the public view."

Although the pretext for intervention against the Bolsheviks was the necessity to counter German war plans in northern Russia, American troops were not finally withdrawn until early in 1920. The U. S. contingent was part of an invading force of about one million foreign troops. The U. S. force together with 72,000 Japanese troops and about 30,000 British and French, held the main Siberian ports. On the southern front, the governments of France and Britain each had 140,000 troops; Rumania, 190,000; Italy, 40,000; Greece, 200,000; and Serbia, 140,000.

However, the main imperialist powers generally followed a policy of leaving the fighting to the White armies. As E. H. Carr explained in Volume III of his *History of Soviet Russia*:

"In January 1919 when the allied statesmen, assembled in Paris for the peace conference, discussed the occupation of Russia by allied troops, the British Prime Minister bluntly assured his colleagues that 'if he now proposed to send a thousand British troops to Russia for that purpose, the armies would mutiny', and that, 'if a military enterprise were started against the Bolsheviks, that would make England Bolshevik and there would be a Soviet in London'."

Carr says: "Serious mutinies in the first months of 1919 in the French fleet and in French military units land-





Soldiers of the Red Army being executed by counterrevolutionary forces. Washington paid for the bullets.

ed in Odessa and other Black Sea ports led to an enforced evacuation at the beginning of April. Of the troops of several nationalities under British command on the Archangel front the Director of Military Operations at the War Office reported in March 1919 that their morale was 'so low as to render them a prey to the very active and insidious Bolshevik propaganda which the enemy are carrying out with increasing energy and skill.'

There was also opposition in the United States, despite the anti-Bolshevik witch-hunt whipped up by the Wilson government. Harvey O'Connor describes one example in his book *Revolution in Seattle*:

"Early in October [1919], came a mysterious shipment by rail, a trainload of 50 freight cars, destination Vladivostok, and labeled 'sewing machines.' It seemed a curious export to a country in the throes of civil war. A longshore crew, suspicious of the cargo, allowed a crate to crash on the dock. Out spewed stacks of rifles, bound for the Kolchak counter-revolutionary government. Upon inquiry it became evident that this was no mere private shipment of 'hardware.' The United States government, no less, had chartered a ship, inappropriately named the 'Delight,' to take this cargo of mu-

nitions consigned by Remington Arms to Kolchak. The longshoremen's union announced that its members would not touch the hot cargo and that any dock that attempted to move it would be under permanent boycott."

The extent of the counterrevolutionary intervention can be gauged by Prime Minister Lloyd George's admission in the House of Commons that Britain alone spent the equivalent of \$500 million in aid to the White armies.

Although more modest CIA "destabilization" efforts were later to prove successful in overthrowing regimes such as Allende's in Chile and Mosaddegh's in Iran, the imperialists did not succeed in their attempt to strangle the first workers state. They did manage to inflict incalculable human anguish and cause millions of deaths, however, in addition to crippling the Soviet economy. In his book *The Cold War and Its Origins*, D. F. Fleming described the conduct of the imperialist-supported armies:

"Systematic pillage, murder and incendiarism' constituted the plan of campaign of Semenov, one of Kolchak's chiefs. On August 19, 1919, Colonel Stephanov's command slaughtered fifty-two car-loads of prisoners. . . . In another district 'women were ripped open, children bayo-

neted, and men flayed alive. Brutality made Bolsheviks where none had been before.'"

Fleming, hardly a Bolshevik sympathizer, concludes: "Until the Nazis made wholesale murder a scientific business, the campaign of Admiral Kolchak in Siberia resulted in the most gigantic tragedy of all recent times."

Fleming leaves out World War I, which the same imperialist governments bear responsibility for. But other than that, he is probably right. □

## Still Available

### Complete Back Files (Unbound) Intercontinental Press

1967	42 issues (1,072 pages)	\$25
1968	44 issues (1,176 pages)	\$25
1969	43 issues (1,152 pages)	\$23
1970	43 issues (1,120 pages)	\$23
1971	45 issues (1,128 pages)	\$23
1972	47 issues (1,448 pages)	\$24
1973	46 issues (1,520 pages)	\$24
1974	47 issues (1,888 pages)	\$25

P. O. Box 116  
Village Station  
New York, NY 10014



## Red Lion Square—Where Were the Heroes of the WRP?

By Joseph Hansen

Scarman's report on the outbreak of violence in Red Lion Square last June, in which a student suffered fatal injuries, has been condemned by the entire left in Britain. In particular, the left has scored Scarman's whitewash of the police and his effort to pin "heavy moral responsibility" on the International Marxist Group, the British section of the Fourth International.

The capitalist press, of course, has taken quite an opposite view. It has hailed what it considers to be the judiciousness of Scarman's conclusions concerning the police; and it has utilized the report to witch-hunt the IMG.<sup>1</sup>

The position of the Workers Revolutionary party deserves special attention; first of all because its name is not mentioned once in the Scarman report, although it has long claimed to be the real left in Britain as distinguished from the "fake left." It would seem that the watchdogs of the capitalist state in Britain do not consider the WRP to represent even a potential threat.

Perhaps this is the main reason why, beginning with its first account of Scarman's conclusions, which appeared in the *Workers Press* of March 5, the WRP has centered its attention on the IMG.

In fact the WRP has followed up with a series of articles of increasing scurrility, hammering away—not at Scarman or the police—but at the IMG.

To believe the *Workers Press*, the main criminals in the incidents at Red Lion Square on June 15, 1974, were the Trotskyists of the IMG.

The *Workers Press* bases its case on three arguments:

1. It holds that the tactics employed by the IMG in demonstrating against the ultrarightist march in the streets and subsequent meeting at Conway Hall in Red Lion Square were wrong, leading to entrapment by the police.

2. It maintains that the testimony given by IMG members before the Scarman

hearings was contradictory, thus facilitating the work of the lord justice.

3. It sees something "sinister" in the fact that the identity of one of the IMG members, who made a written deposition giving a different version of IMG plans from that of the verbal testimony of the others, was not made public, although it was known to Scarman and to leaders of the IMG.

The last point appears to be of crucial importance to the *Workers Press*. They even suggest that the person might be a police agent. "Is he or she just an unprincipled coward . . . or are the IMG covering-up for a police agent in their ranks?" (Emphasis in original.)

They speak of this "shadowy figure," this "sinister affair."

"Where did the Special Branch get their information?" they ask. "From the 'unnamed member', from agents and *agents provocateurs* inside the IMG and the other organizations taking part in the counter demonstration?"<sup>2</sup>

They say again: "We have raised the question of police infiltration of their movement—since manipulation of the left played an important role in police preparations for June 15. . . ."<sup>3</sup>

In response to a reply by Bob Pennington of the IMG on this question,<sup>4</sup> the *Workers Press* said, "This statement by you Mr Pennington only strengthens our conviction that your movement constitutes a threat to the entire labour and trade union movement because of its relations with the police and the authorities. . . ."

"Only two possible conclusions can be drawn from your explanation. Either you are piling lies upon lies to cover-up this mysterious individual in your ranks, or the IMG leadership did indeed involve itself in what amounted to be collusion with Scarman and the police over the Red Lion Square affair."<sup>5</sup>

Thus the *Workers Press* is doing its utmost to convert the *victims* of the police trap into *agents* of the police.

Such a tactic, of course, is hardly surpris-

ing to anyone familiar with the peculiar politics of the general secretary of the WRP, Gerry Healy. Solidarity in the face of an attack from the class enemy is hardly his strong point.

Let us take a closer look at the position of the WRP.

In the first article in the *Workers Press* on the Scarman report, the author, Stephen Johns, states:

"The IMG and any other organization within the labour and trade union movement have the right to demonstrate against the right wing and fascism. Violence and the emergence of a virulent racist right wing is a result of a capitalist system in an advanced stage of decay. Scarman covers this up on behalf of the ruling class and provides a quasi-legal precedent for more organized police thuggery. The IMG are not responsible for this."<sup>6</sup>

Fine-sounding words. Not only the IMG, but "any other organization within the labour and trade union movement" has the right to demonstrate against the right wing and fascism. Presumably this includes the WRP. But if the WRP has that right, doesn't it also have the right to join with others in a common demonstration against fascist-minded racists, thereby strengthening the action quantitatively and perhaps qualitatively?

So where was the WRP when the demonstration against this ultrareactionary scum was held in Red Lion Square on June 15? Rather bleakly, Johns is compelled to confess, "The Workers Revolutionary Party did not participate in Red Lion Square."<sup>7</sup>

And where was the WRP when the demonstration against the racists was being held? In pubs exercising revolutionary zeal in throwing darts? Or at the Centre practicing revolutionary violence in "interviewing" members of the WRP suspected of being police agents because of signs of thinking for themselves?

Here is the explanation offered by Stephen Johns for the WRP decision to observe June 15 as a day of abstinence:

"But it is also quite clear that their [the IMG's] adventurism and middle-class policies play directly into the hands of the police and capitalist state.

"Fascism, racism, the result of a diseased capitalist system, cannot be beaten in the

1. For an example see "The Times's Summary of the Scarman Report" in *Intercontinental Press*, March 31, p. 444. Also see "The IMG Replies to the Scarman Report" in the same issue of *IP*, p. 446.

The *Workers Press* (March 12, p. 11) said of the IMG reply: "What is this but the most wretched whining of the middle class pleading with the capitalist state to uphold 'the law' on behalf of those who like to have a little protest to help them through life."

2. *Workers Press*, March 6, p. 11.

3. *Workers Press*, March 12, p. 10.

4. See the text of Bob Pennington's reply elsewhere in this issue.

5. *Workers Press*, March 15, p. 2.

6. *Workers Press*, March 5, p. 8.

7. *Workers Press*, March 5, p. 8.

manner the frustrated and desperate middle-class individuals of the IMG would have us believe—by skirmishes with the police in the streets, accompanied by much phoney strident heroism and downright boasting.”<sup>8</sup>

What is the essence of this “wretched whining of the middle class” offering excuses for those who want to avoid protest “to help them through life”? *That the WRP disagrees with the IMG on tactics.*

The IMG no doubt makes mistakes, including errors in tactics, which they and other revolutionary Marxists who agree with them on the main issues would want to discuss in a comradely way. But that is no excuse for following a sectarian course and abstaining from a significant demonstration against racists, ultrarightists, and fascists.

