

Intercontinental Press

Africa

Asia

Europe

Oceania

the Americas

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April 14, 1975

75¢



THIEU: Puppet calls Americans "traitors."
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Ford Ready to Intervene Again With American Troops?

Pentagon Builds Up Naval Task Force Off Vietnam Coast

On the Spot Report

Political Ferment in Portuguese Election Campaign

Zimbabwe Guerrillas Break Off Talks With Ian Smith

Roy Medvedev Threatened by Moscow Bureaucrats

Campaign for Release of Argentine Political Prisoners

Farrell Dobbs

How the Silver Shirts Lost Their Shine in Minneapolis

The CIA Brandishes a Deadly Weapon

A fifty-two-page research report of the Central Intelligence Agency, written in August 1974, shortly before the World Food Conference in Rome, was made available unofficially to the *New York Times*, which published extracts from it March 17. The report is entitled "Potential Implications of Trends in World Population, Food Production and Climate."

World grain shortages, which are likely to increase in the near future, the report forecasts, "could give the United States a measure of power it had never had before—possibly an economic and political dominance greater than that of the immediate post-World War II years."

The U.S. gained its dominant position at the time because it defeated the Axis powers, escaped being devastated like its major allies, and held a monopoly on the atomic bomb, which Truman used as blackmail.

"Without indulging in blackmail in any sense," the report continues, "the United States would gain extraordinary political and economic influence. For not only the poor LDC's [lesser-developed countries] but also the major powers would be at least partially dependent on food imports from the United States."

Famines affecting millions of human beings would enhance the dominant position of the United States: ". . . in bad years, when the United States could not meet the demand for food of most would-be importers, Washington would acquire virtual life-and-death power over the fate of the multitudes of the needy."

How ruthlessly this "life-and-death power" would be (actually *is being*) exercised can be judged from the following:

"In the poor and powerless areas, population would have to drop to levels that could be supported. Food subsidies and external aid, however generous the donors might be, would be inadequate. Unless or until the climate improved and agricultural techniques change sufficiently, population levels now projected for the LDC's could not be reached. The population 'problem' would have solved itself in the most unpleasant fashion."

Of course, certain hazards associated with the exercise of this "life-and-death power" need to be kept in mind:

"Where climate change causes great shortages of food despite United States exports, the potential risks to the United

States would rise. There would be increasingly desperate attempts on the part of the militarily powerful but nonetheless hungry nations to get more grain any way they could. Massive migration backed by force would become a very live issue."

The report visualizes various actions that might be attempted by the governments of countries faced with famine. The countries are not named, but evidently the Soviet Union is included:

"Nuclear blackmail is not inconceivable. More likely, perhaps, would be ill-conceived efforts to undertake drastic cures which might be worse than the disease—e.g., efforts to change the climate by trying to melt the Arctic ice-cap."

That Washington uses food as an instrument of imperialist foreign policy is hardly news. Kissinger recently hinted that American grain stocks might be used in dealing with the oil-producing countries. Last November Secretary of Agriculture Earl L. Butz admitted: "Food is a weapon. It is now one of the principal tools in our negotiating kit."

As an example, there is the notorious case of how the State Department took advantage of Chile's food shortages. Washington refused to sell vitally needed wheat supplies to the Allende government. But less than a month after Pinochet seized power in

September 1973, Washington began big-scale shipments of wheat to the bloody military junta.

During the summer of 1974, Washington threatened to cut off all credit to Bangladesh for shipments under the "Food for Peace" program unless the government in that famine-stricken colonial country agreed to halt sales of bags made from jute, one of its main exports, to Cuba.

Under the "Food for Peace" program, the White House sent hundreds of millions of dollars of shipments of food to its puppet regimes in Cambodia and South Vietnam while it destroyed entire crops grown by peasants who might be antagonistic to the American way of life.

What was the CIA's reason for suddenly deciding to make this secret report available to the public?

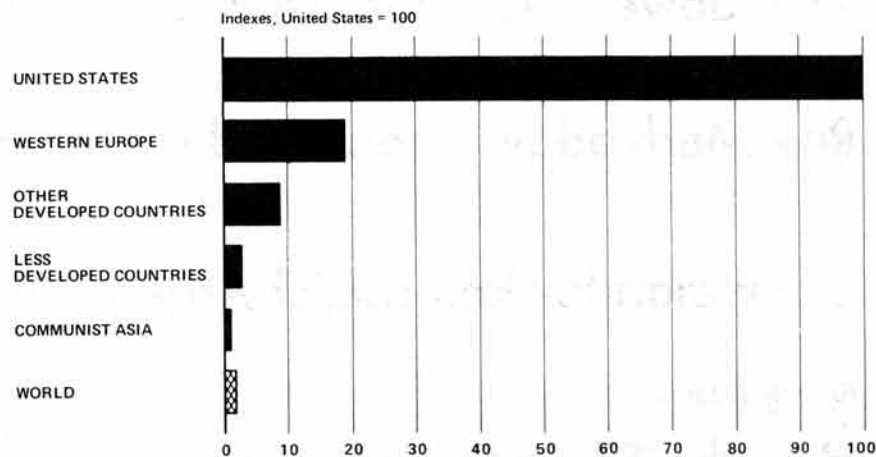
The timing offers a clue. The CIA has been getting a very bad press, what with the revelations about its possible involvement in projects to assassinate prominent figures in other countries and its sinister domestic operations. To counteract these exposés and to give a hand to the various whitewash committees now investigating some of the disclosures, material of a "positive" kind is required.

Thus came the one-week sensation of the CIA's "mission impossible" salvaging of a Soviet submarine hulk at the bottom of the Pacific, and the moving story of how the CIA gave the drowned Soviet crew a decent burial at sea along with the cut-up metal scraps of the evidence of its success.

That's where the CIA's unaccounted funds really go—hunting for old-model sunken Soviet subs at \$350 million a crack, not in assassinating public figures.

The report on the use of food as an

Chart 4.
Food Production per Person in the Farm Population, 1970



U.S. Department of Agriculture

instrument of foreign policy shows that the CIA is devoted to scholarly research. Its operatives really engage in combing through books and magazines in public libraries. It's part of the expensive but necessary drudgery of defending the USA against the rest of the world.

Moreover the report offers proof of the value of the CIA as a government institution engaged in defense work. In hunger it has turned up a weapon more effective than napalm and carpet-bombing in keeping down populations in semicolonial areas.

Revolutionary Marxists will welcome the CIA report as an unusually clear bit of evidence showing the cold-blooded calculation that goes into American foreign policy. They will also welcome the report as a new example showing how the policies of sectors of American business find reflection in the top levels of government.

To increase profits, American agribusiness has sought since the end of World War II to create artificial scarcities internationally. This course has paid off in profits; but it also brought on the famines now ravaging many semicolonial countries. Only three months ago, *Intercontinental Press* ran a series of articles by Ernest Harsch piecing together a mass of facts from which only that conclusion could be drawn.*

Some bourgeois liberals in the United States are now calling for the abolition of the CIA. They are embarrassed by such "covert activities" as assassinations and surveillance of American citizens. More to the point would be expropriation of the capitalist vultures who promote world hunger for the sake of dollars. Put them out of business, and the CIA would not survive them long. □

*See "The New Famine—Made in the USA" in *Intercontinental Press* December 2, 9, and 16, 1974, and January 13, 20, 1975.

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April 14, 1975

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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.

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White House Readies Marines 'To Protect American Lives'

By Peter Green

"They've succeeded beyond their fondest dreams," said one Western source quoted by *New York Times* correspondent Bernard Weinraub even before the forces of the Provisional Revolutionary Government had liberated Da Nang. Since then they have swept through province after province with extraordinary speed.

"It was almost as if a pattern were set by the recent fall of the city of Da Nang," Daniel Southerland said in the April 3 *Christian Science Monitor*. "Government officers lose confidence and start looking out for the safety of their families. Soldiers see their officers losing heart, and begin thinking about their own families. Officers start leaving, and suddenly no one is in control. Government soldiers begin looting. National Liberation Front cadres go to work spreading rumors and calling for an uprising. Prisoners are let out of jail. An internal collapse occurs, and Communist-led troops move in almost without having to fire a shot."

Indeed, in many cases the puppet troops and government officials fled major cities even before the main PRG units were in the area. In a dispatch to the April 3 *New York Times*, Malcolm Browne reported that although Da Lat had been abandoned, it was not known whether Communist forces had yet reached there. "In any event, it was theirs if they chose to occupy it," he said.

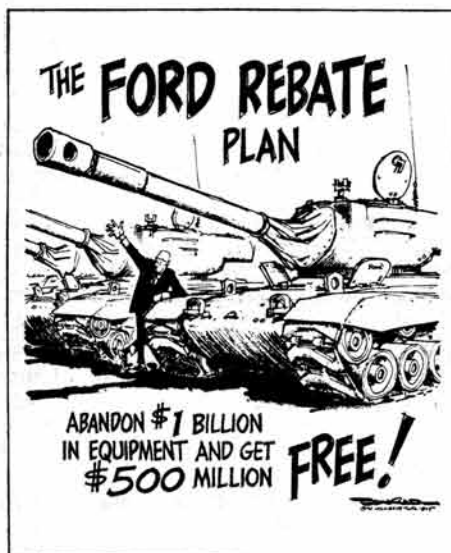
The situation facing the PRG forces was described by the overseas news editor of the *Christian Science Monitor* in the April 4 edition as a "vacuum into which they have found themselves unexpectedly sucked over the past three weeks."

The vacuum was created by the rotteness and disintegration of Thieu's forces, as their backers in Washington now belatedly admit. But that was only one aspect of the collapse—the root cause was the overwhelming popular opposition to the continued presence of the American imperialist forces and their puppet regime in Saigon.

The process of disintegration is rapidly engulfing Saigon itself. The capital was described as a "tinderbox." Observers felt that it could fall as soon as the insurgents made an effort to isolate the city or launched an attack on the airport.

"It's just a question of when the Communists decide they're coming into Saigon," said a "well-placed observer" quoted in the April 2 *Washington Post*.

Desperate efforts were made to prevent



Conrad/Los Angeles Times

the routed troops entering Saigon and spreading the "virus" of panic they brought with them in their retreat. Roads to the city were closed to them. American refugee ships carried thousands of former soldiers to a penal island off the south coast. However, several of these ships were hijacked at gunpoint and forced to put back into the mainland.

Violence directed against Americans rapidly increased. "Never mind the Vietcong," said one American. "They are at least disciplined. The people to fear most now are those who feel we have betrayed them, that somehow we are to blame for this whole nightmare."

Responsibility for the "nightmare," of course, rests totally with Washington; and U.S. officials in Saigon are frantically trying to escape before everything collapses upon them. They are making every effort to be calm, denying that an evacuation is taking place or that Saigon is in any danger. Yet these "Nervous Nellies," as the former President Johnson might have called them, are afraid that their very preparations to leave in a hurry may set off uncontrollable panic among their camp followers.

Embassy officials realize that the final evacuation will have to be done with lightning speed and are making plans accordingly. A new mobile radar unit has already been installed at Tan Son Nhut airport in case the main installation is

overrun, as happened in the chaotic evacuations from other cities.

The first planeload of Americans arrived in the Philippines April 5. At that stage nine planes were already involved in the evacuation. Commercial flights are booked out weeks in advance, and international shipping companies are turning away customers—they have too much work packing and shipping for American and other embassy personnel. Most of the 600 members of the International Commission of Control and Supervision established by the 1973 cease-fire agreement have left or are packing. Embassies are burning files and sending staff out of the country.

American companies are getting out as fast as they can. Non-Vietnamese employees of Caltex, Esso, and Shell left April 3. The executives of the three major U.S. banks chartered jets April 4 for "consultations" with their home offices.

Not only did the speed of the collapse stun Washington and its puppets, it took the liberation forces themselves by surprise. The rout was totally unexpected by officials in Hanoi, reported Agence France-Presse correspondent Jean Thoraval.

Leaders of the PRG continued to stress that they were fighting to put the 1973 Paris cease-fire accord into effect. They called for talks with the Saigon regime to establish a National Council of National Reconciliation and Concord, consisting of PRG, Saigon, and "third-force" delegates in three equal segments. Their only condition was that Thieu had to be replaced.

"We understand that General Minh is ready to negotiate for peace and we are ready to talk with him," said PRG Foreign Minister Nguyen Thi Binh on her way to Paris April 2.

On April 3 the PRG announced ten rules it says it intends to apply in the liberated areas. (See text on page 511.) These included the protection of the property of industrialists and shopkeepers and the lives and property of foreigners.

A PRG official in Paris said that members of the third force were being given positions of responsibility in the liberated areas. A radio broadcast from Da Nang reported that houses throughout the city were flying three flags—one large central standard representing the Buddhist-led National Force of Reconciliation and Concord and, flanking it, two smaller flags

representing the PRG and the Saigon regime.

The efforts by the PRG to share power with the Saigon clique—who represent no one but the imperialists and the local landlords and capitalists—have so far been thwarted by the obstinacy of Thieu. He has refused to step down and has continued to arrest political opponents. He pledged that he would never accept a coalition government.

Thieu's time is running out. The desire of the Vietnamese people for peace is overwhelming. The widespread support by the workers and peasants for the liberation forces is what has speeded their advance down the peninsula.

In Ban Me Thuot the liberation forces met almost no resistance, Malcolm Browne reported in the March 31 *New York Times*. Most of the Saigon government troops remained in the town with them. Soldiers crossed over to the side of the PRG in their thousands. In Da Nang alone nearly 5,000 puppet troops were reported to have defected.

The Western news media did their best to portray the thousands of refugees as fleeing Communism or "voting with their feet." Glimpses of the real picture did manage to seep through, however. *New York Times* correspondents in Vietnam interviewed hundreds of the refugees and had to admit they could not find a single one who was fleeing Communism. They were afraid of being caught in the fighting. They were afraid of being bombed by Thieu's forces. "The Communists have no airplanes," one pointed out. In other cases the fleeing refugees were Saigon officials and soldiers and their families, who usually accompanied the troops.

In Saigon, Buddhists held a demonstration March 31 demanding Thieu's resignation. They were driven back by police, and on April 3 the commander of the Saigon military district issued new decrees forbidding mass meetings or demonstrations. "Local authorities have orders to shoot and kill on the spot those violators who try to resist or flee," a communiqué said.

Even Thieu's handpicked Senate passed a motion, with only one dissenting vote, calling for a "government of national union" to end the war.

In the context of the widespread popular support for the liberation forces in Vietnam and the overwhelming opposition of the American people to any escalation or continuation of the war, the Ford administration is floundering. Washington's publicity stunt of airlifting orphans from Saigon must be one of the most cynical and disgusting atrocities in the history of the war.

The "humanitarian" motives were exposed April 6 when opposition politicians in Saigon made public a letter from a top

The Cost of the Vietnam War

The cost to the Vietnamese people of Washington's war of aggression is incalculable, but a few figures give an indication.

The casualties run into the millions. How many were killed is unknown, but it is estimated that there are 100,000 amputees in South Vietnam.

Four million of the country's 14 million acres of forest were defoliated by American planes. Of the 7.5 million acres of cropland, 500,000 acres were poisoned and 800,000 additional acres bulldozed.

Up to 1971 alone, Indochina had been pitted by 26 million bomb and shell craters. From 1965 to 1971, the Pentagon exploded 13 million tons of munitions in Indochina, equivalent to the energy of 450 Hiroshima nuclear bombs. For South Vietnam, this bombardment represented

an average of 497 pounds of explosive per acre and 1,215 pounds per person.

Total U.S. casualties amount to 359,899. According to the Pentagon, 46,388 American troops were killed; 153,311 were wounded, requiring hospitalization; 150,343 were wounded, not requiring hospitalization; and 803 are still missing. Other figures for Americans killed in Indochina have been as high as 56,555.

"The military cost of the war," said Michael Berlin in the April 5 *New York Post*, "has been put at \$110 billion by the Pentagon—but that is the base figure. Economist Robert Lekachman has estimated that the total, including economic aid, future obligations (veterans' benefits, for example) and loss of productivity will eventually top the \$400 billion figure."

government official that quotes the views of U.S. ambassador Graham Martin:

"He stressed that this evacuation along with the millions of refugees abandoning Communist-controlled zones, will help create a shift in American public opinion in favor of the Republic of Vietnam. Especially when these children land in the United States, they will be subject to television, radio and press agency coverage and the effect will be tremendous."

The opposition politicians in Saigon called the export of Vietnamese orphans an "inhumane" propaganda campaign and demanded that it be halted immediately.

But the White House fumbled even this operation. The very first planeload of "Babies on the Cheap"—which President Ford was to meet with television cameras and reporters—crashed just outside Saigon airport killing more than 100 children.

"It is nice to see you Americans taking home souvenirs of our country as you leave—china elephants and orphans," a South Vietnamese army lieutenant remarked bitterly after the crash. "Too bad some of them broke today, but we have plenty more."

With the rapid crumbling of the Saigon forces, the requests for more U.S. aid have become increasingly irrelevant. More than \$1 billion worth of equipment was abandoned by the fleeing troops, and neither the American people nor Congress will be keen to grant more. In fact one retired general commented that granting more aid may only provide North Vietnam with some expensive military hardware. Most observers are also admitting that it was not through lack of U.S. military aid that Thieu's armies crumbled.

More and more commentators in the U.S.

press are realizing that the end of the road for American imperialism in Indochina is drawing near. The *New York Times* is now stressing the need to cut the losses, unite the nation, and "save the future."

But the White House is still holding out two faint hopes for preserving a toehold in Vietnam.

One is that the PRG may yet be able to install a coalition-type government in Saigon, that the liberation forces will somehow fail to fully exploit their military victories and stop short of a final attack on Saigon.

The other possibility is a last-ditch intervention by American troops into Saigon "to protect American lives." Under this cover—a pretext already used by the Pentagon to intervene in the Dominican Republic and Lebanon—Washington might hope to hang on to an enclave around Saigon. The April 7 *New York Times* reported that Ford "had ordered every available ship to Indochina waters and that more would be on the way, perhaps as a signal to Hanoi that the President is determined to protect Americans in South Vietnam."

Four aircraft carriers, three destroyers, a half-dozen amphibious ships, and elements of a marine division were already in the area.

As many as half a million American troops in a war that lasted more than a decade were unable to hold back the struggle of the Vietnamese people, and any new mad gamble by Ford is not going to succeed either. A new intervention would spark off protests in America that would dwarf the million-strong demonstrations that stayed the hands of previous occupants of the White House. □

So They Say

U.S. Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield, quoted in the April 6 New York Times: *"We are spread too far, too wide, too thin, and we have neither the resources nor the manpower to undertake the kind of foreign policy which has been the hallmark of all Administrations—Democratic and Republican—since the end of World War II."*

An American in his office at the U.S. embassy in Saigon, quoted by Bernard Weinraub in the April 3 New York Times: *"I asked my wife to leave, I begged her to, and she said no, she wants to stay with me until the end."*

"It's the end of the line, isn't it? It's going so fast I can't believe it."

Vice-president Rockefeller, commenting on the situation in South Vietnam: *"It's really too late to do anything about it."* As for the refugees, Rockefeller said, *"they're trapped . . . they couldn't get out . . . I guess a lot of them are going to die. For us, we go on living."* (Quoted in the April 3 New York Post.)

Vietnam veteran George O'Conner, commenting on the collapse of the Saigon forces: *"It was inevitable right from the beginning. At first I thought we should be there but my whole thinking has changed. What is happening now simply would have happened earlier, with a lot less loss of life, if we hadn't gone in."* (Quoted in the April 4 New York Post.)

A "top State Department official," commenting on recent developments in South Vietnam, the Mideast, Portugal, Greece, and Turkey: *"It has been the worst two weeks for American diplomacy since 1939."* (Quoted by Robert Keatley in the April 4 Wall Street Journal.)

A "European diplomat" in Saigon, quoted by Bernard Weinraub in the April 6 New York Times: *"The army is mad with fear and panic. It's all collapsing before our eyes."*

The April 5 New York Post reported "one military observer in Saigon" as suggesting that the South Vietnamese troops "felt insecure because of the need to conserve ammunition for fighting." *"It's important for them to have enough hand grenades to kill fish with. It's a waste, but this is the type of war you taught them."*

An American "defense analyst," quoted

by Bernard Weinraub in the April 6 New York Times: *"People are fleeing to Saigon because this is the only place they have faith in. But there's a tremendous danger of all of this gathering momentum right here, of it turning ugly and violent against foreigners, especially Americans who are getting out. People are saying you got us into this and now you're running out. And what in God's name is going to happen to us?"*

Senator John L. McClellan, chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee, explaining why he is opposed to giving Saigon further military aid: *"They have lost the war, and we don't need to spend any more money on something that is futile."* (Quoted in the April 5 New York Times.)

A South Vietnamese army lieutenant, alluding to the crash of a U.S. plane carrying Vietnamese orphans to the United States: *"It is nice to see you Americans taking home souvenirs of our country as you leave—china elephants and orphans. Too bad some of them broke today, but we have plenty more."* (Quoted by Malcolm Browne in the April 5 New York Times.)

Phan Quang Dan, a top Saigon official, referring to a meeting with U.S. Ambassador Graham Martin to discuss the airlift of orphans: *"He stressed that this evacuation, along with the millions of refugees abandoning Communist-controlled zones, will help create a shift in American public opinion in favor of the Republic of Vietnam. Especially when these children land in the United States, they will be subject to television, radio and press agency coverage and the effect will be tremendous."* (Quoted in an April 6 Associated Press dispatch from Saigon.)

Thieu, speaking over Saigon television and radio April 4: *"The American people as well as the American Congress must see now that they have got to do something for the people of South Vietnam to keep from earning the label of traitors."* (Quoted in the April 5 New York Times.)

Kissinger, answering Thieu's charge of betrayal: *"I think there is some merit to what General Thieu is saying now. I think some of the adjectives he used are those of a desperate man who is in great anguish and I think it is fair to say that the United States, for 10 years, put in a great deal of its efforts and of its blood and its treasure, and*

that, too, should weigh in the scale." (Quoted in the April 6 New York Times.)

Leonard Bryant, a Black Vietnam veteran who spent most of 1968 and 1969 fighting in the Mekong Delta: *"When I went in, it was for the same reasons as most city kids—to keep out of trouble and to fight communism."*

"Now, I feel the war was a waste in my life and in my friends' lives. Why have they stopped fighting? If you really believe in what you're fighting for, you don't stop, you use everything, rocks, a bamboo stick. They're tired of fighting."

"For the American soldiers, for the guys like me, what the war was all about was we were dying and no one really knew what we were dying for. To be a hero you've got to know what you're fighting for. If you don't, you're a fool and you've been tricked." (Quoted in the April 4 New York Post.)

A "senior Western official" commenting on the deteriorating military situation in Saigon, quoted by Bernard Weinraub in the April 1 New York Times: *"This Government seems to be on a deliberate suicide course. I can't quite believe—they're paralyzed. They seem to keep thinking that B-52's and the marines will come back."*

A South Vietnamese air force colonel, quoted by Malcolm Browne in the March 31 New York Times: *"There is nothing anyone can do. It is time for us, the officers, to look after ourselves and our families now."*

An American in Saigon, quoted by Malcolm Browne in the March 31 New York Times: *"Never mind the Vietcong. They are at least disciplined. The people to fear most now are those who feel we have betrayed them, that somehow we are to blame for this whole nightmare."*

An American official "with many years of experience in Vietnam," quoted in the April 3 Christian Science Monitor: *"I've never seen such panic in this city. I'm beginning to think they could take this place with a few well-placed rumors."*

A retired Pentagon general, quoted by Drew Middleton in the April 1 New York Times: *"We may find out that all we have done is to provide the North Vietnamese with some expensive military hardware."*

President Ford, in his April 3 news conference: *"We will continue to push for the \$300-million that we have asked for, and Congress had authorized, for military assistance to South Vietnam, and the possibility exists that we may ask for more."* (Quoted in the April 4 New York Times.)

Ton That Thien, an anticommunist oppo-

Intercontinental Press

ment of Thieu, quoted by Malcolm Browne in the April 1 New York Times: "Why should the other side be interested in coalition or negotiations now? They have won."

He added: "Do you know that despite their colonialist role, the French were a lot better to us than the Americans?"

An "experienced Army officer" in Washington, quoted by Michael Getler in the April 2 Washington Post: "There are still several of us who think they (the South Vietnamese) would rather fight than be overrun. But the predominant view is that the thing is down the drain."

Saigon Premier Tran Thien Khiem, quoted in the April 3 New York Times: "During the past weeks, we have suffered heavy casualties only because we have lost self-control and failed to keep order. I affirm the Government's determination to defend the remaining territory of South Vietnam and to eventually retake all territory lost to the Communists recently."

An American government employee, watching U.S. officials beat back Vietnamese employees as the last two evacuation helicopters prepared to leave Nha Trang: "I'm so ashamed of the United States Government that I'll never be able to work for them again." (Quoted in an April 1 United Press International dispatch from Nha Trang.)

An American explaining why no Vietnamese were allowed to take places they had been promised on an evacuation flight from Nha Trang: "If one Vietnamese is allowed on the aircraft, we'll never be able to stop them." (Quoted in an April 1 United Press International dispatch from Nha Trang.)

Senator Le Chau Loc, an aide to former Vietnamese dictator Ngo Dinh Diem, quoted in the April 3 New York Times: "Let us frankly and seriously discuss the problem of the departure of President Nguyen Van Thieu. At the present time, there is no problem as vitally important as this one. Any successor to Mr. Thieu could not possibly be worse, nor could he bring about more losses to the nation, because there is nothing more to lose."

Congressman Paul McCloskey, testifying after his visit to Cambodia: "I can only tell you my emotional reaction, getting into that country. If I could have found the military or State Department leader who has been the architect of this policy, my instinct would be to string him up. . . . What they have done to the country is greater evil than we have done to any country in the world." (Quoted in the April 3 New York Times.)

A "well-placed observer" in Saigon, quoted in the April 2 Washington Post: "It's just a question of when the Communists decide they're coming into Saigon."

Former South Vietnamese dictator Gen. Duong Van (Big) Minh, quoted in the April 2 Washington Post: "The army has reached [such] a stage of confusion that many top-ranking officers suspect that President Thieu and the Americans have reached some kind of secret agreement with the other side. Some officers tell me: 'One of these days, we'll see Thieu in a Communist uniform.'"

Tran Kim Phuong, Saigon's ambassador to the United States, quoted in the April 3 New York Times: "I would think that the people in the world would draw only one possible conclusion. That is, probably it is safer to be an ally of the Communists and it looks like it is fatal to be an ally of the United States."

James M. Gavin, a retired army general who helped shape American policy in Vietnam, said in a television interview April 2 that the South Vietnamese army was "rotten within" and that the situation was "not reversible now." (Quoted in the April 3 New York Times.)

A Cambodian officer "in direct contact with the high command," quoted by Lewis M. Simons in the April 3 Washington Post: "It's not a question of morale being low. There is no morale left, absolutely none."

Communiqué from the commander of the Saigon military district, banning all mass meetings or demonstrations: "Local authorities have orders to shoot and kill on the spot those violators who try to resist or flee." (Quoted in the April 4 New York Daily News.)

The Reverend Tran Huu Thanh, leader of the Saigon anticorruption movement, quoted in the April 4 New York Daily News: "It is obvious President Thieu is not going to listen to reason any longer. We are now going to push for his removal in a military coup."

"The 'ultimate nightmare' for the United States in Indochina, one senior American official said privately, would be 'South Vietnamese attacking Americans' as authority disintegrated." (Quoted by Murrey Marder in the April 3 Washington Post.)

An exchange with a reporter during President Ford's news conference April 3:

Q. Sir, you don't want to talk specifically. Can you tell us however if you do believe that you do have the authority to send in

troops. You're not saying, I understand, whether you would, but do you have the authority?

A. It's my interpretation of that legislation that a President has certain limited authority to protect American lives and to that extent I will use that law.

President Ford, answering a question about the lessons of Vietnam at his April 3 news conference: "Unfortunately, events that were beyond our control as a country have made it appear that that policy was wrong. I still believe that policy was right if the United States had carried it out as we promised to do at the time of the Paris peace accords, where we promised with the signing of the Paris peace accords that we would make military hardware available to the South Vietnamese Government on a replacement, one-for-one basis.

"Unfortunately, we did not carry out that promise." (Quoted in the April 4 New York Times.)