Why didn't the WRP participate in the planning sessions of the groups that were trying to mount the strongest possible common action?

Why didn't the WRP pitch in with the others at the planning stage and argue for what it considered to be correct tactics?

Why didn't it mobilize the sectors of the labour and trade-union movement where it claims to have influence?

Why didn't it offer to collaborate in organizing a sufficient number of stewards to assure an orderly demonstration in face of provocations that might be plotted by the fascists or the police?

There are various possible answers.

1. The WRP did not think that it could convince anyone opposed to fascism of the correctness of its proposals. The perspective being hopeless, why bother?

2. The WRP has such little influence in the labour and trade-union movement that to participate would expose its “phoney strident” claims as “downright boasting.”

3. The WRP leaders are “unprincipled cowards” who shrink at the very thought of engaging in crowd protection against police or fascist provocations. They are brave only in such things as a gang-up on a single individual like Ernest Tate hawking pamphlets at the entrance to one of their public meetings.

4. The WRP has degenerated to the most sterile and ossified type of sectarianism. It will participate in no demonstrations whatsoever without guarantees in advance that said demonstrations will not be marred by provocations.

Before putting a check mark before one of these possible answers or a combination of them, you should hear the further arguments of the WRP. In a subsequent article, in which he spoke officially for the editorial board of *Workers Power*, Johns offered the following amplified explanation of why the WRP decided the Red Lion Square demon-

stration against fascism was not for them:

“The Red Lion Square was a trap set by the police in collusion with the National Front. The aim was to give those demonstrating against the National Front a beating and establish a precedent for organized police violence in the streets.

“The operation was part of the attempt by the ruling class to destroy basic democratic rights and institute a police state and a dictatorship in Britain.

“This was why the Workers Revolutionary Party decided not to participate in Red Lion Square.”<sup>9</sup>

But that was all the more reason why the WRP should have considered it imperative to participate. It was their revolutionary duty to explain to the antifascist demonstrators why the WRP thought that the police were setting a trap. And it was all the more imperative to offer revolutionary leadership in working out ways to hold a successful demonstration without falling into any snares set by the police or the fascists.

By disdaining to participate, the WRP defaulted in leadership. They likewise thereby forfeited any right to offer revolutionary criticism, even if they were capable of it. (Sectarian sneering from the sidelines is not revolutionary criticism.)

Still worse, it is clear from what the editorial board of the WRP now says that a new question must be asked. If the WRP decided not to participate because they saw “a trap set by the police in collusion with the National Front” was it because *they wanted the police trap to succeed?*

9. *Workers Press*, March 15, p. 2.

Perhaps the decision to be nowhere near Red Lion Square on June 15 was motivated by factional considerations of the grossest kind.

However, there is another possibility. Has the WRP been infiltrated by agents of the Special Branch? What are the identities of those in the WRP who suggested that the best course was to have nothing to do with the demonstration against fascism in Red Lion Square?

Didn't this advice fit in with what the WRP admits—that “manipulation of the left played an important role in police preparations for June 15”?

What are the names of those members who gave advice that played into the hands of the police and the capitalist state? Who are these “shadowy figures”?

Why does the WRP remain silent on this? Why doesn't it name those involved in this “sinister affair”? What is the WRP trying to cover up?

Still another question must be asked. Is it possible that *agents provocateurs* like these are responsible for the campaign undertaken by the *Workers Press* of trying to follow up Scarman's work, of even improving on Scarman in attacking the IMG?

These questions, we insist, must be cleared up.

To quote Stephen Johns, a skilled practitioner of Healy Thought: “Organizations that are silent on these kind of issues have something to hide. They are also a menace to the left—opening up the ranks to police infiltration.”<sup>10</sup> □

10. *Workers Press*, March 15, p. 2.

## London Magistrate Refers Case to Criminal Courts

### 14 Face Trial for ‘Conspiracy’ to Leaflet Soldiers

Initial hearings into the “conspiracy” charges against fourteen supporters of the British Withdrawal from Northern Ireland Campaign ended March 13. The presiding magistrate in London's Lambeth Crown Court ruled that there was a “prima facie” case to answer on nearly all charges. This means that the case will now be referred to the criminal courts, probably sometime in the fall.

The defendants, all of whom are pacifists, face trial for “conspiring” to violate Britain's “Incitement to Disaffection Act.” The act, passed in 1934, outlaws efforts to “seduce any member of H.M. Forces from his duty or allegiance to Her Majesty.” Conviction may result in a maximum penalty of life sentence.

British authorities claim the law was

violated when the defendants allegedly “conspired” to leaflet British soldiers with information about ways of leaving the army. What is at issue is an attempt to use repressive legislation to silence those who disagree with government policy, in this case Britain's imperialist domination of Ireland.

According to a report on the hearings in the March 21 issue of the London fortnightly *Peace News*, “It was being made clear in the court that the right to talk to soldiers is precisely what the State is attacking. Anyone who might have believed there is such a thing as free speech was confronted day after day by the outrage of the prosecution that people outside the army should have attempted any communication whatsoever with people inside the army.”

8. *Workers Press*, March 5, p. 8.



# AROUND THE WORLD



## Protest Canadian Abortion Ruling Upholding Conviction of Morgentaler

In a 6-to-3 split decision handed down March 26, the Supreme Court of Canada upheld a rigid interpretation of Canada's restrictive abortion law, and confirmed the conviction and sentence of Dr. Henry Morgentaler, a Montréal physician, on a charge of performing illegal abortions. Morgentaler must now serve an eighteen-month prison term.

During sentencing last July, the judge admitted he was imposing an unusually severe penalty. He said he was doing this in view of Morgentaler's acknowledgment that he had performed between 5,000 and 6,000 abortions because he opposed any legal restriction on a woman's right to abortion.

"Dr. Morgentaler in jail is a lot more dangerous than Dr. Morgentaler free," said Claude-Armand Sheppard, his lawyer, who predicted that a "wave of indignation at Parliament and the criminal code" would eventually force repeal of the law.

The Supreme Court decision brought immediate protests from opponents of the abortion law, including Dr. Bette Stephenson, the president of the Canadian Medical Association, the main doctors' lobby.

## Kremlin Threatens Roy Medvedev

Soviet oppositionist Roy Medvedev was warned by the Moscow public prosecutor's office March 22 to cease publication of his new dissident journal, *20th Century*. He was also warned to cancel a contract with a Western company for the publication of his book suggesting that Soviet Nobel laureate Mikhail Sholokhov did not write all of the well-known novel *Quiet Don*.

## Sa'edi Released from Jail in Iran

Dr. Gholamhossein Sa'edi, a well-known Iranian playwright who had been imprisoned and tortured in the shah's jails, has been released, according to a March 26 press release from the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI). "Dr. Sa'edi," the release stated, "was kept in solitary confinement in Evin prison for more than eight months. He underwent torture and developed a heart disease and now is obliged to stay at home."

The release continued, "Since we know

from very obvious precedents of Jalal Al-Ahmad (killed mysteriously five years ago) and Samad Behrangi (drowned mysteriously six years ago) that the Iranian government acts brutally in the case of its dissidents, we hereby announce that we hold the Shah's government responsible for whatever has happened and might happen in future to Dr. Sa'edi."

Before Sa'edi's release, a number of prominent French intellectuals, including Simone de Beauvoir, Marguerite Duras, Daniel Guérin, Maurice Nadeau, and Jean-Paul Sartre, issued an appeal in defense of Sa'edi and of Dr. Ali Shariati, a theologian jailed by the shah. The appeal, which appeared in the March 20 *Le Monde*, stated, "In this period of honeymoon between France and Iran—that legendary country where 200 executions have taken place in three years and where some 40,000 political prisoners are rotting in the jails—we call on French intellectuals to mobilize to demand freedom for these two writers."

CAIFI called for continued defense of the other political prisoners still in jail. "Now," the release stated, "we feel more than ever, that the dissident writers of Iran should be defended against government harassment and torture. We will follow the cases of Dr. Ali Shariati and Ms. Vida Hadjebi Tabrizi [a jailed sociologist] with great perseverance until they too are released from the jails of the Shah."

More information on the cases of these political prisoners can be obtained from CAIFI, 156 Fifth Avenue, Room 600, New York, New York 10010.

## Liberation Groups Clash in Angola

More than sixty persons were reported killed and 200 wounded in two days of fighting in Luanda between two of the rival liberation movements. The clashes occurred at the end of March. According to the Portuguese news agency, ANI, the two groups involved were the MPLA (Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola—People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola) and the FNLA (Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola—Angolan National Liberation Front). Most of those killed were reported to be from the MPLA.

A curfew was placed on Luanda, and the Portuguese high commissioner for Angola, Gen. Silva Cardosa, ordered all troops of the

MPLA and FNLA to remain in their barracks. The official Angolan radio station reported that Portuguese troops and soldiers of the third liberation movement, UNITA (União Nacional para Independência Total de Angola—National Union for the Total Independence of Angola), patrolled the streets of Luanda's African shantytowns.

Portuguese Foreign Minister Ernesto Melo Antunes and Overseas Minister António da Almeida Santos flew to Luanda and helped negotiate an agreement by the FNLA and MPLA on March 28 to halt the fighting. Both groups also agreed to release the prisoners they had taken.

## Real Wages in Japan Fell in 1974

The 24.4 percent increase in the consumer price index in Japan during 1974 reduced the real monthly income of workers by an average of 0.3 percent per household, according to figures released February 28 by the Statistics Bureau of the Prime Minister's Office. It was the first decline in real wages since 1952.

## Washington Agrees to Sell Ammunition to Ethiopia

Washington announced March 17 that it was prepared to sell the Ethiopian military regime \$7 million worth of ammunition. The Provisional Military Administrative Council in Addis Ababa had requested in mid-February an emergency airlift of \$30 million worth of small arms ammunition, in addition to other long-term military assistance.

The State Department announced that since Washington "has been virtually the sole supplier of Ethiopia's military needs for over 20 years it did not believe that it could be totally unresponsive to the most recent request."