Congressman Morris K. Udall of Arizona, a Democratic presidential aspirant, commenting on Ford's April 3 news conference: "His assertion ignores the reality of a South Vietnamese Army on the run, its spirit broken, its leadership in shambles. Further, the President still refuses to do the constructive thing by admitting plainly and openly that our intervention in Vietnam was a mistake." (Quoted in the April 4 New York Times.)

A "respected Vietnamese political analyst," quoted in the April 1 New York Post: "Nobody can believe in the government's ability to defend Saigon or in American help after the fall of Da Nang.

"Our troops are terribly dispirited. The Communists will easily break through the line above Saigon and then it will be like Da Nang, with mass hysteria and panic.

"It could happen any time now. It all depends on when the Communists are ready."

An American official in Saigon, quoted in the April 1 New York Post: "Thieu hasn't even talked to the people in days. I suspect he's probably sitting in the palace waiting for the results of Gen. (Frederick) Weyand's trip, waiting for those B-52s or for the Marines to land."

An American businessman in Saigon, commenting on two briefings held by Wolfgang Lehmann, the deputy chief of the U.S. embassy: "The first time, he tried to calm us down. The second time he outright lied to us to make the situation look good, and the next time he tries to pull any of that shit he's going to get mobbed." (Quoted by Philip A. McCombs in the April 1 Washington Post.)

The Portuguese Military Moves to Center Stage

By Daniel Bensaïd

[The following article appeared in the March 28 issue of *Rouge*, the French Trotskyist weekly. The translation and the footnotes have been provided by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

The circumstances of the attempted coup of March 11 have given rise to speculation and some wondering. One thing is certain however: The bourgeoisie was divided about its timing. The coming elections promised a comfortable majority for the bourgeois parties—the PPD,¹ the PDC,² and the CDS³—and foreshadowed the formation of a center-left coalition with the PS,⁴ a reduction of the PCP's⁵ influence, and eventually its exclusion from the government. This perspective seemed by far the most likely, since it enabled the bourgeoisie to claim legality was on its side.

There was, however, a putschist sector around Spínola. It is still difficult to estimate the size of his forces, since the bulk of them did not go into action on March 11. There are several explanations for the precipitous attempt at a coup—among them the recent successes of these “moderate elements” within the army; the fear of mass mobilizations, in full flood since January; and the strong desire to shake hesitant elements off the fence.

It may be that leaders of the government and the MFA,⁶ informed in advance, allowed this providential coup to take shape while organizing to defeat it. The fact is that a coup is rarely launched at noon, and it is even more rare for the soldiers involved in it to be in complete ignorance as to their mission, and to be debating in front of television cameras with the civilians who have surrounded them.

Instead of wasting time on guesswork, it is necessary to evaluate the results. And in the first place, comparisons with the June

1973 “tankazo” in Chile—the dress rehearsal in Santiago—must be avoided. In Portugal the bourgeoisie has been handed a serious political defeat amid a mass mobilization. March 11 was a turning point that opened a prerevolutionary situation.

First, the bourgeois parties, including the PPD, were discredited. And even if the PPD's vote totals do not suffer much, the verdict of arms has already deprived them of their meaning. There is a clear feeling that the real stakes are elsewhere, in the occupied factories, in the neighborhood and village assemblies. Wasn't it Alvaro Cunhal, the general secretary of the PCP, who declared March 16, before a huge rally of party members and supporters at the First of May Stadium:

“The elections are not decisive. They are a first experiment after a half-century of fascism. Their aim is to elect an assembly that will draw up a new constitution. But that assembly has nothing to do with the formation of the government and its policies.”

More than 10,000 Portuguese have sought refuge in Spain since September 28.⁷ These exiles have suffered one defeat after another. With Spínola's sorry flight on March 11, they lost their candidate for a Bonaparte, together with his remaining prestige, and fired a precious cartridge. From now on, the Portuguese bourgeoisie will have to adopt a longer-term perspective. The PPD, whether in or out of the governmental coalition, becomes in fact an opposition party, a Trojan Horse for the bourgeoisie, called on to perform, behind a legalistic facade, the role of the Christian Democrats in Chile. At the same time, the exiles and the members of the banned right-wing parties threaten to regroup their forces and to begin a policy of sabotage and harassment against the workers organizations.

While the danger of a coup has receded for the time being, it has become more necessary than it was before March 11 for the more clear-headed sectors of the bourgeoisie to prepare a coup in the coming period.

While they await their chance, we will see a real jumble of overlapping and sometimes rival powers. There is already the coalition government, the formal executive body, which represents the temporary compromise between the various political forces.

7. The date of Spínola's first attempt to carry out a right-wing mobilization.

There is the High Council of the Revolution, the product of the MFA alone, which has decided the recent important measures, such as the nationalizations and the suspension of parties, over the head of the government.

There will be the Constituent Assembly, theoretically holding no direct power, but which can someday, as the only elected body, invoke its “representative” character to demand quite another role.

And finally, there are the Workers Commissions, the various neighborhood assemblies, which already often act outside the limits of bourgeois legality—although only to a limited degree.

The Communist party gained the most from the March 11 events. Its gains were registered on several levels.

First, at the level of the working class itself. It was the Intersindical⁸ that in most cases took the initiative in responding to the coup attempt, and not the Workers Commissions, as happened on September 28.

Second, in its relations with the Socialist party, which was forced to take to the streets (in small numbers, of course) on March 11, and to renew its dialogue with the PCP, holding an all-night meeting with it on March 13-14.

Third, at the level of the governmental coalition. On the strength of the March 11 mobilization, the MDP,⁹ an ally of the PCP, which more or less controls it internally, is to enter the government. The MDP is called the Communist party No. 2 in Portugal. It was Cunhal who told the March 16 rally: “Whether or not it replaces the PPD, the MDP will have the position in the government that its actions have fully warranted.”

Finally, at the level of a change in the relationship of forces within the MFA, which we will discuss later.

The counterpart of the PCP's victory is that it now finds itself in the front line of the political and social battle. It now appears before the masses with direct responsibility for the government's policy. It will have to account for the economic policy the government adopts to confront the crisis, and it will not be able to offer many excuses. Some difficult conflicts could erupt within the party, whose membership has gone from 5,000 to more than 100,000 without its having had time to consolidate its apparatus and homogenize its membership base.

It was known before March 11 that the MFA was more or less divided into three tendencies. The first, a moderate current, was composed of Spínola sympathizers and

8. The national union federation dominated by the Communist party.

9. Movimento Democrático Português—Portuguese Democratic Movement.

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

2. Partido Democrático Cristão—Christian Democratic party.

3. Centro Democrático Social—Social Democratic Center.

4. Partido Socialista—Socialist party.

5. Partido Comunista Português—Portuguese Communist party.

6. Movimento das Forças Armadas—Armed Forces Movement.

officers close to the PS, such as the chief of staff, General Carlos Fabião. The second or "third-worldist" current, resting on the balance of forces between the PCP and PS, was grouped around Melo Antunes and Vitor Alves. Their positions had prevailed when the emergency economic plan was being drawn up. The third current, closer to the PCP, was grouped around Prime Minister Vasco Gonçalves and Admiral Rosa Coutinho.

The events of March 11 strengthened the current close to the PCP. The nationalization of the banks and insurance companies, demanded by the Intersindical but missing from the economic plan, was decreed. It was immediately decided to institutionalize the MFA, a step the PS had opposed. Melo Antunes and Vitor Alves were removed from the High Council of the Revolution when it was formed, although they were reinstated several days later.

Before March 11, the Constituent Assembly could have been the bourgeoisie's ace in the hole, and the MFA could have represented an alternative Bonapartist solution. Now the situation has been reversed. The Constituent Assembly has been diminished in importance before it is elected, and the MFA finds itself thrust forward into the spotlight.

The unity of the MFA becomes as indispensable for the bourgeoisie as it is for the reformists: *It is the keystone of a system in precarious equilibrium. Only if its unity is maintained can it retain the appearance of an arbiter standing above the classes, vested with all the prestige that accrued to it from April 25.*¹⁰

However, in view of the economic crisis and the rise in struggles, the MFA will be torn by sharper and sharper contradictions that reflect the tensions and class confrontations. Forced by the High Council of the Revolution to choose and decide on every difficult question, its unity will be undermined and may well be shattered within several months, exposing the lines of cleavage between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat.

We have already amply emphasized the consequences of March 11 on the workers' mobilizations. [See *Intercontinental Press*, April 7, p. 454.]

Its consequences for the structure of the far left remain to be noted.

First, it should mark the beginning of a decline for the orthodox Maoist groups—for example, the MRPP,¹¹ which put the fascists and the "social fascists" on the same footing and followed a criminal sectarian policy. This included holding its own

10. The date in 1974 of the coup that overthrew the Caetano dictatorship.

11. Movimento Reorganizativo do Partido do Proletariado—Movement to Reorganize the Proletarian Party.

demonstration on March 11 and opposing the nationalizations. It is also significant that the MRPP's demonstration protesting the decree suspending it was not a united demonstration to defend democratic rights,



GONCALVES: MFA wing close to CP was strengthened by defeat of coup.

but a demonstration to support the line of the MRPP able to mobilize only the group's own close sympathizers. As for the AOC,¹² which was also suspended, it has explained that the choice today is not between fascism and revolution, but between bourgeois democracy and social fascism. That is why it was ready to form an alliance with the PS and even the PPD against the PCP, as it did on January 31 when it called for the PS to join a demonstration against the establishment of a single trade-union federation (the demonstration was banned in the end).

This decline should pave the way for an evolution in the relationship of forces within the far left that will benefit the revolutionary Marxists of the LCI¹³ and the various centrist groups, such as the MES,¹⁴ the FSP,¹⁵ the LUAR,¹⁶ and the PRP.

12. Aliança Operária Camponesa—Workers and Peasants Alliance.

13. Liga Comunista Internacionalista—Internationalist Communist League, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International.

14. Movimento da Esquerda Socialista—Movement of the Socialist Left.

15. Frente Socialista Popular—People's Socialist Front.

Thus the first result of the abortive March 11 coup will be to smash the perspective for political normalization in the immediate future and to prolong the instability for some time to come.

How it will all end is still an open question.

In less than a year, the Portuguese workers have come a long way—taking giant steps from the struggles in July 1974, when they were demanding higher wages while hailing Spínola, to today's struggles in which they have organized to clean out officials of the old regime, to take control of their own affairs, and to bring about the nationalization of industry.

One central contradiction remains, however. These enormous advances in independent organization, self-defense, and workers control have not been reflected in a comparable advance in autonomy and political independence of the proletariat. The working class has posed a basic challenge to the bosses' power and mobilized against the reaction, but the mass of workers still rely politically on the PCP.

Of course, the development of the Workers Commissions and the increased hearing for the far left indicate other possibilities. But even here, the perspectives remain contradictory and a battle is being waged over them.

In the first place the Workers Commissions can become the embryo of workers power, provided that they are not transformed into a second union, rivaling the Intersindical, as some Maoist currents want. Second, the audience of the far left must be transformed into a conscious force seeking to counterpose a united class-struggle front to the collaborationist fronts, and not to divide the working class itself, as most of the Maoist groups have in fact been doing.

It is difficult to see how this instability can be resolved, in coming months, within the context of Portugal alone. The international links and relationships of forces will now be brought to bear with all their weight. Mário Soares already stated at a big PS rally in Lisbon on March 21 that "Portugal's borders are not with Russia, but with Spain and the United States, with the Atlantic in the center."

That's a conscious choice, and almost a threat. As for the PCP, it cannot disengage itself from the balancing acts and spheres of influence negotiated by Soviet diplomacy. Even after March 11, Cunhal still refused to question Portugal's membership in NATO. In a March 20 interview with *Algérie-Presse-Service*, he stated:

"Our policy is very clear and very prudent. This is a question that will have to

16. Liga de União e Acção Revolucionária—League of Revolutionary Unity and Action.

be discussed someday in the broadest framework of the European situation. We are not in a hurry. We are not raising the question of Portugal's membership in NATO at this time. Nor are we raising the question of the American base in the

Azores. That's a perspective that we don't want to discuss at this time."

The international bourgeoisie is worried. There is talk of opening NATO's door to the Franco dictatorship to strengthen imperialism's interests in the Iberian Peninsula. In

a way it is true that the key to the Portuguese situation is now in Spain. But not in the sense that the NATO strategists and Kissinger's agents think. The Spanish workers will prove that.

March 25, 1975

Trotskyists Advance Revolutionary-Socialist Program

Political Ferment Mounts in Portuguese Election Campaign

By Gerry Foley

LISBON, April 3—The campaign for the April 25 Constituent Assembly elections formally opened yesterday. *Diário de Lisboa*, one of the four afternoon papers in this city, described the result as a "poster war."

In the downtown area of Lisbon at least, the Portuguese Communist party seemed to be winning it. Its posters cover the area, virtually excluding those of all the other parties. In the industrial centers south of the River Tejo, Communist party posters cover almost every inch of available space.

The CP was the only one of the parties contesting the elections to launch its campaign with a central rally. Most of the posters on the walls of the main square here announce the meeting it held last night in the Palácio de Desportos. In the opening days of the campaign here in Lisbon, the CP's apparatus is showing a clear superiority over the electoral machinery of the other parties. Although the pollsters estimate that the Socialist party has a larger following than its principal rival on the left, its campaign here appears notably weaker.

The situation in the provincial centers could well be different. It may be significant, for example, that the Socialist party held its opening rally of the campaign in Faró, the main town in Algarve, the southernmost province, certainly one of the least industrialized areas in Portugal.

In the small towns and rural areas where the majority of the population still lives, the right-wing groups seem to feel strong enough to attack even SP rallies. The April 1 *Diário de Lisboa* carried a statement by the SP complaining about "an anti-Communist and anti-Socialist campaign in Panafiel."

It protested an attack on a March 27 meeting by supporters of the more liberal bourgeois party, the Partido Popular Democrático (PPD—People's Democratic party). The paper also noted a complaint by the CP against an attack on its headquarters in São Tiago da Luz.

In downtown Lisbon, the people on the streets are obviously very interested in the political campaign and seem to have no

fear of expressing their opinions. A large number wear political badges. In a cafe, I noticed that one of the two waiters was wearing an SP badge and the other a CP emblem. They were not afraid to argue with customers who supported the bourgeois parties. There have been reports, however, of indifference and suspicion of political activity in the rural areas and smaller cities and towns.

After two unsuccessful coups by conservative bourgeois forces trying to stop the ferment and process of radicalization, this campaign is taking place in a politically advanced context. The bourgeois parties are on the defensive, and the Socialist party has begun to try to dissociate itself from the PPD. The CP has also adopted a more radical posture. One of its most common posters says: "Who is afraid of the Communist party? It's the parasites."

The campaign reports on the radio are full of Marxist terms such as "capitalist exploitation" and "interests of the proletariat." The Socialist party is stressing that it is a "Marxist party."

However, despite its "Marxist" phraseology and some radical positions, the Socialist party appears suspect among the sections of the population that were in the vanguard of the resistance to the coup attempts. The reason for this fundamentally is that the bourgeoisie has been so weakened by its failure to "restore order" that the survival of capitalism is clearly in question, and this raises the problem of the SP's international ties and perspectives very acutely.

The fact that a timid crypto-Stalinist columnist wrote in the April 3 *Diário de Lisboa* about the need for the masses to defend the country, "arms in hand," against imperialist intervention is an indication of the pressures that are building up.

In this situation, the SP's ties to West European Social Democracy and thus with imperialism tend to come to the forefront. Its central slogans of "socialism in freedom" and "national independence" take on anti-Communist and pro-"Free World" im-

plications, although the SP leaders seek to put this in more palatable terms of a "third way," or "independent roads" to socialism.

At the April 1 rally in Faró, SP leader Mário Soares said: "The SP can guarantee to the MFA [Movimento das Forças Armadas—Armed Forces Movement] that we will advance along an original revolutionary road not just because of our links with the European Social Democracy but also with all the European Socialist parties and with many Communist parties, such as the Romanian, the Yugoslav, the Italian, and the Spanish. Without the SP, the MFA would be condemned to be a prisoner of the CP, and the Portuguese road would be condemned to be a servile copy of the East European or Cuban people's democracies."

The ferment of revolutionary ideas that has so frightened the bourgeoisie since the fall of the Salazarist regime is continuing and may be reaching a new level. Although the MFA journal has adopted some ominous formulations regarding the groups to the left of the coalition parties, the only repression has come against the Movimento Reorganizativo do Partido do Proletariado (MRPP—Movement to Reorganize the Proletarian party), a Maoist sect whose semi-militarized demonstrations and extremist language and gestures seem exotic and frightening to most Portuguese workers.

Two Maoist groupings are participating in the electoral campaign, the União Democrático do Povo (UDP—Democratic People's Union) and the Frente Eleitoral Comunista (Marxista Leninista) (Communist Electoral Front [Marxist Leninist]). The latter group's use of the hammer and sickle as its electoral emblem had been challenged by officials because of its similarity to the CP symbol. However, the newspapers announced April 2 that the authorities had permitted FEC (ML) to use a symbol consisting of two small hammers and sickles inside two five-pointed yellow stars. The organization hailed this decision as a "defeat for revisionism."

By comparison with "democratic elections" in the United States, the media

coverage of all twelve parties putting up candidates is impressive. This has given the new Trotskyist organization, the Liga Comunista Internacionalista (LCI—Internationalist Communist League, the Portuguese sympathizing organization of the Fourth International), an opportunity to make an immediate national impact.

The young activists of the LCI moved very quickly to take advantage of this opening. They got more than 5,000 persons to sign up as supporters of the party and occupied a large building on the Rua da Palma, which they turned into their electoral headquarters.

It is a large, old building with two giant palm trees in front, visible from at least half a mile away. It is in a heavily traveled district of Lisbon on the main subway line and only a few minutes walk from the central square of Rossio. A huge banner with red lettering hangs across the front. It is certainly one of the most impressive and accessible headquarters of any political party here.

Since most of the headquarters are buildings occupied by activists, the greater resources of the bigger parties have given them far less than the usual advantage in this field.

The LCI is the only party in the campaign to call for carrying further the kind of mass mobilizations that defeated the September 28 and March 11 coup attempts, to call for basing the government of the society on such mobilizations.

In its April 2 issue, the Lisbon daily *A Capital* put the LCI first in its roundup of the positions of the parties. It quoted LCI representative Adelino Fortunato as saying: "It is necessary to consolidate the mass movement, based on the victories that have been achieved. We will fight for the nationalization of all the plants in the country and attack the foundations of the political power of big capital."

Fortunato went on to say: "We will support an anticapitalist program to be carried out by a government of the working masses. The last reactionary coup attempt was a defeat for the right that cost them a valuable prop—Spínola. The bourgeois parties that are still in the government have been forced to make various political compromises that were not previously included in these programs."

The reference, *A Capital* explained, was to the nationalization of the banks and insurance companies, which the government was forced to accept by mass pressure, in particular from the workers in these concerns themselves.

Fortunato defined the LCI's call for a workers government as follows: "The bourgeoisie still stands in the way of the masses. We are opposed to the capitalist ministers remaining in the government



SOARES: SP leader had to bone up on "Marxist" terms for campaign speeches.

(specifically those of the PPD). We propose a workers government in which all the organizations of the working class would be represented (the rural associations, factory associations, unions, etc.) in order to offer a real guarantee that the interests of the masses will be upheld.

"Therefore, we cannot place too much stress on strengthening all the commissions already formed and on extending the process of forming the other workers associations that are urgently needed. This activity fits into an irreversible dynamic. We will gain the opportunity to hold a national assembly of workers which will form a united front of the working class."

Another LCI representative, Francisco Moreira, explained the goals of the campaign in this way:

"We will develop a plan for coordinating the activity of the working masses. In sessions and meetings, we will explain the processes of self-defense and arming, the bases for a general strike and armed insurrection. We will also define the kind of socialism we want and are fighting for."

In an April 1 press conference, representatives of the LCI stressed their intention to use the campaign to promote proletarian internationalism. They called for abrogation of the Iberian Pact, which binds Portugal to Francoist Spain. They called for Portuguese withdrawal from NATO. They explained as well that they intend to make this aspect of the LCI campaign more concrete by including workers from other countries, notably Spain, in its activities.

A representative of the French section of the Fourth International, Paul Allies, was

also present at this first press conference in the campaign.

The call for a national assembly of workers was raised at a conference on March 29 of supporters of the LCI campaign in Leiria, a small town, three hours by bus from Lisbon. The meeting was held to explain the organization's positions to all those who signed up to put it on the ballot. About 500 persons attended, most of them in buses from Lisbon and Oporto.

The LCI has an active organization in Leiria that has developed recently from a couple of student contacts. LCI slogans were prominent on the walls of the narrow, winding streets leading up to the building where the conference was held, on a hill across from one on which an old castle overlooks the town.

The sessions lasted from 1:00 in the afternoon until 9:00 at night. The first part of the conference was devoted essentially to analyzing the Armed Forces Movement and the processes at work in the masses. After several hours of rather advanced political analysis, the meeting was divided into workshops on various questions such as trade-union work and the workers united front.

Students in their mid- and early twenties were the largest group present. But there were also many teen-agers and a sprinkling of older people. The conference was reported in the principal Lisbon papers.

In Lisbon the LCI holds forums approximately every other day on key questions. The one on March 27 dealt with the MFA. More than seventy persons, including a number of very young activists, attended. They stayed for hours of extensive analysis of the MFA.

Much of the LCI's campaign for a working-class united front has been directed against the claim of the Maoist groups that the CP is "social fascist." This aspect may take on more importance as the campaign develops, since both the CP and the Maoist groups are accusing each other of physical attacks.

The April 2 *A Capital* carried a statement by the Frente Revolucionária dos Estudantes Portugueses (Revolutionary Front of Portuguese Students) reporting that its headquarters on the Rua Fernão Lopes had been attacked by CP paste-up teams. On the other hand, the CP student organization said that its headquarters had been attacked in the early morning of April 2 by about seventy members of the MRPP. □

Next Week

"The Struggle for Women's Liberation in Puerto Rico Today." An interview with two editors of Puerto Rico's first feminist newspaper, *El Tacón de la Chanclera*.

Zimbabwe Freedom Fighters Break Off Talks With Ian Smith

By Tony Thomas

The Liberation Committee of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) called March 19 for the resumption of guerrilla warfare against the white-minority Ian Smith regime in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia). The call came after a series of attacks on Zimbabwean nationalist leaders by the Smith regime.

The attacks included the assassination March 18 of Herbert Chitepo in Zambia, and the imprisonment of the Reverend Ndabaningi Sithole in Zimbabwe on March 4. Both were top leaders of the Zimbabwe African National Union. ZANU, one of the most important nationalist groups in the country, is credited with carrying out the bulk of the armed actions against the Smith regime.

ZANU has also been attacked by the Zambian government. When ZANU leaders gathered in Lusaka, Zambia, at the end of March, about fifty of them were arrested by Zambian authorities. Among them were all seven members of ZANU's supreme council, many of its military commanders, and several of its representatives abroad, including those from London, Cairo, and Dar es Salaam.

The stepped-up drive against ZANU followed a breakdown in negotiations between the Smith regime and Zimbabwean nationalists. These talks were based on the idea of a gradual, peaceful settlement in Zimbabwe through a "détente" between Black African states and the apartheid regime in South Africa.

Proof of the dangers of such collaboration came with the collapse of the "cease-fire" agreement between the Zimbabwean nationalists and the Smith regime that had been arranged by South Africa, Tanzania, and Zambia in December.

In November, Sithole and other Zimbabwean nationalist leaders were released from prison and allowed to go to Zambia to take part in negotiations with leaders of the Black African states and the Smith regime.

In talks with the nationalists, President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia and President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania demanded that the three Zimbabwean guerrilla groups—ZANU, Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), and the Front for the Liberation of Zimbabwe (Frolizi)—unify with the African National Council (ANC), a moderate group with semilegal status.

Nyerere and Kaunda pushed a plan for



SMITH: His agents are widely believed to have carried out murder of Chitepo.

the establishment of Black majority rule in stages that could take as long as five to ten years. These plans supposedly had the backing of South Africa.

While the Zimbabwean groups formally agreed to this proposal, ZANU is reported to have strongly opposed it. In a statement in its journal, *Zimbabwe News*, quoted in the March 6 issue of the British revolutionary-socialist newspaper *Red Weekly*, ZANU said:

"... the movements that have signed the Lusaka declaration have different political backgrounds, ideological outlooks, attitudes towards national liberation in Zimbabwe. For example on the question of political settlement, ANC is on record for supporting parity or the sharing of power with white settlers. ZAPU and FROLIZI are on record for seeking gradual majority rule. They accept a transitional period. Only ZANU has said 'Majority rule is not negotiable.'"

Despite these disagreements, ZANU agreed to a unification of the groups under the name of ANC, as did the other organiza-

On December 11, 1974, Ian Smith announced that following the negotiations in Lusaka, a cease-fire would take place between the African freedom fighters and his white minority regime. In return for a halt to the fighting, he reportedly agreed to release political prisoners, end the ban on ZANU, ZAPU, and Frolizi, and convene a constitutional conference.

These concessions appear to have been forced by a number of factors including the increase of guerrilla actions and other nationalist activities in Zimbabwe, the collapse of Portuguese rule in Mozambique and Angola, and South Africa's unwillingness to commit itself to military actions in Zimbabwe that could set off massive Black protests in South Africa.

However, the Smith regime refused to live up to its commitments. On January 9, Smith's minister of justice announced that no more political prisoners would be released because African guerrilla operations had not been halted. At that time only 100 of 350 prisoners scheduled to be released had been set free.

The statement about guerrilla operations has been denounced as hypocritical. According to the Africans, the agreement called for a cease-fire *after* the provisions of the Lusaka agreement had been met by the Smith regime.

The Smith regime says that it will meet these obligations only after the cease-fire. It thus appears that Smith views a cease-fire as a complete surrender and disarming of the freedom fighters, which would undermine the power of the Zimbabwean nationalists to push for their demands.

In a series of statements made before his arrest, Sithole made clear that although he and other ZANU leaders were participating in the negotiations with the Smith regime along with other ANC leaders, ZANU placed little confidence in the talks.

In an article published in the February 4 *Washington Post*, Sithole wrote: "One strange thing about the proposed talks is that while African nationalist leaders are for them, their supporters are dead set against them. They believe that these talks will not solve anything except to entrench white supremacy.

"They believe that the present problem cannot be solved by a constitutional conference but only on the battlefield. They are quick to point out that their leaders' 'Talking Way' with Great Britain, the

United Nations and the Organization of African Unity during the 1960s failed to produce any desired results."

During February, ANC leaders met with South African Foreign Minister Dr. Hilgard Muller in Zambia to discuss the several thousand South African "police" stationed on the Zambia-Zimbabwe border. These forces had been used against the guerrilla forces. Following this discussion it was announced that "some elements of the South African police" were withdrawing from the border areas, although it was made clear that they would not leave Zimbabwe.

Despite these moves, the talks did not go forward. The last meeting in February lasted only forty-five minutes.

The main stumbling block is the demand for Black majority rule. On January 15, Smith declared that his government had no intention "to hand over our country to a black-majority government."

"There never has been such a policy in Rhodesia," he told a gathering of whites at a factory-dedication ceremony.

The March 29 Peoples Translation Service, a radical news service based in Berkeley, California, described a demonstration in support of ZANU's position at a meeting of the ANC executive on March 2. This meeting was to prepare for talks with the Smith regime scheduled for March 6.

"When Sithole and Robert Mugabe (ZANU Secretary General) arrived for the meeting," PTS said, "thousands of waiting supporters lifted both leaders and carried them shoulder-high into the meeting amid wild cheer and shouts of 'Pamberi ne chimurenga' (forward with the revolution); 'Freedom or death!' 'Fight to the bitter end!'"

According to PTS, at the March 2 meeting "it was believed that the other ANC Executive members had come over to ZANU's uncompromising stance for their scheduled meeting with Ian Smith. . . ."

Two days later Sithole was arrested. He was initially charged with plotting to assassinate three other ANC leaders: Bishop Abel Muzorewa, a Methodist, who is the leader of the ANC; Muzorewa's deputy, Dr. Elliott Gabellah; and Joshua Nkomo, head of ZAPU. Two weeks later, Sithole was charged with supporting guerrilla warfare and blocking the cease-fire in his position as formal commander in chief of ZANU's armed wing.

On March 25, Sithole's lawyer told the secret tribunal hearing the case that Sithole was withdrawing from the trial. Sithole said that the assassination charges, against which he wanted to defend himself, were being downplayed to allow the government to push its allegations that ZANU had broken the cease-fire agreement. The court announced it would continue the trial

without Sithole or his lawyers.