David Binder reported in the March 18 *New York Times*, "The Administration deliberately delayed acting on the request, a United States official said, to avoid the impression that it was taking sides in the struggle between Ethiopian government forces and the Eritrean secessionist movement in the north."

A State Department official also expressed a "strong hope that the two sides in the Eritrean conflict would soon enter into negotiations in order to end the fighting in

Eritrea and find an acceptable solution." He said that Washington was "working on a parallel diplomatic track" to the negotiation efforts of the Sudanese regime.

### London Protest Against Aid to Oman

More than 600 persons marched through the streets of London March 9 to demand the withdrawal of British and Iranian troops from Oman. The demonstration was organized by the Gulf Committee, the Iranian Students Society in Great Britain, and the Palestine-Gulf-Yemen Solidarity Committee. The British Labour government and the shah of Iran are collaborating with Omani dictator Sultan Qabus in suppressing the liberation struggle in Dhofar.

Last December, eighty-four British members of Parliament called on the Labour government to honor the pledge in its program to oppose all forms of colonialism, and to terminate Britain's military aid to Oman. Far from honoring the pledge, Prime Minister Harold Wilson has sought to keep secret even the extent of Britain's involvement. According to a report in the March 12 London *Guardian*, Labour MP Stan Newens failed in the House of Commons to obtain the details of Britain's military aid.

### South Korean Journalists Demand Reinstatement of Fired Colleagues

More than 100 employees occupied the editorial and printing facilities of *Dong-A Ilbo*, South Korea's largest daily newspaper, March 12 to demand the reinstatement of twenty journalists who had been fired earlier in the week. The protesters also charged the regime of President Park Chung Hee with attempting to stifle freedom of the press by pressuring the publisher of *Dong-A Ilbo*, Kim Sang Man, to dismiss the journalists.

Kim responded to the protest by firing seventeen more employees, bringing to ninety-seven the total number of journalists dismissed or suspended in the past few months by *Dong-A Ilbo* and other newspapers.

*Dong-A Ilbo* came under pressure from the regime for having reported antigovernment statements and activities. Big businesses withdrew their advertising from the newspaper, reportedly at the request of the South Korean security agencies.

### Cuba Signs Oil Import Agreement With Mexico, Venezuela, and USSR

The Cuban, Mexican, Soviet, and Venezuelan governments have agreed to participate in a joint venture to sell crude oil and petroleum products to countries without oil-producing capacities. Mexican Minister of Industry and Commerce José Campillo Saniz announced in Havana March 25.

Campillo said that Mexico's initial parti-

cipation in the deal would consist of a marketing agreement for 90,000 barrels of oil a day. He said that Mexico had also granted Havana a revolving credit line of \$20 million, which could be extended to \$80 million over a two-year period. The credit is to be used for Cuban purchases of Mexican machinery, equipment, and industrial raw materials. The two governments also reached an agreement to set up a joint maritime line that will run between Tampico and Havana.

### Customers Might Get Steamed Up

Union Oil Company has doubled the price for the steam it extracts from the earth to help heat and light San Francisco. Does the price increase have anything to do with any increase in the cost of tapping geothermal geysers? No. The company admits that its rates are simply pegged to whatever the market will bear. In this case, the market is determined by the price of alternate sources of energy—primarily oil—which has risen substantially in the last year.

A Union Oil spokesman refused to reveal the profit figures that would show how much the company is fleecing its customers for. "We won't reveal the economic breakdown of any division of the company," he said. "As a matter of policy, we won't do that."

### Six Executed in Ethiopia

The Ethiopian military regime executed six persons March 18. Tadesse Beru, a former police general, was said to have opposed the agrarian reform measures enacted by the regime. Lieut. Col. Hailu Regassa was charged with absconding with about \$40,000 in drought relief money. Alula Bekele, the former commander of the 60,000-member army reserve, was a friend of deposed Emperor Haile Selassie.

The three others executed were students who had been charged with planting bombs in Addis Ababa in December.

All six were tried by a court-martial. Only Lieutenant Colonel Hailu was condemned to death, with the five others receiving life sentences. But the Provisional Military Administrative Council overruled the life sentences and executed all six.

### Nixon Agonistes

Bible-thumper Billy Graham apparently believes that 40 years of toil in the White House vineyards have finally paid off. Former President Nixon, he says, has become deeply religious since resigning from office last year, taking particular interest in the life of Christ.

When he visited Nixon's San Clemente retirement villa in March, Graham said, they did not talk directly about Watergate. Instead, "most of our conversation was on

religion." "He showed me a large book he'd been reading from his grandmother's library. It was a life of Christ and a very good one."

### Brazilian Newspaper Publicizes Two Recent Cases of Torture

The São Paulo daily *O Estado*, in its March 21 issue, carried detailed accounts of the torture of two persons arrested by the Brazilian regime.

Antônio Carlos de Carvalho, a reporter for *O Estado*, was arrested by the political police at his home March 19, hooded, and taken to an unknown destination. He was told to strip and kneel and was then interrogated about the whereabouts of his cousin, who was being sought on charges of "subversion." When Carvalho replied that he didn't know, he was repeatedly beaten in the stomach, kidneys, liver, and head. The police released him the next day.

Retired army General Pedro Celestino da Silva Pereira wrote a letter to *O Estado* charging that his son had been arrested by the political police on March 3. General da Silva Pereira wrote that he was unable to see his son for fifteen days after the arrest. When he did see him, his son said that he had been tortured for ten days with electric shocks to the hands, feet, ears, anus, and genitals. Silva Pereira's letter was read before both houses of the Brazilian Congress.

### Can't Lose

At the Redstone missile arsenal at Huntsville, Alabama, the Pentagon is training technicians from both Israel and Saudi Arabia in the operation of missile systems.

### Egyptian Police Kill Textile Worker in Cairo Protest Against Inflation

Egyptian security police clashed with protesting textile workers outside the state-owned Misr spinning and weaving factory in Cairo March 21. At least one worker was killed and a "limited number of others" injured, according to Egyptian officials. The workers, who earn about US\$12.50 a week, were protesting inflation. Police were reported to be questioning forty to fifty persons in connection with the incident. It was the second time in three months that Egypt's rising cost of living had sparked labor protests in Cairo.

### Monarchy Abolished in Ethiopia

Ethiopia's Provisional Military Administrative Council, in a March 21 announcement, annulled last September's appointment of Crown Prince Asfa Wossen as successor to ousted Emperor Haile Selassie. The PMAC also abolished the titles of prince and princess. The decrees have the effect of abolishing the monarchy.



## España Sacudida por Crisis Profunda

Por Joaquín Canales

La crisis en la sociedad española y la movilización de masas que ésta engendra han sido las más grandes y extensas que se hayan registrado en ese país desde la Guerra Civil española. Esta crisis es el resultado de la combinación de los siguientes factores:

1. La decrepitud extrema del régimen de Franco.

2. La agitación que sacude a toda la región mediterránea, siendo Portugal el ejemplo más claro de esto.

3. La crisis económica mundial que ha afectado enormemente a España.

4. El debilitamiento del imperialismo (sobre todo el norteamericano) que no puede dar la ayuda suficiente como para poder frenar o aplastar el ascenso obrero.

Las sectores que se han movilizado son muy variados. Abarcan a la clase obrera, al estudiantado y los maestros, a sectores del campesinado, amas de casa, actores, empleados públicos, pequeños comerciantes y otros.

Los círculos dominantes están en pugna. Debaten sobre la mejor manera de controlar a la clase obrera. Hay desde los que piden la "mano dura" para aplastar a la clase obrera, hasta los que prefieren ceder un poco ante las demandas de ésta. Mientras esta disputa se profundiza cada vez más, las masas avanzan y la situación se vuelve más explosiva.

### Se Acabó el 'Milagro Español'

España ha empezado a sentir la crisis económica del capitalismo mundial. Desde el turismo hasta la industria automotriz y la de la construcción atraviesan por problemas. El descenso en la construcción afecta al sector de los materiales para la construcción. La industria textil también ha creado bastante desempleo, sobre todo en Cataluña. La industria automotriz y las auxiliares a ésta son también una fuente de despidos.

El problema del desempleo en España se agrava constantemente. La revista madrileña *Posible* presagió una "primavera caliente" con medio millón de desempleados.

Un secretario de la Comisión de Actividad Profesional del Colegio Central de Economistas, Miguel Pellicer Trullén, caracteriza la situación:

"Aun cuando el primer semestre de 1974 no se puede considerar de recesión para la economía española, ha supuesto la desapa-

rición de la válvula de escape que facilitaba todos nuestros problemas y, cara al 75, hay que temer que se vuelva incluso contra nosotros. Tomemos el caso del probable retorno de emigrantes en cantidades masivas: hay que considerar que, durante la crisis 1966-67 en Alemania, el retorno neto de compatriotas nuestros establecidos en aquel país anduvo cerca de los 95,000. Pues bien, según informaciones recientes, un 30 por 100 de los trabajadores que han venido a España a disfrutar estas últimas vacaciones navideñas, no tienen posibilidades de regresar a sus puestos de trabajo en Europa."

Por otro lado *La Opinión* de Buenos Aires del 27 de febrero comentó sobre la inflación en España:

"Aunque el gobierno español aún no ha proporcionado cifras oficiales, se calcula que durante 1974 la inflación trepó al 35 por ciento. Es, al menos, lo que sostiene un estudio realizado por las asociaciones de familias de Bilbao. La investigación atribuye la avalancha inflacionaria a los altos costos que alcanzó la alimentación." Más adelante, para completar el cuadro económico español el diario bonarense dice:

"El crecimiento del Producto Nacional Bruto (PNB) fue apenas de un 0.2 por ciento en 1974 contra 6.9 que había registrado en 1973.

"Ahora se cree que el balance de pagos, a fines de este año, será negativo, porque el costo de las importaciones aumentará en unos 450 millones de dólares."

Y para desgracia del gobierno español no sólo la crisis "normal" del sistema capitalista mundial afecta la una vez próspera economía española. También la sequía hace sus estragos. *Excelsior*, diario mexicano, informó el 8 de enero de 1975:

"España afronta su peor sequía de este siglo. Afecta la casi totalidad de su superficie desde el pasado verano, afirmaron hoy aquí los expertos.