While the Smith regime clearly aimed to divide the groups within the ANC, they were initially unsuccessful. Immediately after the arrest of Sithole, Bishop Muzorewa announced that the talks had been called off pending Sithole's release. Joshua Nkomo, who has been a strong political opponent of Sithole since the mid-1960s, told the *New York Times* that the arrest was a fabrication aimed at linking up with an element of Black leadership "prepared to do a deal" with Smith.

"This is, of course, nonsense," said Nkomo. He added, "We cannot continue to negotiate with a Government that continues to detain African nationalists."

The subsequent murder of Chitepo, who had been the functioning leader of ZANU during Sithole's earlier imprisonment, was widely attributed to Smith's agents. It was this that prompted the OAU Liberation Committee to call for a resumption of armed actions against the Smith regime.

The ZANU leaders arrested by Kaunda's police at the end of March were charged with participating in a plot to murder Chitepo and other ZANU and ANC leaders, a pretext strikingly similar to Smith's charges against Sithole. Kaunda also closed

down all offices of ZANU, ZAPU, and Frolizi in Zambia. Representatives of ZANU feared that the campaign would lead to the closing of training camps in Zambia.

The Paris daily *Le Monde* reported in its March 30-31 issue that "ZANU thinks that Mr. Kaunda is trying to prevent the infiltration of its partisans into Rhodesia from Zambian territory, as a favor to Mr. Vorster, in exchange for which the South African prime minister is said to have promised to pull back his 'police' units stationed on the Zambezi."

A ZANU leader told *Le Monde* that his organization felt that Smith "will never negotiate." He said that the aim of the negotiations was to develop a puppet leadership of Zimbabwean Blacks that could eventually rule the country without threatening South African interests.

Important lessons can be drawn from the recent experience in Zimbabwe. Chief among these is that the struggle for national liberation cannot be advanced through kowtowing in negotiations with South Africa. The quid pro quo for the recent "détente" was obviously the assistance of African capitalist leaders like Kaunda in crushing the Zimbabwean freedom fighters. □

Socialist Materials in East European Languages

By George Saunders

A number of revolutionary-socialist publications have been produced in the languages of Eastern Europe in recent years, aiming at the awakened political interest and dissident movements in Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, Yugoslavia, the Soviet Union, and other countries of the region.

Those in the West who know these languages may find such material of interest, especially in helping to understand better the inner political life of bureaucratized postcapitalist countries in Eastern Europe.

The following is a listing of the materials available through the Société Internationale d'Édition, Département d'Europe Orientale; 10, Impasse Guéméné; 75004 Paris, France.

In Russian: Leon Trotsky's *The Revolution Betrayed* (*Chto Takoe SSSR i Kuda On Idet?*). This book, a photocopy of Trotsky's original manuscript, makes this centrally important work available in the original for the first time. A number of pamphlets are also available in Russian.

(Those interested in Russian-language materials may obtain a set of *The Bulletin of the Opposition, 1929-40*, edited by Trotsky and containing many of his most

important writings of the last exile period in Russian for \$160 from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014; or from Pathfinder Press, 47 The Cut, London SE1 8LL.)

In Czech: *Informacny Materialy* (Informational Materials), a revolutionary Marxist periodical of information and analysis; a Czech version of Trotsky's *The Revolution Betrayed*; Ernest Mandel's pamphlet *On Bureaucracy*; a pamphlet entitled *Reply to Kolakowsky*; and other pamphlets.

In Polish: *Na Lewo* (Leftwards), a revolutionary Marxist bulletin of information and analysis; Isaac Deutscher's *The Socialist Conception of Man*; Mandel's *On Bureaucracy*; and other pamphlets.

In Hungarian: the *Levegőt* (Give Us Air) pamphlet series: Number 1 includes an article "On the Polish Strikes of 1970" and the first Hungarian translation of Kuron and Modzelewski's "Open Letter to the Party."

Pamphlets are also available in Romanian and Serbo-Croatian.

There are plans to reprint in Ukrainian Trotsky's articles "On the Ukrainian Question."

A catalog of publications is available on request. □

PST Campaigns to Win Release of Argentine Political Prisoners

By Judy White

In a massive assault on militant trade unions in the Buenos Aires region and in northwestern Argentina, police arrested several hundred workers in mid-March.¹

In Villa Constitución, the central focus of the operation, 4,000 federal and provincial police raided hundreds of homes and factories in the predawn hours of March 20. The Buenos Aires daily *La Opinión* of March 27, citing "authorized sources," said that "security forces had held a detailed list of the arrested activists for seven months." The list was used to help single out the more than 200 trade unionists detained.

At approximately the same time, police raided the nearby towns of Zárate and Campana, where several dozen more workers were arrested, along with the families of some "wanted" activists who were not at home when the police arrived.

A member of the plant committee at the Gabilondo metalworks in Zárate described the police dragnet in the March 29 issue of *Avanzada Socialista*, the weekly newspaper of the PST (Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores—Socialist Workers party, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International in Argentina):

"They went to look for people one by one, house by house. Groups of seven or eight armed police in uniform would go to each house. Sometimes they entered by force, breaking down the doors. In many compañeros' homes, they ripped up the floors in the bathroom or elsewhere on the pretext of looking for arms. They turned everything upside down, looking for what they call 'subversive' materials. . . ."

The following day, fourteen sugar workers were shot and 140 arrested when 1,400 armed police broke up a workers demonstration at the Ledesma mill in Jujuy.

Although some of those arrested in these raids were released, the majority are still being held, many without the chance of even being able to obtain a lawyer.

The PST, which has been campaigning to win the release of political prisoners since the state of siege was declared in Argentina last November, made the following statement in the March 29 *Avanzada Socialista*:

"To the long list of political prisoners from the workers and student movements and the political parties, including those from our party,² must now be added

1. See *Intercontinental Press*, April 7, p. 459.

2. Officially the regime admits that 700 prisoners

CON EL EJEMPLO DE LA HIDROFILA, SMATA CORDOBA Y VILLA CONSTITUCION

Luchemos por nuestros presos

En momentos en que muchos presos políticos están cumpliendo más de cuatro meses de encierro, llegan denuncias sobre falsas imputaciones y, como peso fatal, el hecho de que los grupos terroristas de derecha vuelven a actuar sembrando el asesinato de muchos militantes, la mayoría de los cuales no han sido identificados.

• Larga lista de presos

El ministro Rocamora ha reconocido la existencia de setecientos presos políticos. Ignoramos la veracidad y el criterio de la cifra. Pero sabemos que muchos militantes políticos, estudiantiles y obreros están enclaustrados desde hace meses, sin que pese contra ellos ninguna acusación. Tal es el caso de los compañeros de nuestro Partido: Daniel Veiga, de Corrientes, Silvio Dragunsky, de Bahía Blanca, Luisa Segura de Tucumán y Juan Llanos de Jujuy. También otros partidos, como el Comunista y el Socialista Democrático, reclaman por afiliados presos.

Otro frente que sufre el ataque del régimen es el de los abogados, defensores de presos políticos o asesores de organizaciones gremiales. Algunos ejemplos son los compañeros Fidalgo, Patrigniani, Ovando y otros.

El movimiento estudiantil tiene sus rehenes en los notorios dirigentes Talento y Ventura, mientras que el movimiento obrero reúne una larga lista: Ongaro, Domínguez de Hidrófila, Forresi de Acindar, Ruggero y Blanco de FOETRA, varios compañeros de SMATA encarcelados en Córdoba y otros en todo el país.

Nuestro Partido repite su apremiante llamado a todas las organizaciones obreras, estudiantiles y profesionales; a los partidos y coaliciones políticas; a los familiares de los presos a formar comisiones conjuntas por la libertad de nuestros rehenes. Fundamentalmente, con el ejemplo del Cuerpo de Delegados de SMATA (Córdoba), y de los compañeros de Hidrófila y



LUISA SEGURA: Inticgra, con Talento, Ventura y otros, la lista de presos estudiantiles. Sólo la lucha de las organizaciones universitarias, obreras y populares puede recuperarlos.

de los de Villa Constitución que han reclamado y, en algunos casos, se han movilizado por sus presos, llamamos a los compañeros de trabajo y estudio de los detenidos políticos a luchar por ellos con el único método que podrá recuperarlos: la movilización masiva.

• Ola de asesinatos de la ultraderecha

Mientras tanto, en los últimos quince días se ha producido la reaparición de los grupos de ultraderecha que han vuelto a sembrar de cadáveres a organizaciones de la Juventud Peronista y, tal vez, a otras, ya que varias de las víctimas no se han identificado. Estos crímenes brutales son la respuesta a la

guerrilla y se cometen bajo el amparo de una impunidad casi completa. Así, han caído Basile, Aguilar e Ivanovich, familiares de Achem, otro militante juvenil peronista anteriormente asesinado en La Plata. Igualmente, el miércoles 12 aparecieron cinco cadáveres, de los cuales se identificaron los de dos bolivianos, Moscoso y Márquez. Finalmente, en Moreno, el domingo, apareció otro cuerpo calcinado, aun no identificado.

• Compañeros desaparecidos

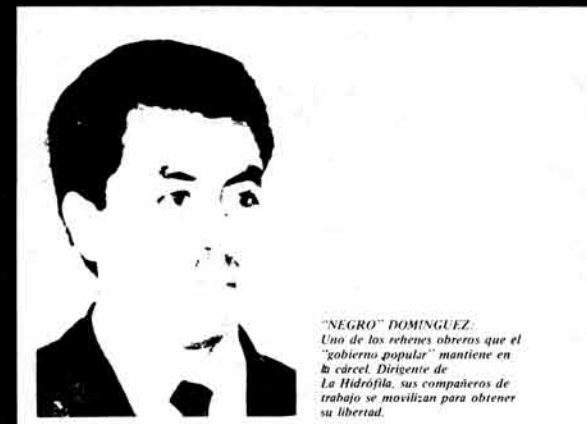
Se ha denunciado la desaparición de varios militantes sin que, hasta el cierre, se los haya podido localizar: AUDEC, organización de los docentes capitalinos, informa que su secretario de Prensa, Guillermo Barros, desapareció hace más de veinte días. Los padres de los alumnos y los docentes de la escuela donde se desempeña Barros —la número 27 del distrito 19— elevaron un memorial al ministerio de Interior.

Otros compañeros cuya desaparición se ha denunciado, son Martín Antonio Berger y tres militantes peronistas que habían concurrido a llevar su solidaridad con los obreros de Rigolleau.

• Desmienten nuestros compañeros de San Juan

Ante noticias aparecidas en diarios de provincias, nuestros compañeros de la Regional San Juan aclaran que es falso que hayan sido detenidos siete militantes y, por lo mismo, que el motivo fuera la tenencia de armas y explosivos. Solo un simpatizante de nuestra organización sanjuanina, que tenía en su poder *Avanzada Socialista*, fue detenido y liberado.

Esta aclaración es paralela a la que debemos hacer nosotros en relación a una falsa noticia propalada en "La Prensa", "La Razón" y "Radio Colonia" acerca de los bolivianos asesinados el último miércoles, identificados como Moscoso y Márquez. Dichas personas no pertenecían al Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores.



"NEGRO" DOMÍNGUEZ: Uno de los rehenes obreros que el "gobierno popular" mantiene en la cárcel. Dirigente de La Hidrófila, sus compañeros de trabajo se movilizan para obtener su libertad.

Avanzada Socialista

Campaign for release of political prisoners includes full-page appeal in PST newspaper.

the hundreds of compañeros arrested in the raids in Rosario, Zárate, Campana, Jujuy, and other places. The first prisoners paid

are being held under state of siege provisions, but an unknown number of others are being held under other repressive laws.

the price of having opposed the Social Pact³ and the government's rightist course. The new ones are paying the price of having initiated this wave of struggles undertaken

3. The regime's antilabor wage-freeze policy.

by the workers to defend their standard of living, a wave the government is trying to stop in its early stages.

"In the present situation of profound political instability, our party, as a principled revolutionary current, will fight steadfastly against any coup but will continue to demand the release of these leaders and activists. To free them, mass mobilizations are necessary, following the heroic example of the compañeros at Villa Constitución."

The PST was referring to the strike immediately launched by thousands of workers in Villa Constitución when they learned of the arrest of the UOM (Unión Obrera Metalúrgica—Metalworkers Union) leadership and militants.

Four members of the PST are in jail—attorneys Juan Llanos and Daniel Veiga, longtime activist Silvio Dragunsky, and student leader Luisa Segura.

Segura, who was arrested November 14 while standing guard in the dining room at the University of Tucumán, described her arrest in the March 12 issue of *Avanzada Socialista*:

"On November 14 a meeting of activists from all student political groups was held in the university dining room. The purpose of the meeting was to set up shifts to watch over the dining room equipment. We were doing this because a few days before, the fascists had set off an explosion, destroying the other dining room. We also discussed the possibility of the university being shut down. We were almost through with the meeting when the police appeared. Although they found nothing that would suggest illegal activities of any kind, everyone present was arrested—all fifty of us. Almost everyone has been released, but nine of us are still under the jurisdiction of the executive branch. No one explained why we were singled out."

Silvio Dragunsky is a well-known representative of the PST in Bahía Blanca. He was the first student recruited to the party in Bahía. Following a period of activity in other areas, he returned to help in the education of the many new comrades the PST has won in the last three years. One day in January, he was arrested as he was leaving work and has been held ever since. No charges have been filed against him.

United action of the type the PST has been calling for in defense of political prisoners has begun to develop in the northern industrial belt of Buenos Aires in the wake of the recent police raids. A rally held March 21 in front of the Gabilondo administration's office drew 200 persons to hear speakers from the PST, the Communist party, and the Gabilondo and Callegari plant committees.

A joint defense effort by these same two plant committees won for the wife of an imprisoned worker the right to receive her

husband's wages while he is in jail.

The attitude of participants in these actions was expressed by a worker at Gabilondo interviewed by *Avanzada Socialista*. He described how a March 22 defense meeting was being built:

"Now we have decided to broaden our forces and call on everyone to unite to win the release of our compañeros. We don't care about the political affiliation of the prisoners or the politics of the forces that want to fight to free them. That's why we decided to invite everyone to join the campaign for the compañeros—management; the UOM; the 62 Organizations;⁴ all the unions, plant committees, shop stewards, and political parties—including the Partido Peronista [Peronist party]. . . ."