"Salvo en la zona norte, muchos ganaderos sacrifican su ganado por carecer de alimentos, y los expertos agrícolas indican que, por lo menos, la mitad de los sembradíos no han germinado.

"La sequía, una casi total carencia de lluvias en siete meses, afecta ahora la provisión de agua potable a las ciudades y amenaza las fuentes de energía hidráulica.

"Algunos técnicos han dicho en estas últimas semanas que la situación en su

terreno es 'catastrófica,' y sus informes señalan que la economía nacional carecerá de medios para hacer frente a las calamidades."

Esta situación crítica de la economía española ha venido agudizando los conflictos obreros y a la vez ha impulsado a nuevos sectores a la lucha.

### La Lucha Es Política

"Son ya más de 220,000 en todo el país," informó *Excelsior* el 13 de diciembre refiriéndose al número de huelguistas en España. El movimiento obrero tuvo una gran actuación el año pasado—sobre todo los dos últimos meses. El semanal madrileño *Triunfo* del 8 de febrero, daba las siguientes cifras oficiales con respecto al número de conflictos durante 1974:

"Se celebró esta semana la reunión de la Comisión Permanente de la Organización Sindical, donde se informó que los datos más generales sobre la conflictividad laboral son los siguientes: 1,141 empresas afectadas y 2,196 conflictos, con participación de 669,861 trabajadores y 1,820,995 días de trabajo perdidos. El número de conflictos por cada 100,000 personas activas es de 17.1.

"El total de conflictos colectivos ocurridos en 1974 afectó al 5.23 por 100 de la población activa española, lo que significa que el pasado fue el año más conflictivo desde 1963. Sin embargo, el número total de conflictos, así como el de trabajadores afectados y de jornadas de trabajo perdidas sigue estando muy por debajo respecto de los países del Mercado Común, según se destacó."

Las cifras oficiales no siempre son dignas de confianza. En este caso es de esperarse que el gobierno trate de ocultar o de deformar los datos. Aun así, tomando sus cifras como reales, nos indican que el ascenso en los conflictos laborales durante 1974 ha sido el más grande desde 1963. Sin embargo, los primeros meses de 1975 indicaban que la dinámica era la de un aumento progresivo de los conflictos. *Triunfo* dio una idea de cual era el ambiente de tensión laboral a principios de febrero:

"En titulares se leían ese mismo día [30 de enero] las noticias referentes a otros conflictos laborales: 'Huelga de los funcionarios de Hacienda' (en Valencia), 'Vizcaya: ocho mil trabajadores parados por los conflictos: éstos afectan a una totalidad de quince mil,' 'Paro en Astano, de El Ferrol,' 'Los enlaces de Hauser y Menet piden ver a Fernández Sordo,' 'Dos detenidos en Tarragona (a consecuencia del conflicto laboral que afectó a las obras de instalación de la refinería de petróleo),'... 'Trescientos viticultores se encierran en una iglesia de Sevilla,' 'Paros y sanciones en empresas de subcontrata naval en Oviedo,' 'Los empleados de Renfe piden convenio colectivo,'

*Intercontinental Press*

'Torrelavega: nuevas suspensiones en Empresa General,' 'Paro en Vulcano (Vigo),' 'Se rompen las conversaciones en el Metro' (de Barcelona), 'Paros en las empresas del metal de Manlleu,' 'Once mil pesetas de aumento pide el grupo Philips.'"

Otro punto que no puede tomar en cuenta el informe oficial es el carácter de los conflictos. La tensión es explosiva. Esto se debe a que cada lucha laboral tiende a convertirse en una lucha política ya que irremediablemente se enfrenta directamente al estado y sus aparato represivo. Por lo tanto combina las consignas económicas con la lucha por las libertades democráticas (libertad de reunión, libertad de expresión, libertad de manifestación, etc.).

En algunas partes estos conflictos se combinan a la vez con las demandas nacionalistas (vascos, catalanes, etc.). Estas luchas van desde la autodeterminación de las nacionalidades oprimidas hasta el derecho a cultivar sus lenguajes nacionales y sus tradiciones. De esta manera los conflictos a este nivel son mucho más peligrosos (para el gobierno) y explosivos porque cuestionan el poder político del estado, no solamente la explotación económica de los patrones.

La lucha por la libertad de huelga también ha jugado un papel importante, ya que en España las huelgas son ilegales. La revista burguesa *Mundo*, publicada en Barcelona, analiza en un artículo aparecido el primero de marzo el efecto de las huelgas:

"... la huelga, antes que un conflicto, podría ser la expresión de un conflicto, su exteriorización. Pero, ni eso. Es mucho más: es la afloración de una conciencia y, en definitiva, un acto de poder. ..."

"El obrero que va a la huelga puede estar reactivado por motivos económicos, pero durante su transcurso las motivaciones van transformándose, se superan los niveles primarios y el clima llega a trascender las plataformas iniciales. Es aquí donde los avispados ven el peligro: el obrero toma conciencia de su fuerza, advierte que no se encuentra solo y constata que el castillo jerárquico montado se desmorona, los personajes siempre inaccesibles lo buscan, e incluso, se sientan en su mesa (han desaparecido los despachos, las peticiones de audiencia, los escritos, el silencio administrativo ... se ha desinflado el globo).

"... La experiencia nos demuestra que, desarrollándose las huelgas en la ilegalidad, no existiendo fondos de resistencia y disfrutando las empresas de posibilidades excepcionales como sanciones y despidos, expedientes a representantes sindicales, cierres patronales, desalojos y en último extremo el auxilio de la fuerza pública, el movimiento obrero no se ha frenado sino que cada vez adquiere más conciencia de sus posibilidades, así como sus limitaciones."

Los estudiantes han jugado un papel muy importante en las movilizaciones en España. Para fines de febrero se encontraban casi paralizados los 130,000 estudiantes de las cinco universidades de Madrid y Barcelona. Sin embargo, la lucha estudiantil se ha extendido a nuevos sectores, como son las universidades laborales donde tradicionalmente no había mucha actividad. *La Vanguardia Española*, diario de Barcelona, informaba el 5 de febrero:

"Un millar de alumnos de bachillerato, ... de la Universidad Laboral 'Francisco Franco' de Tarragona, se negaron a entrar en el comedor del centro a la hora de comer.

"Al parecer, los citados alumnos adoptaron esta postura en solidaridad con la actitud de sus compañeros de la Universidad Laboral de Gijón. Asimismo, solicitan una mayor participación en la gestión del centro."

El mismo día *La Vanguardia Española* informaba sobre un paro de empleados públicos en Madrid:

"La ola conflictiva que sacude a diversas provincias españolas ha llegado hasta el centro de la Administración, donde varios centenares de auxiliares administrativos y personal subalterno han efectuado paros de protesta por las condiciones económicas en que se encuentran y por los últimos aumentos salariales, muy inferiores al aumento del casi veinte por ciento que ha subido el coste de la vida en 1974.

"En los Ministerios de Educación, Asuntos Exteriores, Obras Públicas, Planificación del Desarrollo, Trabajo e Industria, más de 600 subalternos y auxiliares administrativos se han sumado al paro y en algunos casos el público se ha visto afectado por esta huelga de inactividad."

Otro huelga de un sector donde poco se acostumbra los conflictos fue la huelga de actores. Esta afectó a 65 empresas y 2,500 actores en Madrid. Es importante notar el carácter de esta huelga ya que protestaban, según *La Vanguardia Española* del 6 de febrero, "... al no reconocimiento, por las autoridades sindicales, de una comisión representativa elegida por los propios interesados, en una asamblea celebrada el 15 de diciembre pasado, para que intervenga con voz y voto en las próximas deliberaciones del convenio colectivo."

Por otro lado, incluso los pequeños comerciantes se han sumado a la lista de opositores al régimen. La revista argentina *Panorama* en su edición del 28 de febrero informó:

"El gobierno comenzó a sentirse desbordado cuando, el lunes 3, los comerciantes madrileños se declararon en huelga para protestar por el rigor con el que han empezado a actuar los inspectores municipales. Piquetas de jóvenes recorrieron los mercados, las carnicerías, pescaderías y verdulerías, ordenando el cierre. A media mañana no había un negocio de alimenta-

ción abierto. 'Esto me recuerda al cordobazo,' comentó, sorprendida, una profesora de Río Cuarto que está en viaje turístico. La rápida generalización del conflicto inquietó a todos y creó problemas en el abastecimiento de la capital durante dos días."

Así la radicalización va abarcando cada vez más sectores de la población. La mujer también está jugando un papel. En la revista *Posible* apareció el primero de febrero un manifiesto suscrito por el Seminario de Estudios Sociológicos Femeninos, la Asociación Castellana de Amas de Casa y Consumidoras, la Asociación Española de Mujeres Universitarias, la Hermandad Obrera de Acción Católica, la Comisión del Año Internacional de la Mujer del Club de Amigos de la UNESCO, las Asociaciones de Amas de Hogar de Moratalaz, Ventas Chamartín y Aluche, las Asociaciones de Amas de Casa de Tetuán y Getafe, la Comisión de Defensa de la Profesión del Colegio Oficial de Doctores y Licenciados, el Movimiento Apostólico Seglar, la Asociación de Mujeres Separadas y la Juventud Obrera Católica. El manifiesto incluye los siguientes párrafos:

"En España, la mujer en su lucha por la igualdad y liberación, tropieza con serias dificultades debido al tradicional predominio del hombre y la consiguiente dependencia de la mujer, y debido a las características del desarrollo político español que ha frenado el proceso de participación social y política del hombre y la mujer. ..."

"La falta del ejercicio de los derechos fundamentales del hombre reconocidos en otros países europeos, tales como el derecho de asociación, reunión, expresión, manifestación, huelga, si bien perjudica a cualquier movimiento reivindicativo, es doblemente gravosa para los sectores sociales más retrasados, como es el femenino. ..."

"Aparte de la discriminación legislativa, existen normas de comportamiento en las esferas gubernamentales y en la vida familiar, que tienden a mantener a la mujer apartada de la vida nacional.

"Estas características confirman que la clase dirigente, si bien habla mucho de promoción e igualdad de la mujer, en la realidad cotidiana, actúa para perpetuar un sometimiento y dependencia. La mujer es un ser humano, no un instrumento para frenar toda posibilidad de cambio ideológico que asegure la permanencia de las élites en el poder."

Otra indicación de la radicalización de la mujer se evidenció en una noticia aparecida en *La Opinión* el 8 de marzo:

"La policía clausuró catorce organizaciones de amas de casa, por tres meses, bajo la acusación de distribuir propaganda subversiva. Las amas de casa boicotearon mercados y comercios durante un día, en protesta por los altos precios."

[Continuará]



## 2. La Necesidad de Ayudar a los Presos Políticos

[Continúa de la semana pasada]

P. ¿Cuáles son las perspectivas generales para América Latina?

R. Es cierto que el golpe en Chile ha sido un duro retroceso para la revolución latinoamericana, pero no debemos exagerar la importancia de este golpe para la lucha de clases en América Latina. Al lado de esto tenemos ascensos como el de Colombia, Venezuela, Perú e inclusive se puede citar Argentina, donde las masas aún no están derrotadas. También hay ascensos en Bolivia y en Brasil.

En uno u otro grado, partiendo de uno u otro nivel, en todos los países que he mencionado, yo considero que han habido ascensos. Aunque no han sido espectaculares, contrapesan notablemente la derrota que ha significado el golpe en Chile.

Yo creo que la perspectiva general en América Latina es ésta: impulsar el desarrollo independiente de las masas para defender las conquistas que hasta ahora se han logrado, en unos países más, en otros menos, para obtener más conquistas en otros países y también para aplastar el peligro de golpe donde haya una amenaza de golpe reaccionario.

P. ¿Cuál es tu situación legal actual?

R. La situación legal mía, bueno, no es legal, es ilegal. He sido sacado del país en forma totalmente ilegal porque dentro de las leyes peruanas no está contemplada la deportación. A uno lo pueden meter preso, también hay casos en que aplican la pena de muerte, pero la deportación no existe en la legislación peruana. A mí no se me siguió ningún proceso, no se me acusó concretamente de nada. Se me detuvo, se me hicieron algunas preguntas políticas y a las 24 horas se me depositó en un avión. A través de varias peripecias, con cambio de aviones, al final se me dejó en México. Después se me entregó un pasaporte falsificado. A los ocho meses me cambiaron el pasaporte por uno correcto.

La situación mía es igual a la de los otros que estamos deportados por haber apoyado las movilizaciones de masas. Somos más o menos 5 o 6 y mientras que se permite el regreso de algunos deportados de la derecha se impide el nuestro.

P. ¿Por qué el gobierno adopta esta actitud?

R. Esto está encuadrado dentro de las

medidas represivas contra las masas y también está encuadrado dentro de una política podríamos llamar suicida del gobierno frente al golpe que se avecina. Yo estoy dispuesto a participar en las movilizaciones contra un golpe de estado de derecha, pero la política del gobierno no es ésta. La política del gobierno es la de negociaciones y otro tipo de acciones con los golpistas. El gobierno no está por la movilización de las masas, es por eso que no permite mi regreso.

P. ¿Crees tú que algún día el gobierno te permita regresar?

R. Yo creo que no hay que ilusionarse con eso. No hay que pensar que este gobierno va a permitir el regreso mío si es que no hay exigencia por parte de las masas. Creo que es posible mi regreso así como fue posible mi libertad. Pero, ¿por qué se me dio la libertad? Porque hubo presión de las masas en el Perú y en el exterior también hubo presión de la opinión pública mundial. Por eso el gobierno tuvo que darme la libertad.

Creo que con la deportación sucede lo mismo si hay presión de la opinión pública mundial por el retorno de los deportados. Entonces, el gobierno peruano va a tener que ceder y va a tener que permitir mi retorno. Pero que a él mismo le convenga, no le conviene, aunque sepa que yo voy a ser un miembro más de la movilización contra el golpe. Aunque sepa que yo voy a ir a dedicarme a eso. Al gobierno no le gusta eso precisamente.

P. ¿Qué papel juegan los grupos que defienden a los perseguidos políticos en América Latina tales como USLA<sup>3</sup>?

R. Yo creo que son muy importantes para contrarrestar la represión en América Latina por medio de la opinión pública mundial. Lo hemos visto en el caso de Chile inclusive, que es el caso más bárbaro que hemos vivido en las últimas décadas en América Latina. Si se ha permitido la salida de varios refugiados, si inclusive, se ha dado la libertad a algunos presos y si no se ha matado a más gente, es por la presión de la opinión pública mundial en gran medida.

3. United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners—Comité Norteamericano Pro Justicia hacia los Presos Políticos Latinoamericanos, 156 Fifth Ave., Room 600, New York, N.Y. 10010.

Por lo tanto, hay que prestar atención a este aspecto e impulsar, organizar y propiciar mayores movilizaciones de masas, mayores manifestaciones de la opinión pública internacional en contra de ese tipo de crímenes. Creo que en este sentido juegan un rol muy importante organizaciones tipo USLA.

P. ¿Qué otras organizaciones juegan ese papel?

R. Hay organizaciones de diverso tipo y de diverso grado acá en Europa. Por ejemplo, están los Chile Comités, es decir los comités de apoyo a Chile en Suecia. Estos se desarrollaron mucho después del golpe en Chile, agruparon mucha gente y cumplieron papeles muy importantes.

Sin embargo, creo que hubieran cumplido un rol mayor y hubieran agrupado a mucha más gente si es que no hubieran tenido en su programa un punto que dice por el socialismo. Este restringe la amplitud a los frentes porque al poner ese punto quiere decir que solamente ahí pueden entrar los que estén por el socialismo. Si no hubiera habido este punto, hubieran sido movimientos mucho más amplios que hubieran canalizado todo en sentimiento de solidaridad que había en Suecia hacia el pueblo chileno. Era un sentimiento de solidaridad masivo contra la represión en Chile; muy poca gente era indiferente en Suecia a las masacres y a los crímenes que se estaban cometiendo ahí. Se hubieran podido organizar movilizaciones de masas gigantescas si es que no hubiera habido este punto restrictivo.

Por otra parte, hay organizaciones de tipo Amnistía Internacional, que afortunadamente no tienen estos puntos restrictivos. Sin embargo, tienen ciertas limitaciones. Por ejemplo, dan poca atención a la organización de movilizaciones, reuniones públicas, manifestaciones, etc. Estas son las que verdaderamente van a presionar a los gobiernos de América Latina a que frenen, aunque sea parcialmente, la represión que están ejerciendo.

Yo no creo que esté mal enviar telegramas y pedir a estos gobiernos por carta que no repriman, que den libertad a los presos, que los traten en forma más humana, o mejor dicho, en forma menos inhumana, que no los torturen, etc. Yo creo que no está mal hacer todo esto, pero creo que no hay que limitarse a eso simplemente, sino tratar de impulsar también grandes movilizaciones de masas. De todas maneras, creo que estos

organismos, a pesar de todas sus limitaciones metodológicas, han cumplido y están cumpliendo un rol muy importante internacional como los Chile Comités.

Por otra parte, organismos tipo USLA tienen la ventaja de no tener puntos políticos que los restrinjan, como el socialismo, y también utilizan los métodos de las movilizaciones de masas. Yo comparto la metodología que tiene USLA. Así lo he manifestado en la gira que hice por Canadá donde hay otro organismo con esas mismas características que es el CLA.<sup>4</sup>

Ese mismo método de USLA trato de impulsarlo en Europa en la medida en que trabajo con cualquier sector que esté involucrado en la lucha contra la represión en América Latina.

*P. ¿Tienes alguna sugerencia para los comités de defensa?*

*R.* Sí, hay algo más que quiero decir, todos estos organismos aunque no tengan la misma metodología, deben estar más interrelacionados. En primer lugar, para intercambiar informaciones y en segundo lugar, para preparar en el futuro acciones en conjunto.

Otra cosa que quería señalar con respecto al trabajo de estos organismos, es que deben comprender la idiosincrasia de los pueblos latinoamericanos para poder actuar mejor. Nuestros países son países poco desarrollados, la comunicación de un país a otro es muy difícil. Por lo tanto eso hace que las actividades internacionalistas no se desarrollen al mismo grado que en los países avanzados. También hay otro aspecto, el grado intenso de nuestras luchas por defender nuestros precarios derechos democráticos o por defender nuestro nivel de vida que es bajísimo, hace que no prestemos mucha atención a la lucha por los presos políticos.

O sea, estamos en la lucha, caemos presos por esa lucha, salimos de la prisión, volvemos a entrar a la lucha y volvemos a caer presos. Pero cuando estamos afuera no le damos la debida importancia a la lucha por los presos políticos. Yo creo que esto es una cosa negativa, pero es así. Es el reflejo de la situación que existe en América Latina.

Entonces poco nos preocupamos por eso en nuestros países. Menos aún nos preocupamos por comunicar al exterior como es la represión ahí, quiénes están presos, cómo están y todos los otros aspectos. Poca atención prestamos a la necesidad de comunicar al exterior las masacres y las torturas que hay. Y esto sucede no en un

país, sino en todos los países de América Latina.

También no comprendemos cómo por un asunto por el que nosotros allá nos movilizamos tan poco, puede haber gente en los países desarrollados de Europa y Norteamérica, se estén preocupando y realizando movilizaciones inclusive de masas. Eso no se comprende bien, no se conoce bien en Latinoamérica.

Por lo tanto creo que estos organismos deben ver la forma de por sí mismos ir y recabar la información. Extraer informaciones de ahí para conocer cuál es el volumen de la represión, cuáles son las formas de la represión y para darlas a conocer en el exterior.