4. The traditional Peronist union bloc.

Organize National Abortion Campaign

British Women Fight Drive to Restrict Abortion

By Bridget Lux

LONDON—Since the introduction of an anti-abortion bill in Parliament in February, women in Britain have been organizing to defend the liberal 1967 Abortion Act and to extend the legal right to abortion on demand. Known as the James White Bill, the new legislation, if passed, will do the following: (1) allow abortion only on "medical" grounds; (2) lower the time limit from twenty-eight to twenty weeks; and (3) effectively prohibit nonresidents from obtaining abortions.

A Select Committee has already been set up in the hope of reaching an early decision before the summer parliamentary break in June. Of the fifteen members on the Select Committee, only four are women. Two women Labour MPs, Renee Short and Gwyneth Dunwoody, have demanded that more women be appointed to the committee.

The urgent need to mobilize supporters of the right to abortion has prompted the formation of the National Abortion Campaign (NAC), which includes representatives of more than twenty women's groups and political organizations. The purpose of the NAC, as voted at its initial meeting, is to "fight restrictive legislation on abortion, on the basis of supporting a woman's right to choose whether to continue or terminate a pregnancy."

During the weekend of March 22-23 two large women's conferences adopted further plans for the campaign. The first, the

On March 22, 150 persons, mainly workers and relatives of those arrested in Zárate, met in the headquarters of the Sindicato de Papeleros (Paperworkers Union) to make plans for a campaign to win the release of arrested workers.

Among those attending were representatives of the PST, CP, Frente de Izquierda Popular (People's Left Front), Partido Socialista Democrático (Democratic Socialist party), Unión de Mujeres Argentinas (Union of Argentine Women), Unión de Entidades Zarateñas (Union of Zárate Organizations), and workers from several trade unions and plant committees in the zone.

The meeting set up a provisional committee to work for the release of the prisoners and decided on two immediate actions: a public rally for the following week and a petition campaign directed at the president and ministry of the interior. □

"Women and Socialism Conference," held in London and attended by more than 400 women, voted unanimously to support the NAC. Two workshops discussed the effectiveness of mounting a campaign around a single issue, the need to build the NAC, and the necessity of educating and arming women with the arguments in favour of a woman's right to choose.

The second conference, sponsored by the Women's Abortion and Contraception Campaign (WACC) in Nottingham, drew about 150 women. It concentrated on immediate organizing, including the specifics of how to submit evidence to the Select Committee.

The importance of abortion for the trade-union movement is shown in two contradictory developments inside the Trades Union Congress (TUC). While the TUC Women's Conference held on March 13 and 14 voted a motion for contraception and abortion on demand from the National Health Service, the TUC as a whole recently proposed a new "Women's Charter" that specifically excludes abortion from its twelve points. The NAC is calling for protests to urge a reversal of this decision at the upcoming September TUC general conference.

The growing threat to the right to abortion has prompted proposals by the NAC for emergency actions, including a mass demonstration on June 21, a meeting at the House of Commons April 16, and a conference in London April 12. □

Spain: The Reasons Why Washington Is Worried

By Joaquín Canales

[The following is a translation of "España: Las Razones de la Preocupación de Washington," which appears elsewhere in this issue of *Intercontinental Press*.]

[Continued from last week]

Internal fissures in the structure of the Spanish state are becoming increasingly evident. Criticisms are raised from all quarters: the army, the church, the press, and even government functionaries, among others. All of this has contributed to the already advanced state of decomposition of the Franco regime.

The February 6 issue of the Mexican daily *Excelsior* reported the first protest by public functionaries since the Civil War. "Some 500 Spanish functionaries sent a letter to the Head of State, saying that they favored a 'democratic government.'

"They demanded an end to Executive immunity, trade-union rights for government employees, and the neutralization of private-interest pressure groups."

The letter was signed by University of Madrid professors, government economists, ministerial technicians, labor ministry inspectors, lawyers, and others.

Spain's press dares to print increasing criticisms of the government. The weekly magazine *Mundo* has gone so far as to publish a comic strip called "The Dictator." Spanish television has also been a center of discontent. The February 9 *Mundo* reported that forty-three producers—80 percent of Televisión Española producers—went on strike in support of actors' demands.

From another quarter, one of the strongholds of support to the Franco regime, the church, has become more and more critical. The February 3 issue of the Spanish magazine *Cambio 16* reported a sermon given by rebel priests:

"This sermon, prepared by a sizable group of priests, began by analyzing the tense situation in Navarra, and concretely the Potasas conflict. 'The problems disturbing us must be analyzed in light of the gospel, because there is a parallel between the suffering of the people of Navarra and that of the liberator of mankind, Jesus.'

"They went on to condemn economic injustice and wage discrimination. The priests demanded the right to assembly: 'The workers have had to meet in the churches because they are not permitted to

do it elsewhere . . . the forces of public order violently drove them out of the cathedral on November 21.'"

Several priests have been fined for criticizing the government in their sermons. In some cases the fines have gone as high as US\$6,000. Since the beginning of the year fines imposed on thirty-four priests in Navarra have totaled 3,965,000 pesetas (\$70,800), according to the *Christian Science Monitor* of February 11.

One sector that the government is watching with anxiety is the army. There are clear signs that the events in Portugal and the radicalization of the ranks of the Portuguese army have had a big impact in Spain. Among others, the Spanish armed forces have been affected. The February 21 *Christian Science Monitor* listed the events that observers considered significant:

"A major and a captain, both of the Army, this week were put under 'preventive detention' in the military fortress of Figueras, northern Catalonia." The jailed major, Julio Busquets, "is well known as the author of a sociological study, 'The Professional Soldier in Spain,' published in the '60s."

Among 160,000 signatures collected requesting amnesty for the political prisoners were "the signatures of 2,000 military officers. The petition, drafted by the Christian Democratic movement 'Justice and Peace' is to be handed to the Caudillo [Franco], but without the signatures.

"There are continuing reports that secret young officers' committees exist in Army garrisons. They are said to reflect impatience with the stagnating political situation and General Franco's resumption of powers last September. . . .

"In January Minister of the Army Francisco Coloma Gallego gave a warning against soldiers meddling in politics. If anybody in the armed services felt he 'could better serve his country by following a certain political line,' General Coloma said, he should get out."

Possibility of Opening to the Left

The tumultuous situation in Spain has heightened the tendency of some bourgeois sectors to consider the possibility of a substantial change in government policy to contain the revolutionary upsurge. *Mundo*, a supporter of this type of change, reported on a meeting of bourgeois liberals.

On Tuesday, January 21, almost 1,000 persons met at the Escuela Superior de Administración de Empresas [Advanced School for Business Administration] in Barcelona. Present were "a cross section of the financial world and the elite among intellectuals, liberals, and executives . . . men of Christian Democratic, Liberal, and moderate Social Democratic sympathies."

This "Center-Left Operation" aims ". . . to lay the basis for a broad ideological current, far removed from any authoritarian overtones either from the right or the left. It even hopes to win nonauthoritarian elements from traditional opposition sectors in the region."

At the conference, Catalan banker Jordi Pujol issued the following call to the bourgeoisie:

"The bourgeoisie needs leaders with moral and political authority capable of making certain positions understood. A unifying position must be a socially advanced one. Changes in the distribution of wealth, democratic public control of businesses—including some nationalizations or socializations—and a strong trade-union movement must be brought about to prevent a broad sector of the society from feeling left out."

It is significant that sectors of the bourgeoisie are seeking a "democratic" solution to the problems that are causing the working class and its allies to mobilize. The bourgeoisie's fundamental problem was expressed perhaps most clearly in a Barcelona press dispatch published in the February 2 *New York Times*. It credited an executive of a foreign-controlled factory with the following comment:

"We don't know whom to talk to," he complained. "If we reach an agreement with the official union, we cannot be sure it will stick."

Obviously, it is impossible to negotiate with an illegal workers movement. Thus the option of legalizing the Comisiones Obreras (workers commissions, which have led struggles), strikes, and even left political parties could be quite worthwhile for the bourgeoisie.

The Government Is Teetering

Under pressure from the masses, on February 12, 1974, the government decided to begin a period of minimal concessions. However, one year later, *New York Times*

correspondent Henry Giniger reported from Madrid on February 13:

"The Spanish Government, on the first anniversary of its reform program, finds itself much busier repressing 'subversive' challenges than promoting democratic reform.

"Officials are embattled with industrial workers, actors, civil servants, university students and journalists; in addition, they face a general mood of disappointment and skepticism over the results of the reforms."

The reform the Franco regime placed its hopes on was the Ley de Asociaciones (Law of Associations). However this law did not meet the growing needs of the masses because of its limited character. A year ago, on February 13, the *New York Times* reported on the law's limitations:

"The Premier said that participation in political and social affairs would be as wide as possible and would exclude only those who disqualified themselves by resorting to subversion and violence. He warned those who disturbed public order that 'justice will bring upon them, with more rigor than benevolence, the entire weight of the law.'"

Of course, this excluded the entire left and the mass movement from forming political organizations. Up to today the only organizations actually recognized have been those of the Movimiento (the Falangists). The January 25 issue of *Mundo* made the following comments about the failure of the Ley de Asociaciones:

"Although the associations' pot is steaming vigorously, it has not reached a boil. How strange! Nonetheless, applying logic and a little common sense, we must exclaim: Of course! How do they expect it to boil if the flame—permission to hold meetings—is out?"

Despite the limited character of the reforms, they have stirred up the sectors that are fighting for more reforms and have also infuriated the old Falangists, who now feel abandoned. According to the Buenos Aires daily *La Opinión* of March 8, "During a recent religious service commemorating Admiral Carrero Blanco [executed by Basque guerrillas in 1973], the veterans of the Spanish Civil War of 1936-39 booed Arias Navarro. They said he was a 'traitor' who was 'soft as butter.'"

In fact, some fascist groups feel threatened. On February 8 one of those groups, *Fuerza Nueva* (New Force), reflected such fear in speeches given at the Granollers Sports Pavillion:

"We are being attacked from all sides because *Fuerza Nueva* is the only group holding up the banners of July 18 [the date of Franco's revolt]. That is something that bothers people, reminding some of their defeat and others of their betrayal," said José Ruiz Hernández, fascist delegate from Granollers.

In another speech, the well-known Falangist Blas Piñar referred to the fact that they had been described as "ultras" and "clowns":

"... words that no longer offend us because we know that Christ was an ultra who died because of the Jews and because he too was treated like a clown, dressed in a tunic with a crown of thorns." They had even been called "exalted, as we heard recently from ladies with famous last names. . . . They must be remembering that it was such exaltation that made Franco rebel on July 18."

Later he threatened, "Just because we are holding an assembly does not mean we have relinquished the streets." He recalled his street action in December 1970 to protest the Burgos trial "where we said, Franco, yes! Government, no! because we believed that the government was the worst enemy at the moment."

Referring to the monarchical succession, he said, "We will not serve any liberal monarch."

The rally ended with the singing of the Falangist hymn "Cara al sol" (Face to the Sun), arms raised in the fascist salute, and a fascist chief's wife suffering a fatal heart attack on the spot.

Arias Navarro himself has attacked these more short-sighted groups as inquisitors. But the problem has not been resolved. The small reforms have stimulated the masses' struggle and infuriated sectors of the Falange. The government is weaker than ever. It continues on an untenable course, refusing to listen to well-meaning suggestions—from the liberal bourgeois point of view—made by *Cambio 16* in its February 24 editorial:

"There are many Spanish political circles that insist it is impossible to transform this authoritarian regime slowly to make it adequate for the new society and new times. They trust only in catastrophic events or splits to make the political changes that are more and more obvious and necessary. The worse, the better.

"It is possible that history will prove them right, that experience is on their side, but it is also true that the overwhelming majority of the country harbors the unfounded dream that normalcy can be established by force of reason instead of by crisis or force."

Washington Is 'Worried'

The situation in Portugal is a prime factor affecting social and political life in Spain. The masses have been inspired by their Portuguese counterparts. Spanish ruling circles are also following the events in Portugal closely, although for different reasons.

There has been much speculation about the possibility of Spain following in the

footsteps of its neighbor. However, it would be much more difficult for the Spanish ruling class to take that option. In Portugal a workers movement as powerful and active as the one in Spain did not exist. A liberalization would involve a much greater risk for the Spanish bourgeoisie.

Nonetheless, there is less and less possibility that a spectacular upsurge of the Spanish working class and its allies can be avoided.

The Spanish Communist party proposes a reformist solution: the Junta Democrática Española (Spanish Democratic Junta), a coalition of the monarchists and the Stalinists. In late February Santiago Carrillo, secretary of the CP, told the Yugoslav news agency Tanjug that the Junta Democrática "will call a general strike and demand power. The Junta can take over. It already has a candidate for the presidency of the provisional government."

He also stated that, for the moment, "our Junta is not insisting on the implementation of its program of domestic reforms, nor even on ending United States bases on national territory."

The Spanish bourgeoisie will always be able to count on this indispensable ally, which will always be willing to safeguard the interests of capital. Moreover, the CP has majority control over the Comisiones Obreras. If the Spanish capitalists want to control the working class at this time they will have to turn to the CP.

On the other hand, while it is true that the Portuguese events have influenced the Spanish masses, a reactionary coup in Portugal would make the Spanish workers movement retreat. There have already been two such coup attempts in Portugal.

It is obvious that North American imperialism is "worried" about the situation in Portugal. Now it is also beginning to "worry" about the situation in Spain. In a March 13 editorial, the *New York Times* expressed these concerns:

"With moderate political groups denied the opportunity for legal action, the field has been left clear for the clandestine Communist party—and, to a lesser extent, the Socialists—to strengthen their influence in labor organizations, the universities and neighborhood associations. Similar circumstances enabled the Communists to emerge as the strongest organized force in Portugal after the overthrow of the dictatorship there. Unless liberalization proceeds more vigorously, Spain could follow the same pattern."

The onset of a prerevolutionary period in Spain would make the putschist plans of North American imperialism much more difficult to realize. If the mass upsurge continues throughout the Iberian Peninsula, Washington will have many more reasons to be worried. □

No Relief in Sight for Victims of Famine in Ethiopia

By Ernest Harsch

The threat of famine in Eritrea was serious even before the recent escalation of fighting between Ethiopian troops and the Eritrean independence forces.