Esto lo digo por la experiencia de todo el tiempo que he vivido en Europa. Muchas veces ha habido gentes que me han pedido informaciones acerca de América Latina y la represión ahí. Grupos de Amnesty

International, grupos de los Chile Comités me han dicho: Mire, sabe que nosotros estamos preocupados por tales personas. Por ejemplo, un grupo de Amnesty en Suecia me dijo: Hemos decidido encargarnos de esta profesor, que está preso en el Perú, nos han pasado este nombre pero ¿con quién averiguamos esto? Hemos escrito a tales y tales personas y no hemos obtenido ninguna respuesta. Nosotros queremos informaciones para saber dónde está, cómo está, para poder defenderlo. ¿A quién podemos escribir? ¿Cómo podemos hacerlo? En la misma situación están muchas otras organizaciones.

Hay potencialidad de solidaridad muy grande, pero hace falta información. Creo que no se puede esperar que se contesten las cartas de América Latina, sino que estos mismos organismos deben ir y extraer las informaciones sobre el terror. □

## Las Noticias Vuelan

[El siguiente comunicado fue publicado el 20 de marzo en el diario bonarense *La Opinión*, bajo el título "Querella al FBI el Partido Socialista norteamericano."]

\* \* \*

### Washington

El FBI (Federal Bureau of Investigation) organizó sistemáticamente actos de provocación contra el Partido de los Trabajadores Socialistas Norteamericanos, de acuerdo con documentos que se dieron a conocer ayer en Washington.

Su objetivo era, según se desprende de los documentos, destruir la infraestructura de ese movimiento político, fundado en el curso de los años 30.

El partido, de tendencia trotskista, cuyos candidatos fueron siempre derrotados en elecciones municipales y parlamentarias, hizo recientemente una reclamación judicial contra el FBI, de 27 millones de dólares, por haber violado sus derechos constitucionales. Es altamente inusual en Estados Unidos, que un partido político demande judicialmente al máximo organismo policial del país.

Una Corte Federal entregó al Partido de los Trabajadores Socialistas Norteamericanos, unos expedientes conteniendo 3,000 páginas de documentos reveladores sobre el programa COINTELPRO, organizado por el extinto Edgard Hoover, ex director del FBI.

El programa tenía por objeto montar provocaciones, enturbiar la reputación de los candidatos enviando cartas anónimas a los periódicos, fomentar la agitación racista

en el seno del partido y hacer, en general, la vida imposible a sus militantes.

Unó de los documentos (citado a título de ejemplo), indica que el FBI autorizó a su filial de Denver, Colorado, a sabotear por carta anónima la campaña de Allen Taplin, candidato al Consejo de Educación.

En 1964, otra carta anónima fue enviada al director del diario *The Morning Call*, de Paterson, Nueva Jersey, para denunciar las tendencias políticas del periodista Murray Zuckoff que era miembro de dicho partido, viéndose éste obligado a abandonar la política, para poder conservar el empleo. □

## How to subscribe

If you'd rather not cut up this issue by using the subscription blank . . .

Put your name and address on any old piece of paper and send it with \$7.50 for a six-month subscription.

Intercontinental Press  
P. O. Box 116  
Village Station  
New York, N. Y. 10014

[ ] Enclosed is \$7.50 for a six-month subscription.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Street \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

4. Canadian Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners—Comité Canadien-se Pro Justicia hacia los Presos Políticos Latinoamericanos, Box 38, Station B, Toronto, Ontario.



## Portuguese Trotskyists Call for Intensified Struggle

[The following leaflet, bearing the heading "For an Anticapitalist Mass Movement to Smash Fascist Reaction! Forward to the Socialist Revolution!" was issued March 14 by the executive committee of the Liga Comunista Internacionalista (LCI—Internationalist Communist League, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International in Portugal).

[The text has been translated by *Intercontinental Press*.]

\* \* \*

Comrades:

The deepening of the anticapitalist mass mobilization has been shown by the working class's extraordinary response to the reactionaries' abortive coup of March 11. This mobilization took place in face of the paralysis and incapacity of the bourgeoisie and its politicians to meet the situation. At the same time, it has established a new relationship of forces, with the workers on the offensive!

The truth is, comrades, that the silence displayed by the capitalist parties is not accidental. Frightened by the recent rise of workers struggles, important capitalist sectors precipitated a coup. Militarily unprepared and politically disorganized, the coup weakened still further their capacity to take the initiative.

However, that does not at all mean that their capacity to react has been definitively smashed.

Just the opposite. The next time, they will plan better and direct all their forces toward conclusively crushing the economic, social, and political rights of the workers.

In effect, what could not be conjured up on March 11 or September 28<sup>1</sup> has certainly not been given up by the capitalist reactionaries and imperialists. When the time comes for a general counteroffensive, the reactionaries are certain to create and utilize armed bands from the fascist organizations to establish a climate of social instability and terror. They will step up the anticommunist campaign, undertake an offensive of the imperialist forces through the action of NATO troops and CIA "surveillance," and utilize to the full all the reactionary military forces within the armed forces—in particular the followers of Spínola.

The events of the evening of March 13

and March 14<sup>2</sup> clearly show that the capitalists have not succeeded in launching and preparing such an offensive up to now. Only the force of the workers can stop them—as it did on September 28 and March 11—and smash them with a victorious proletarian revolution.

But, from the point of view of the capitalists, first and foremost it is a matter of consolidating positions that they were obliged to concede in the class-struggle arena in view of the workers' accelerated mobilization and combativity. For that very reason, they will continue to gamble also on winning a large percentage in the elections, which will consolidate their base of social support against the workers' mobilization.

Comrades, while it is true that the bourgeoisie will learn the lessons of their defeat, it is also true that the workers will learn the lessons of their victories better.

Pressured by anticapitalist mass struggles, the recently formed Conselho da Revolução [Revolutionary Council] has just taken a first step that limits the power of capital—the bank nationalizations.

Notwithstanding that this step genuinely represents an important advance in the fight of the Portuguese workers movement, it can only be meaningful if it is accompanied by an entire series of other steps that definitively break the economic and political power of the bourgeoisie.

Comrades, nationalization of the insurance companies without compensation, expropriation of the big industrial and trade firms—in particular those directly involved in the attempted coup of March 11, such as CUF<sup>3</sup>, nationalization of all foreign banks, centralization of all banking in a single state bank, a monopoly of foreign trade to combat the economic sabotage of the imperialists, and the administration of all these firms under direct, ongoing workers control, are measures guaranteed to hit the economic and political power of the capitalists and to prevent fascist reaction from continuing to organize.

But this requires not only deepening and extending a strong anticapitalist mass movement, which clearly cannot be achieved through collaborating with the

2. The Revolutionary Council announced the nationalization of the banks following their occupation by bank workers.

3. Companhia União Fabril, holding company that accounts for more than one-tenth of all corporate assets of Portugal.

bourgeois politicians of the PPD<sup>4</sup>. It also requires:

- Reinforcement of antifascist revolutionary guards, organized on the basis of unity in action by all workers and revolutionary organizations.

- Generalization, coordination, and centralization of the self-defense efforts against fascist reaction and the autonomous organization of the workers on the job, in the neighborhoods, and in the trade unions.

- Creation of a government that will serve and defend the workers' interests, with emphasis on the Working-Class United Front and the autonomous, ongoing mobilization and organization of all workers.

*Immediate expropriation of the big trade, industrial, and agricultural companies, starting with those involved in the coup attempt! Place them under workers control!*

*Ban all fascist parties and organizations!*

*Dissolve the PDC and CDS<sup>5</sup>*

*Public trials and prison for all reactionary officers!*

*Organize revolutionary guards and mass self-defense against capitalist reaction!*

*Long live the working-class united front!*

*Long live the revolutionary unity of the workers, soldiers, and sailors!*

*For a revolutionary workers government!*

4. Partido Popular Democrático—People's Democratic party.

5. Partido Democrático Cristão—Christian Democratic party; Centro Democrático Social—Social Democratic Center.

### Changing your address?

If you are, fill out this form right away and send it to us to avoid any interruption in your subscription.

Old address

---



---



---

New address (please print)

---



---



---

Intercontinental Press  
P. O. Box 116, Village Station  
New York, N. Y. 10014

1. For an analysis of the September 28 attempted coup, see *Intercontinental Press*, October 14, 1974, p. 1318.

# On Portugal's Bank Nationalizations

[The following leaflet, bearing the heading "Nationalization of the Banks, a Great Victory for the Workers," was issued March 14 by the revolutionary socialists of the Aliança Socialista de Juventude (ASJ—Young Socialist Alliance) and the Partido Revolucionário dos Trabalhadores (PRT—Revolutionary Workers party) in Portugal.

[The text has been translated by *Intercontinental Press*.]

\* \* \*

## Defend and Extend It by Mobilizing the Workers and Their Allies

The March 13 decision of the Conselho da Revolução [Revolutionary Council] to nationalize banking is a concession to a demand favored by the working masses for months. It is an important victory in the fight against big capital, establishing a new and much stronger basis for the workers and their allies to carry forward the democratic revolution to victory.

Banking is a part of the foundation of the monopolies. This indisputable truth should alert us to the fact that the big economic interests will attempt by every possible means to regain control of it. To achieve this counterrevolutionary goal, they will use all that remains of their powerful national and international economic and political resources. That is why we appeal to all workers and organizations that say they are for the working class and socialism to form a firm united front to defend this victory against the reactionaries.

## Defend and Deepen the Antimonopoly Measures

The first step that must be taken to defend the nationalization of the banks is to place their operation under workers control. It should be made quite clear that the expropriation must be carried out without any compensation, since it is evident that the capitalists' money will always be invested in new reactionary ventures.

In addition, big capital must be deprived of its remaining sources of support by nationalizing under workers control all the property of the big economic interests. This will be the most efficient way to prevent the Champalimaud, CUF and Company [Companhia União Fabril], groups from continuing with their tactics of economic sabotage, massive firings and putschist provocations.

For the same reasons, and to definitively counteract the lies and slanders sown by the reactionaries in the countryside, there should be immediate redistribution of the property of the big landowners. Only in this way will it become absolutely clear to the

rural masses why they must join the workers and the revolution.

## Crush the Putschist Provocations

The pressures from the imperialists and NATO, the wave of reactionary rumors in various parts of the country, show most clearly that putschist provocations continue, making a firm and immediate reply necessary. In this context we reaffirm the need for such immediate steps as:

- Public trials for the assassins before a tribunal of elected representatives from the RAL 1 [Regimento de Artilharia Ligeira No. 1—Light Artillery Regiment No. 1] and the Intersindical [national trade-union federation].