Washington Post correspondent David B. Ottaway reported in an October 23, 1974, dispatch from Addis Ababa that he found almost total crop failure in the Keren region of Eritrea. A private Eritrean relief association, which was disbanded in January by the Provisional Military Administrative Council, estimated that 700,000 persons were seriously affected by the continuing drought, a condition that had been complicated by the prolonged state of war. American relief officials put the figure at 400,000.

The International Red Cross, after reaching an agreement with the guerrillas, sent a team into rebel-controlled areas of Eritrea last August. A report issued after the survey said that there was widespread malnutrition among the Eritrean peasantry. Relief groups estimated that Eritrea had the largest number of persons in any sector of the area affected by the drought and famine conditions.

Initially, the military regime refused to allow relief operations in Eritrea, according to the October 23 report from Ottaway. Later, an emergency relief operation supported by church groups and foreign relief organizations was started, but the escalation of fighting on January 31 put an end to it.

According to relief officials, cited by Ottaway in the March 15 *Washington Post*, at least 50,000 tons of grain were piled up in Humera, in Begemder Province, just across the river from Eritrea. But because of the war damage to the roads, there was said to be no way to transport the food to Asmara, Eritrea's capital of 200,000 persons, which usually relies on food shipments from the Humera region.

The PMAC, in a February 27 statement, blamed the Eritrean rebels for interrupting the relief operations and for "robbing drought victims of all emergency relief supplies." The guerrillas replied that the Ethiopian military had destroyed food supplies in rebel-controlled areas to starve them out.

Ottaway noted the response of the international relief organizations to the Eritrean famine. "Foreign relief officials" in Addis Ababa, he said, "are extremely hesitant to make an international issue over the

situation in Asmara, or in Eritrea in general, for fear of compromising their relations with the government."

Famine conditions are also severe among the Somalis in the Ogaden region (most of Hararge and Bale provinces and part of Sidamo province) in southeastern Ethiopia.

The worst-affected areas are the central and southern districts of Hararge. The failure of the October-November rains for the fourth year in a row depleted the food and water supply. Many of the adult males have gone to Harar, the capital of Hararge, for refuge. Of those unable to travel so far—mostly women, children, and old people—about 160,000 are seriously affected by the drought and are dependent on relief aid. Many of the Somalis suffer from tuberculosis, malaria, and dysentery.

Women and children are dying steadily. Fifty-five persons are known to have died along the Shebele River, the only river in the area still running. In January, eighteen children and nine adults were found dead one morning in a relief shelter.

"The numbers in the primary stages of famine, that is, suffering from severe malnutrition and related conditions, are probably much higher since outlying settlements are virtually inaccessible to relief teams," MacManus reported.

He quoted a missionary, who had prepared a report for the military regime, as saying, "The cattle, which provide the people with the blood and milk vital to their

diet, have all gone. If the small rains in March fail, as there is every sign that they will, the situation will only get worse."

"The spread of havoc and disease," the missionary continued, "... is beyond the control of the health centre and clinics. There is little hope of survival if there is no continual flow of food and relief supplies."

The PMAC, through the National Relief Commission, allocated 17,000 tons of grain and 30 percent of all other relief supplies for this year to the Ogaden region. The Third Division of the army, which is permanently stationed in the Ogaden to maintain control over the Somalis, has lent desert vehicles to help move food, water, and fuel to remote aid points.

Since coming to power, the PMAC has stated that three to four million persons in eleven of the fourteen provinces are suffering from the "worsening drought situation." The Ethiopian relief commission made an international appeal for 278,000 tons of grain for its relief operations and another 60,000 tons for a national emergency stockpile.

Many of the international relief groups, however, have closed down their emergency feeding stations. Since the overthrow of Emperor Haile Selassie, the international press, for the most part, has also chosen to ignore the continuing famine conditions.

Ottaway noted in the October 24 *Washington Post*, "Foreign relief officials are greatly puzzled as to why the Ethiopian government has come out with such a high estimate of its needs for the coming year even before the fall harvest is in."

Ethiopian Relief Commissioner Shimelis Adugna explained the reason for the 278,000-ton request. "I don't know yet but I would rather err on the safe side," Shimelis said. "If 90,000 tons is enough, then fine. . . . But our donors have a tendency to wait until catastrophe has hit. . . ." □

Thousands Die of Famine in Somalia

The continuing famine and drought in the Ogaden region of Ethiopia has now spread to neighboring Somalia. At least a quarter of Somalia's population of more than three million has been stricken in nine of the sixteen regions of the country. About 250,000 nomads have taken refuge in the relief camps. By May, the number of refugees is expected to climb to 800,000.

According to official figures, more than 9,000 persons are known to have died from malnutrition or related diseases since the refugee camps were set up in December.

Moreover, five million sheep and goats and one million cattle are dying. Livestock exports account for more than 60 percent of Somalia's foreign-exchange earnings, and animal husbandry is the major occupation

of the nomads, who make up 80 percent of the Somali population.

According to a report from northern Somalia by Thomas A. Johnson in the March 22 *New York Times*, the Somali regime was much better prepared for the drought, by organizing efficient relief camps, than the other African countries that have recently been affected.

However, the costs of staving off serious famine are great. The regime has estimated that to maintain the camps to the end of April will require \$91 million, or three-fourths of the annual budget. Since Somalia usually pays for its food imports with exports of livestock and bananas, both of which have been hit hard by the drought, its ability to meet the relief expenses has been greatly cut. □

Land Reform Begins in Ethiopia

By Ernest Harsch

The radical agrarian reform announced by Ethiopia's military regime March 4 has already had an effect in southern Ethiopia, David B. Ottaway of the *Washington Post* reports, after traveling 600 miles through Shoa and Sidamo provinces.

"The feudal system in southern Ethiopia is crumbling fast under the impact of the land-reform decree promulgated last week with no resistance thus far from the local nobility," he notes in the March 11 issue.

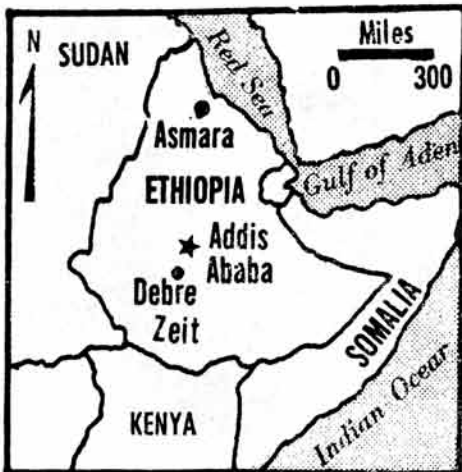
"The powerful Amhara landlords, who once owned much of the choice grain- and coffee-producing land here and who ruled the empire for centuries, are now dead, in prison or lying low—or have fled to the capital out of fear of their own tenant peasants. Many of the local nobles and village chiefs are in similar situations. The result has been to create a political vacuum in many of the smaller towns and the countryside throughout this region."

On his journey, Ottaway passed by the former estates of such well-known nobles as deposed Emperor Haile Selassie's daughter Princess Tenagneworq, his grandson Ermeis Kebede, Lt. Gen. Issayas Gebre Selassie, Dejazmatch Solomon Abraham, and Blatta Admassu Retta. Now all of these landlords are either in prison or have been executed.

Although the nationalist military regime announced that it would distribute these lands to the landless peasants or transform them into village cooperatives, it appears that sectors of the peasantry have already begun to take over the abandoned estates themselves. "In some areas," Ottaway reports, "the peasants are taking over the land and crops of their previous landlords or selling off their cattle."

At Alem Taina, sixty miles south of Addis Ababa, Ottaway observed a rally of several hundred Gallas who listened to a student explain the land-reform measures. "Although news of the land reform," Ottaway said, "had reached the Galla tenant farmers only by word of mouth since few have radios, in some cases they had already taken over their landlords' land, crops or cattle."

He also reports that in Sodo, in western Sidamo, "Talks with local and provincial officials here indicate that no one knows exactly how the land redistribution will actually be carried out. However, the local subprovincial administrator in Sodo said,



United Press International

"There is a feeling the people may get together and do it themselves."

According to Thomas A. Johnson in the March 4 *New York Times*, the Darussi in northern Sidamo, whose land had been taken away several decades ago by Selassie and given to Amharic landlords, were reportedly in revolt.

The decree nationalized all rural land in Ethiopia, with no compensation to the landlords except for improvements made to the land. All debts and obligations by tenant farmers and sharecroppers were canceled. Hired labor and tenant farming were banned, and land could no longer be sold, exchanged, or transferred. The few large commercial farms in the country, most of which were owned or controlled by foreign interests, were also nationalized, with no compensation.

The decree said that state farms and village cooperatives would be set up. According to the March 15 *London Economist*, "Local associations of tenants, landless peasants, hired workers and small farmers are to be set up and made responsible for distributing about 2,000 acres each, for resolving any legal disputes and for establishing marketing and credit co-operatives. Delegates from these associations will form similar groups at district and sub-provincial levels to co-ordinate the activities of the local associations and to act as courts of appeal."

A limit of ten hectares (about 25 acres) was placed on the size of plots farmed by individual peasants.

According to a dispatch from Ottaway published in the March 5 *Washington Post*,

the use of the nomadic and communal lands in the northern provinces will not change very much under the decree, except that all payments by nomads to *balabbats*, or local nobles, have been canceled.

The decree was preceded by a three-week meeting in Addis Ababa at which 1,400 Ethiopian officials, military personnel, peasant notables, and agricultural experts discussed land-reform proposals. Most of the participants in the conference were assigned to the provinces to prepare for carrying out the decree. In addition, the 25,000 students who had been sent to the countryside were also to be briefed on the land reform.

Apparently in an effort to prevent the agrarian reform from getting out of its control, the PMAC, according to the March 5 *New York Times*, "said that until the reform could be put into effect, tenants and landlords had an equal right to share the land now under cultivation."

If carried through, the land-reform measures would put an end to Ethiopia's archaic system of semifeudal and subsistence landholdings. Ethiopia had hundreds of different tenure systems, ranging from small privately owned plots and communal and village land systems in the northern provinces to the enormous estates in the south that were farmed by hired laborers, tenants, and sharecroppers.

Some of the feudal estates in the south were as large as two million acres, according to Jean-Claude Guillebaud in the March 6 *Le Monde*. Sharecroppers often had to pay up to 75 percent of their harvests for rent. According to estimates made in 1968, about one-half of all peasants in Ethiopia were tenant farmers and 60 percent of the rest worked plots of less than one acre each.

Although some land reform measures had been proposed under Selassie, nearly all of them were blocked by the landlord class, which dominated the Ethiopian Parliament. Those measures that were passed were often ignored in practice. With the overthrow of Selassie and the installation of the nationalist military regime, however, the political power of the feudalists has been broken.

Some of the feudalists who are still at large have put up sporadic resistance to the new regime. According to a January 30 communiqué released by the Ethiopian news agency, Ethiopian troops clashed with the mercenary forces of Mesfin and Merid Birou in the Menz region north of Addis Ababa. Also, the town of Lalibala in northern Ethiopia was reportedly occupied for two days in March by the forces of Berhan-Meskel Desta, a big landowner.

So far, however, the resistance of the landlords has posed only a minor challenge to the regime. If the peasants mobilize, this resistance would collapse completely. □

Roy Medvedev Threatened by Moscow Bureaucrats

By Marilyn Vogt

Dissident Marxist historian Roy Medvedev was warned by Kremlin bureaucrats March 22 against publishing a new samizdat journal, *20th Century*. After being called into the public prosecutor's office in Moscow, he was also told to cancel a contract he has reportedly signed with a Western publisher for publication of a book on Mikhail Sholokhov. Medvedev holds the view that Soviet Nobel laureate Sholokhov did not write all of the novel *The Quiet Don* for which he won fame.

The table of contents of the samizdat journal and an editor's note by Medvedev were made available to foreign correspondents in Moscow during the second week of March. The journal, which is scheduled to be published every other month, will be a forum for "loyal opponents" of the Stalinist regimes currently ruling the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. Its sponsors anticipate having it published abroad in Russian by a publishing house of "leftist orientation."

Medvedev is best known in the West as the author of an unofficial history of the Stalin era, *Let History Judge*, which was circulated in samizdat form in the Soviet Union and published as a book abroad.¹ A prominent critic of bureaucratic rule, he has defended socialist democracy in numerous open statements published during the last few years.²

According to a report in the March 12 *Washington Post*, Medvedev's editor's note explained the origin of the new journal in the following terms: "Guided by a concern about the development of socialist society and socialist ideas in the Soviet Union, thinking also that a combination of socialism and democracy is our basic goal, a



MEDVEDEV: New journal will fight for "a combination of socialism and democracy."

group of persons holding common views has started issuing this journal."

He also said that the journal's sponsors consider it a successor of the samizdat journal *Politichesky Dnevnik* (Political Diary). The earlier journal circulated secretly among dissident intellectuals, including Communist party members, from 1964 to 1970.³

According to the *Washington Post*, the table of contents of the first issue of *20th Century* includes the following:

- The prison-camp memoirs of Dimitri Petrovich Vitkovsky, entitled "Half a Lifetime." Vitkovsky was apparently to have been the editor of Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn's *Gulag Archipelago*, which includes accounts of his experiences. However, Vitkovsky died before the manuscript for the book was completed. Medvedev says the Vitkovsky memoirs have been ranked on a par with Solzhenitsyn's *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich*.

- An article by Raisa Borisovna Lert, whom the *Washington Post* report describes as a "retired Communist journalist." According to the *Post*, her article on Stalin's "effectiveness as a war-time leader . . . concludes that his dogmatism and clumsiness hampered the general headquarters staff."⁴

- "A recollection by Mikhail Petrovich

3. Eleven of the seventy issues of this monthly journal became available abroad. They were published in Russian in 1972 by the Alexander Herzen Foundation.

4. For a few years after de-Stalinization was initiated in the late 1950s, criticism of Stalin's

Yakubovich,⁵ one of the remaining active participants in the 1917 revolution—he was the first head of the Smolensk Soviet—who later spent 26 years in Stalin's prisons. He writes of his encounters with great personalities of the time. Yakubovich's writing has not been published here before."

- "The excerpts from Medvedev's study of 'The Quiet Don.' His investigation is continuing and he now claims to have located, but not yet seen, the archives of Fyodor Dmitrievich Krukov, who he thinks wrote the major part of the book attributed to Sholokhov. In these archives, according to Medvedev, is a partial manuscript that has a name close to 'The Quiet Don.'"