- Formation in all factories and other firms of armed self-defense pickets, to be centralized through the Intersindical.

- Support to the "cleanup" and democratization of the armed forces, with regular assemblies of the soldiers and sailors, and the greatest freedom of action within them for workers parties.

- Expropriation without compensation of all monopolies and companies that threaten to shut down or fire workers. Place them under workers control.

It is no secret that one of the ways the bourgeoisie prepared the coup was to attack the workers' living standard and jobs, which aggravated the economic crisis. The workers and people's movement must reply categorically to this offensive, making the capitalists pay for the whole crisis. The only way to do this is by insisting on:

- An emergency wage increase, price freezes, and compensation for all unemployed equal to the minimum wage.

## For an Economic Plan Developed by the Workers Movement

The government's economic and social plan did not take the class struggle into account—Melo Antunes [then economics minister] admitted this on RTP [Radiotelevisão Portuguesa, the state broadcasting network]. But the class struggle has deepened despite his wishes. The antiquated plan developed by the provisional government behind the backs of the masses is not working; it has already been completely outstripped by the events.

Moreover, the antimonopolist measures aroused the most furious resistance from the reactionaries, which will provoke an economic disaster in the short run. The only possible response to this danger is to institute immediate economic planning by the workers movement. This must include the emergency measures already mentioned. Such a plan must be discussed and put into effect right away by the workers as

a whole with active participation by the Intersindical, the workers-control committees in the factories and banks, and the small-farmers organizations.

## A Workers and Socialist Pact

A united front of the trade-union and political organizations of the working class (particularly of the CP, SP, and Intersindical) continues to be a necessity for the masses, regardless of their support to this or that party.

Only unyielding unity and complete political independence from the bourgeoisie will make it possible for the proletariat to wage a victorious struggle against the reactionaries. The streets, the elections, and the Constituent Assembly itself must be made to serve the struggle for these measures.

The united front of workers organizations will reach its highest expression as solid mass organizations develop—organizations that are real centers of workers and mass power in the factories, the neighborhoods, and the countryside.

Comrades:

The nationalization of the banks must be consolidated as a real anticapitalist victory. Their control and development must be in the hands of the workers. This is a pressing need. The PRT and the ASJ are also convinced that this experience and the development of this mobilization will leave no room for doubt that the only guarantee of the democratic and anticapitalist conquests is a government of the workers and their allies, because only under their power will the transition to socialism be possible.

- *Long live the bank nationalizations!*
- *Revolutionary justice for the putschists!*
- *For the united organization of workers, soldiers, and sailors!*
- *For a united front of workers organizations!* □

## Arab Prisoners Hold Hunger Strike to Protest Israeli Jail Conditions

About forty Palestinian prisoners from the West Bank and East Jerusalem launched a week-long hunger strike on February 23 in the Nablus, Ramallah, and Kfar Yona jails. The prisoners protested the extension of their imprisonment without being brought to trial. On March 3, guards at the Nablus prison attacked the hunger strikers and tried to force them to eat. At least one of the prisoners was known to have been injured.

On February 28, about seventy women, many of them mothers and wives of the protesting prisoners, demonstrated in front of the Red Cross offices in East Jerusalem, demanding their release.



# Sakharov Demands Release of Kovalyov

[We print below two appeals from Soviet dissidents. One, dated December 27, 1974, is a New Year's appeal for political prisoners signed by academician Andrei Sakharov and biologist Sergei Kovalyov. The other, signed by Sakharov alone and dated December 28, demands freedom for Kovalyov, who had been arrested in the twenty-four-hour interval.]

[Despite KGB death threats against both him and his family, Sakharov has continued consistently to publicize cases of political repression as he hears of them. These appeals have helped to transmit abroad specific incidents of repression that might otherwise have gone unknown for months.]

[On March 5, Sakharov and twenty-two other dissidents appealed to President Ford to extend his assistance to the effort to free Anatoly Marchenko, a Soviet fighter for democratic rights who was arrested February 26. Marchenko, like Kovalyov, had issued numerous statements protesting political repression in the Soviet Union and had worked with and supported Sakharov. Since they are not as well known as Sakharov, both Marchenko and Kovalyov could, from the Stalinist regime's point of view, be more safely repressed. Just how long Sakharov's international fame will protect him remains to be seen.]

[Despite the misplaced confidence in Ford the appeal for Marchenko reflected, that appeal and others like those printed below have helped to publicize abroad new developments in the Kremlin's campaign of repression against those who hold dissident views. In doing so they have aided in the effort to build international campaigns in defense of the regime's victims.]

[The translation was done for *Intercontinental Press* by Marilyn Vogt.]

\* \* \*

Today, as we stand on the threshold of a new year, 1975, we appeal for a general amnesty of prisoners of conscience the world over, for the freedom of those who are suffering for their beliefs and for selfless, nonviolent defense of the rights of others. We write from a great and tragic country whose fate has an enormous influence on the life of the entire world.

The year now ending has been an alarming one for us and for our friends. We want to draw attention to the fate of many others whom we know and do not know who are languishing in prisons and camps. We recall the new arrests in the Baltic region, in Armenia, in Moscow, Leningrad, and Kiev; and the arrest of Osipov,<sup>1</sup>

1. Vladimir Osipov, editor of an unofficial journal called *Veche*, which had a nationalist orientation,

Maramzin,<sup>2</sup> and Vins.<sup>3</sup> We recall the unjust trials that have only recently occurred of Nekipelov,<sup>4</sup> Khaustov,<sup>5</sup> Superfin,<sup>6</sup> Heifitz,<sup>7</sup> Airakyan,<sup>8</sup> Shtern,<sup>9</sup> Erika Tsast,<sup>10</sup> and dozens of others; and the alarming searches and interrogations.

Let a general political amnesty open for our country, and for all countries, the road to freedom and a sane and decent life.

Sergei Kovalyov  
Andrei Sakharov

December 27, 1974

was arrested in November 1974 and has not yet been tried.

2. Vladimir Maramzin was arrested July 24, 1974, for having allegedly assembled a collection of the writings of dissident poet Joseph Brodsky, who is now living in the United States. Maramzin renounced his activities and received a five-year suspended sentence February 21.

3. George P. Vins, a leader of the Baptist movement, was arrested in 1974. On January 31 of this year he was sentenced to five years in prison and five years exile. The charge, according to a report in the February 3 *New York Times*, was "harming the interests of Soviet citizens under a pretext of carrying out religious activity."

4. V.A. Nekipelov was sentenced to two years imprisonment under Article 190 of the Russian Criminal Code ("anti-Soviet activity") in May 1974.

5. Viktor Khaustov was sentenced in March 1974 to four years in camp and five years in exile for distributing such allegedly "anti-Soviet" materials as the memoirs of the late dissident communist and Old Bolshevik Alexei Kosterin.

6. Gabriel Superfin was sentenced to five years in a strict-regime camp and two years exile under Article 70 of the Russian Criminal Code (particularly dangerous "anti-Soviet activity") in May 1974.

7. Mikhail Heifitz was sentenced to four years in a strict-regime labor camp and two years exile for allegedly distributing samizdat material, some of which was said to be writings by Joseph Brodsky.

8. Paruir Airakyan was sentenced to seven years imprisonment November 22, 1974, for his alleged role in organizing an Armenian national party. In October 1974, at least eleven other young Armenians received prison terms under a similar charge.

9. Mikhail Shtern was sentenced December 31, 1974, to eight years in a labor camp on charges of swindling and bribe-taking. Sakharov has stated that the charges against Shtern were no more than an anti-Semitic provocation by the authorities and were utterly unfounded. Shtern was also accused of poisoning Soviet children. According to a report in the December 5, 1974, *London Times*, Sakharov said that this charge stemmed from a spurious-sounding news article that appeared in 1961, but that the story of the "children" Shtern had allegedly poisoned boiled down to an unfortunate incident involving a child who is in fact still alive.

10. We do not know the details of Erika Tsast's case.

Postscript: This letter was written during the night of December 26-27. I was not able to make it public before news arrived during the day of December 27 that Sergei Kovalyov had been arrested. □

\* \* \*

The arrested scholar, my close friend Sergei Kovalyov, is a candidate of the biological sciences and a man of remarkable spiritual beauty and strength and boundless altruism. Not very long ago he and I discussed the New Year's appeal for amnesty for political prisoners. Now, today, he is one of them. The official reason for the arrest is a charge relating to the publication in Lithuania of the *Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church*.

In my opinion, this is a convenient pretext for the authorities to conduct an investigation and trial far away from friends and publicity. The life of Kovalyov, an intelligent and talented man, has for many years now been devoted to the defense of human rights, to the struggle for a public airing of information and against illegality. He was a member of the Initiative Group for the Defense of Human Rights from its inception, a member of the Soviet group of Amnesty International, and coauthor and author of important documents defining fundamental roads of struggle for human rights in our country. Without great fanfare, Kovalyov did a great deal of good and difficult work. It is no accident, for example, that he was the one who succeeded in establishing the liaison between Simas Kudirka's mother and the U.S. embassy that ultimately led to Kudirka's freedom. In May of this year Kovalyov, with [Tatiana] Velikanova and [Tatiana] Khodorovich, announced the renewed publication of the *Chronicle of Current Events* and their responsibility for its being circulated. This was a courageous historic step, but at the same time it was a challenge to those who have declared the *Chronicle* slanderous and anti-Soviet, those who conduct a battle against truth and open, public discussion.

I appeal to Sergei Kovalyov's colleagues, the biologists of all countries. I appeal to Amnesty International, which Kovalyov is a member of, the organization whose spirit all of his activities reflected. I appeal to the International League for the Rights of Man. I appeal to all people who value decency, integrity, and intellectual freedom. I urge you to launch an international campaign to free Sergei Kovalyov.

Andrei Sakharov

December 28, 1974 □

A subscription to *Intercontinental Press* is still a BEST BUY.

Check rates inside cover.

## Scholars Protest Repression in Yugoslavia

[The following appeal was sent to President Tito December 23, 1974, by the International Committee of Concern for Academic Freedom in Yugoslavia. It is reprinted from the February 6 issue of the *New York Review of Books*.]

\* \* \*

Dear Marshal Tito,

The international community of scholars and scientists feels increasingly concerned about the news of repressive measures against intellectuals and attempts to curtail academic freedom in Yugoslavia. Particularly shocking is the recently introduced law for the Republic of Serbia, abridging the self-management of the universities and authorizing the Parliament to suspend, on political grounds, university teachers from their positions. It is understood that the introduction of the law is part of a concerted attack on a number of internationally known and respected Marxist philosophers and their students. If the law is applied, it threatens with ruin the entire inner organization of Yugoslav universities, the autonomy and self-management of which has been a pride of the nation and a model for the world at large.

In view of these developments, we in whose names the present letter is written have decided to form a standing International Committee of Concern for Academic Freedom in Yugoslavia. We are friends of the country, who admire Marshal Tito's achievements for the liberation of the Yugoslav peoples and for the building of a new, democratic and humanist socialism. We should hate to see these achievements ruined by a return to authoritarian and reactionary forms of political management.

The aim of our Committee is to raise the issue of academic freedom in Yugoslavia in all national and international academic institutions and organizations and to keep the news media informed of the developments. The Committee will be in existence as long as repression in Yugoslavia continues.

We regard it as our right and duty to protest any further infringements on academic freedom and violations of United Nations Charter on human rights in Yugoslavia. In particular, we protest the new amendments to the university law in Serbia and urge Marshal Tito to use his influence and statesmanship to repudiate this law and see that it is not applied. It is our conviction that only by restoring autonomy to the universities and abstaining from repressive measures against the country's intellectuals can Yugoslavia survive as a respected member of the family of progressive and peace-loving nations.

We who form the Committee are the following scholars and scientists:

*Sir Alfred J. Ayer*, Professor of Philosophy, University of Oxford, Past President, Institut International de Philosophie (Paris); *Professor Noam Chomsky*, Professor of Linguistics, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, USA; *Professor Robert S. Cohen*, Professor of Physics and Philosophy, Boston University, USA; *Professor Dagfinn Føllesdal*, Professor of Philosophy, University of Oslo, Norway, and Stanford University, USA; *Dr. Jürgen Habermas*, Max-Planck-Institut, Starnberg, BRD; *Professor*

*Jaakko Hintikka*, Professor of Philosophy, Academy of Finland and Stanford University, USA, Vice-President, International Union of History and Philosophy of Science; *Professor Harald Ofstad*, Professor of Philosophy, University of Stockholm, Sweden; *Professor Chaim Perelman*, Professor of Philosophy, Université Libre de Bruxelles, Belgium, President, Institut International de Philosophie (Paris); *Professor Paul Ricoeur*, Professor of Philosophy, Université de Paris; *Professor Georg Henrik von Wright*, Professor of Philosophy, Academy of Finland and Professor-at-Large, Cornell University, USA, Past President, International Union of History and Philosophy of Science. □

## Pennington Replies to WRP Slanders

[The following letter was published in the March 13 issue of *Red Weekly*, the newspaper of the International Marxist Group, British section of the Fourth International.]

\* \* \*

Dear Comrade Johns,

In your article in *Workers Press* on 6 March you say that: 'The International Marxist Group has an obligation to the entire labour and trade union movement to give a full explanation of their involvement in the Red Lion Square debacle.'

Actually, comrade Johns, it is you and your organisation that has an obligation to explain why you welshed on the anti-fascist struggle at Red Lion Square and on all the other anti-fascist mobilisations both before and after Red Lion Square.

Your insinuation that 'the IMG are covering up for a police agent in their ranks' is both offensive and particularly obscene when the IMG is facing a witch-hunt from the state following the publication of the Scarman Report. One may add that it is a strange way for the WRP to defend militants against the attacks of the ruling class.

In order to put a stop to your slanderous references to the unnamed witness, I will explain why that comrade's name was withheld. He had just taken a job in a factory which was unorganised, and he was involved in trying to organise the labour force. Obviously had he been called, and his name blazoned across the press, it would have been very easy for the employers to sack him. This would have been the effect of naming him—is this what you want? Of course, we had no guarantee that the Tribunal or the police would not notify his employers, but we had to take those steps open to us to protect our militant.

We will be very interested to hear from the WRP what it intends to do in defence of

the IMG—because do not fear, comrades of the WRP, the attacks now being made on the IMG are the forerunners of further attacks not just on the revolutionary left but on the entire working class movement.

Yours fraternally,  
Bob Pennington  
(for the IMG Political Committee).

**Inter-continental Press available in microform**

...from



**Xerox University Microfilms**

300 North Zeeb Road  
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106

**Xerox University Microfilms**  
35 Mobile Drive  
Toronto, Ontario,  
Canada M4A 1H6

**University Microfilms Limited**  
St. John's Road,  
Tyler's Green, Penn,  
Buckinghamshire, England

PLEASE WRITE FOR  
COMPLETE INFORMATION



# FROM OUR READERS

Members of the Young Socialist Alliance in Sacramento, California, have decided to give Intercontinental Press a boost "in this provincial capital." Their plans include making up a leaflet explaining the advantages of becoming a regular reader of Intercontinental Press. They would use it in introducing the newsmagazine to people in the Sacramento area.

Along with the note about this initiative taken by the YSA in Sacramento, M.M. sent in two subscriptions and a renewal.

Among the latest subscription renewals received in the Business Office was one from C.E.R. of Maryland, who enclosed \$15 and added a footnote to the form: "Hope it doesn't depreciate too much by the time it gets to you!"

And J.V.H. of San Jose, California, added an encouraging comment to his form and attached \$12: "As poverty-stricken as I am, my life would be poorer still without my weekly dose of IP. I've saved for 3 weeks for this."

Here is a special request we got from P.K. of Montréal, Québec:

"*Boycottons le code postal!* Please write this on my sub as this helps speed up mail delivery. It is part of a union campaign to defend the post workers in face of automation."

A university student sent in a renewal, asked for missing back copies, and added:

"By the way, a couple of weeks ago while I was at the post office buying some stamps and reading the latest IP, someone grabbed me by the shoulder and said, 'What are you, some kind of Trotskyist?' It was one of my professors. I expected to get into an argument till I saw the same IP in his hand. Small world."

A bouquet from S.K. of British Columbia: "Just a note to let you know how much I enjoy ICP—in addition to its having a great use value."

"The index at the end of the year is useful for finding a particular topic I need info on."

"As a university student I am always utilizing ICP for my essays."

"Thanks a lot!"

We're grateful to know that people really do find that index useful.

In response to a circular letter we sent out, R.T. of San Diego, California, wrote:

"I appreciate your letter about the merger of the Militant and the International Socialist Review. Would you be so kind as to merge my subscriptions to both, then follow up with a year's subscription to Intercontinental Press? I have enjoyed both the Militant and ISR very much. I do share the

above with friends—a little education should not hurt after reading the San Diego Union, Time, Newsweek, and the Evening Tribune of San Diego."

A doctor of medicine, whom we will not identify, said this in renewing his first-class mail subscription: "The IP is the highest quality journal I read, whether political, medical, or otherwise. Your reports on the Argentine situation and the IMT/LTF debate were excellent. The IP keeps me going. Now I couldn't be other than Trotskyist. Keep up the good work."

One of our readers in an American prison has asked us for personal help. Now forty-seven years old, he has served five years of a twenty-five-year sentence. He counts on being released in 1983, but next August he is applying for earlier release.

Whenever his sentence is terminated, he will be deported at once to his native Yugoslavia, which he left in 1964.

He is feeling the isolation, since he has received no letters or publications from Yugoslavia since he was imprisoned. What he would like is to find someone in Yugoslavia who could write him in English (apparently because of prison regulations). He hopes that if such a person could be found, she would be interested in his literary work.

If anyone has any suggestions, we will be glad to pass them on or to furnish the address of this prisoner.

Alain Beiner of the Editions d'Avant Garde in Montréal has asked us to call attention to a pamphlet they have just published. It consists of a French translation of the first five chapters of *Struggle for a Proletarian Party* by James P. Cannon.

In these chapters Cannon deals with the organizational principles of Bolshevism as they were raised and debated in the 1939-40 factional struggle in the Socialist Workers party, in which Leon Trotsky participated.

This is the first time that Cannon's contribution has appeared in French.

For a copy send the equivalent of 95 cents Canadian (for Americans that's a \$1 bill). The address is Editions d'Avant-Garde, 226 est, rue Ste-Catherine, Montréal 129, Québec.

We have long thought that the increasingly slow and uncertain delivery of the mail was the end product of the degeneration of the postal system—just one of the many indicators of the degeneration of the capitalist system as a whole.

From the cartoon below, you can see that other thoughtful minds interested in this phenomenon are now beginning to think



"Maybe That's One Reason It's Been So Slow"

Herblock/Washington Post

that an interference pattern must also be taken into account.

Meanwhile, the "Postal Service" has finally become aware that a problem does indeed exist; and it is determined to do something about it, the first step being, of course, an inquiry.

So the Postal Service announced March 24 that it had awarded more than \$500,000 in contracts "to find out why the mail does not move faster."

And if complaints begin to come in asking why the inquiry does not move faster? The Postal Service, we predict, will prove to be a model of efficiency in digging up another \$500,000 to inquire into that. □

## More Funds for U.S. Drive Against Immigrant Workers

When confronted with requests for more money for public service and welfare programs, Congress has often pointed to the need for "austerity" and has instead ordered cutbacks in many programs. But despite its pleas of poverty, Congress passed a \$1.3 million appropriation for the Immigration and Naturalization Service, which restored a previous cut in the INS budget of \$180 million. According to INS officials, the lack of sufficient funds had prevented the agency from rounding up and deporting more immigrant workers in southwest United States. The INS claimed that the previous cutbacks had forced roundups to decrease by 70% in some areas.

The increased funding came after two unions, the Garment Workers and Hospital Workers, declared in February that they would begin organizing "illegal" immigrant workers.