Medvedev said he had received the Vitkovsky manuscript from Aleksandr Tvardovsky. As editor of the Soviet literary journal *Novy Mir*, Tvardovsky published a number of dissident writings, including Solzhenitsyn's *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich*. A proponent of democracy, Tvardovsky was eventually forced to resign in 1970, and conservative Stalinists were put in charge of the journal. He died shortly afterward.

Before he was forced to resign, Tvardovsky had received Vitkovsky's memoirs, paid him a fee for them, and planned to publish them in *Novy Mir*. He was never able to secure permission to do so. The Vitkovsky memoirs are among a number of such manuscripts Tvardovsky gave to Medvedev shortly before he died.

Medvedev said that Tvardovsky told him, "You are younger than I am and maybe you will live to the time when all this can be published." These documents are among the materials scheduled to appear in future issues of *20th Century*.

The public announcement of this new journal is an important development in the fight for socialist democracy in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. Previous samizdat journals have for the most part been purely informational, reporting the actions of dissidents and the regime's repression.

The goal of *20th Century* is to promote a "combination of socialism and democracy" in the Soviet Union. As such, it may prove to be a significant pole of attraction, helping to forge closer ties between supporters of this goal in the Soviet Union and abroad. □

gross errors during the war was tolerated. Recently, however, the official writings have turned toward slavishly glorifying Stalin's war-time role.

5. *Politichesky Dnevnik* describes Yakubovich as a Menshevik who was arrested by Stalin in 1930 for being a "wrecker." (no. 33, June 1967; p. 275 in Herzen Foundation collection.) Yakubovich's recollections on Zinoviev were published in *Politichesky Dnevnik*, no. 63, December 1969. Released from prison camp in 1954, he was reported in 1967 to be living in a home for invalids in Karaganda.

1. Roy Medvedev, *Let History Judge* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1972), 566 pp.

2. The most extensive definition of his views is contained in *Kniga o Sotsialisticheskoy Demokratii* (Book on Socialist Democracy), which was published by the Alexander Herzen Foundation (Amstel 268, Amsterdam, Netherlands) in 1972. A French translation was published by Editions Grasset & Fasquelle in Paris, and an English translation is scheduled for publication this year by Alfred A. Knopf.

The book is a wide-ranging critique of economic developments in the Soviet Union and of the antidemocratic methods by which Stalin and his heirs have ruled. He contrasts their policies and practices with those of Lenin and the Bolsheviks and also analyzes and evaluates the dissident movement in the Soviet Union today.

How the Silver Shirts Lost Their Shine in Minneapolis

By Farrell Dobbs

[The following selection¹ is from the eleventh chapter of *Teamster Politics*, a forthcoming book by Farrell Dobbs. The book is the third volume in a four-volume series.² The first two volumes tell the story of how the International Brotherhood of Teamsters grew during the 1930s from a weak craft union to the largest labor organization in the United States. This growth was spearheaded by a militant Teamster organization in Minneapolis, under the guidance of veterans of the Trotskyist movement.

[Dobbs, the key figure in the Teamsters' first over-the-road organizing drive, writes in this volume of the Teamsters expansion in the eleven-state area; employer-inspired FBI frame-up attacks on Teamster organizers; the Minneapolis Teamsters and Farmer-Labor party politics; and the struggles of the unemployed and the victimization of their leaders.

[Besides its historical interest as an account written by a participant, the selection is of value for its description of the way an incipient fascist formation was fought off under Trotskyist leadership in an American city in 1938.

[Special attention should be paid to two political aspects of the struggle that appear to have been virtually forgotten or to have been misconstrued by militants concerned over the threat posed by incipient fascist groups today.

[1. The Trotskyists in Minneapolis did not make the mistake of attempting to engage by themselves in a physical struggle with the fascists or with the police detailed to aid the fascists.

[In isolation from the labor movement, such a sectarian or adventurous move could have led to unnecessary casualties, and by its weakness, could have emboldened the fascists.

[The role demanded of the Trotskyists, as they viewed it, was to help mobilize the workers through their unions against the fascist threat. Only an impressive action by

organized labor forces could cut short the fascist bid for entrenchment in the city.

[2. The Trotskyists in Minneapolis did not make the mistake of calling for violation of the democratic right of free speech claimed by the fascists.

[As the Trotskyists saw it, the question of free speech was not involved. In a serious fascist mobilization, what is involved is the fascists' use of physical violence against their opponents as a step toward breaking up the labor movement, installing a totalitarian dictatorship, and ending all democratic rights. Fascist rallies designed to mobilize and organize reactionary forces go beyond free speech, falling within the framework of preparations for violent attacks on labor.

[Consequently, the Minneapolis Trotskyists did not set out to restrict anyone's right to free speech, but to mobilize forces in the labor movement to meet the fascists on the ground they were preparing to fight on or had already begun to fight on in other parts of the United States such as Jersey City, New York, and Los Angeles.

[The prime issue was to meet any fascist demonstrations of force by counterdemonstrations, which is also a democratic right.

[That was what the Trotskyists in Minneapolis sought to do; and how well they succeeded in doing it can be judged from the account given by Dobbs.

[It might be added that Leon Trotsky, then in exile in Mexico, took a keen interest in these developments and considered the action in Minneapolis, like similar actions elsewhere in the United States at the time, to be encouraging evidence that the American workers might not have to undergo the cruel and bloody experience of a fascist dictatorship.]

* * *

Clashes between capital and labor in times of social crisis tend to stimulate activity among political demagogues with a fascist mentality. They anticipate that intensification of the class struggle will cause sections of the ruling class to turn away from parliamentary democracy and its methods of rule, and resort to fascism as the way to hold on to state power and protect special privilege. Each of the aspirants hopes, moreover, to be chosen as the "fuehrer" to lead the terrorist movement needed for the murderous assault on the

working class that accompanies such a turn in policy.

Several of these would-be Hitlers had, in fact, come forward in this country in the early 1930s, but they made little headway in the period marked by the stormy rise of the CIO. Then, during 1937-38, the situation began to change. A second deep economic slump developed, marking the collapse of Roosevelt's New Deal. Social contradictions in general grew sharper, as the ruling class prepared to plunge the country into the impending imperialist war. The bureaucratic misleaders in the trade unions failed to guide the workers toward a meaningful course for coping with difficulties caused by these developments—formation of an independent labor party. And in those circumstances significant numbers of demoralized middle-class elements in the cities, impoverished farmers, and to a certain extent unemployed workers fell prey to ultraright hucksters.

As a result various profascist groups that had sprung up earlier began to recruit quite rapidly, and they received a parallel increase in financial backing from wealthy antilabor interests. Emboldened by this new support, they became more aggressive, as well as more provocative. In some instances these outfits organized uniformed bands of storm troopers, which were drilled openly; and whether uniformed or not, thugs of that type were mobilized to launch terror campaigns, initially directed at the most vulnerable targets, but aimed basically at organized labor.

Jewish people were among the first to be attacked. As in Nazi Germany, they were made scapegoats in an effort to intensify anti-Semitic prejudices against them, the primary object being to sow division in the working class. But they weren't the only victims.

Lone worker-militants were waylaid and beaten in New York and other eastern cities. Street meetings of left-wing groups were broken up. In Jersey City the notorious Mayor Frank Hague engineered hoodlum assaults on union meetings and picket lines; and in New Orleans a Teamster strike was crushed by vigilantes. As the latter events showed, the ultraright forces that were engaged in these terrorist acts on behalf of the capitalists were rapidly zeroing in on their main target—the mass organizations of the working class.

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2. The two volumes already in print are *Teamster Rebellion* (1972) and *Teamster Power* (1973), both published by Monad Press. (Monad Press books are distributed exclusively by Pathfinder Press, Inc., 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. They are also available at Pathfinder Press, 47 The Cut, London SE1 8LL.)

One of these profascist groups, the Silver Shirts of America, was of special concern to General Drivers Union, Local 544. It was started in 1932 by William Dudley Pelley, who opened a headquarters in Asheville, North Carolina, and published a weekly organ called *Liberation*. Tacitly conceding jurisdiction over the major cities to other ultrarightists, Pelley centered his efforts on the towns and countryside of the farming areas. Although little was achieved in that sphere during the first years, the Silver Shirts had at last begun to make gains.

Apparently this caused a section of the boss class in Minneapolis to become interested in the movement; and Pelley was encouraged to send one of his aides, Roy Zachary, to the city in the summer of 1938 to launch an organizing drive. Two Silver Shirt rallies followed in quick succession, on July 29 and August 2, at the Royal Arcanum hall. These affairs were closed to the public, admission being by invitation only.

Despite the secrecy, the Teamsters had gotten wind of Zachary's arrival in town and had kept him under close scrutiny. Knowledge of the planned rallies was gained beforehand, making it possible to arrange a way to get reliable intelligence as to what happened.

Thus it became known immediately that Zachary's main theme had been to call for a vigilante attack on the headquarters of Local 544.

It was also learned that literature was passed out at both meetings inviting the participants to join F.L. Taylor's "Associated Council of Independent Unions." Taylor, by the way, had already shown his fascist inclinations a few weeks earlier when he set out to form a vigilante force under the name "Minnesota Minute Men." So it was perfectly natural for him to hook up with the Silver Shirts when they moved in.

A short time later another ominous fact was revealed by Rabbi Gordon, a religious opponent of fascism, who had also been keeping track of Zachary's doings. Gordon announced that George K. Belden, head of the Associated Industries, had attended both Silver Shirt rallies. When questioned about this by the press, Belden told a reporter for the *Minnesota Leader*: "I am in sympathy with getting rid of racketeers. . . ."

Taken as a whole, these developments added up to a dire threat against the Teamsters. The fink union, which had dragged Local 544 into court,³ was now tied

in with the Silver Shirts; Belden's role showed that the employers were directly involved in the new antiunion plot; and talk of an armed raid on the Teamster headquarters was in the air.

This situation called for prompt countermeasures. So Local 544, acting with its customary decisiveness, answered the threat by organizing a union defense guard during August 1938.

Formation of the guard was reported in the *Northwest Organizer*, and a press release announcing the step was handed to the daily papers, which gave it prominent mention. The new body's functions were described in the report as "defense of the union's picket lines, headquarters and members against anti-labor violence." Through this action the local served public notice that it would take care of its own defense, putting no misplaced reliance on the police for protection.

The union leaders were fully aware that capitalist politicians in seats of power not only tend to wink at fascist hooliganism; they often encourage and abet such extralegal attacks on workers. Not only that. Their minions, the police, condone and protect fascist activities, become members of such movements and, when open violence is used against the trade unions, usually look the other way. Such had been the conduct of capitalist "forces of law and order" in Germany, Italy, and other places; history taught that the situation would be no different in the United States.

An iron necessity was thus imposed upon the workers. If they were to defend themselves, they had to use their own organizations for the purpose. In that respect Local 544's pioneer action in forming a union defense guard not only served its own needs; the step blazed a trail for trade unionists everywhere in the country.

Conceptually, the guard was not envisaged as the narrow formation of a single union. It was viewed rather as the nucleus around which to build the broadest possible united defense movement. From the outset, efforts were made to involve other unions in the project. It was expected that time and events could also make it possible to extend the united front to include the unemployed, minority peoples, youth—all potential victims of the fascists, vigilantes, or other reactionaries.

For these reasons the defense formation was not made an official part of Local 544. Instead, it was initiated by leading members of the local, acting with the approval of the general membership. A spontaneous recruitment process was set into motion through a series of meetings with groups of

campaign against this suit and the threat of government intervention that it entailed. Chapter 10 of *Teamster Politics* describes this suit in greater detail.—IP

workers. In this way the main base of the guard was quickly established by the General Drivers; and after that its ranks were gradually extended to include members of other unions in the city that approved the idea.

The guard was in no sense an elite body. It was simply a businesslike formation open to any active union member. The only requirements for inclusion in its ranks were readiness to defend the unions from attack, willingness to take the necessary training for that purpose, and acceptance of the democratic discipline required in a combat unit. Moreover, its activities were conducted only with the consent of the membership of the trade unions involved, and under their control.

As in the case of Local 544 itself, the guard functioned democratically in its internal affairs. Steps taken to carry out its assigned tasks were decided through open discussion and majority vote. This procedure was also used in selecting leaders who were to have command authority during any combat.

Ray Rainbolt of the Local 544 staff was elected commander in chief of the defense formation. He had impressive credentials. Besides his extensive know-how in leading trade-union struggles, he had acquired considerable military knowledge during earlier hitches in the U.S. army.

Those chosen as lower-ranking officers had likewise proven themselves in the class struggle and won recognition as secondary union leaders. Similarly, in the case of the guard's rank and file, all had been battle tested to one extent or another in strike actions. Taking the body as a whole, there were numerous military veterans with various abilities developed in the armed forces. Among them were former sharpshooters, machine gunners, tank operators, and so on. Quite a few had been noncommissioned officers. One had been a signal corps officer and still another an officer in the German army.

Structurally, the body was divided into small units to facilitate rapid mobilization in the event of a surprise attack on the union movement. Squads of five were the norm, with a member of each squad being designated captain. In a relatively short time the force thus organized was built up to about 600.

Members of the guard were issued small lapel emblems bearing the legend "544 UDG," which they were encouraged to wear at all times. When on duty they used large armbands prominently marked "544 Union Defense Guard" to identify themselves. This designation was readily accepted by those from other unions who were part of the formation, because they realized that use of the prestigious number 544 gave the name added meaning.

The organization raised its own funds—

for purchases of equipment and to meet general expenses—by sponsoring dances and other social affairs. Part of this money was used to buy two .22 caliber target pistols and two .22 caliber rifles to give guard members a way to improve their ability to shoot straight. Regular practice sessions were then held for that purpose. In addition, periodic drills were scheduled to provide training in defensive tactics.

Members of the guard were not armed by the unions, since in the given circumstances that would have made them vulnerable to police frame-ups. But many of them had guns of their own at home, which were used to hunt game; and those could quickly have been picked up if needed to fight off an armed attack by Silver Shirt thugs.

At the drill sessions, lectures were given on tactics used in the past by antilabor vigilantes in this country and fascists abroad. Discussions were then held to work out defensive measures to meet attacks of the kind.

An intelligence department was also set up. Its task was to keep a lookout for fascist and anti-Semitic literature and activities, fink propaganda, and the like. One particular episode graphically illustrated the breadth of the intelligence arm, as well as the guard's effectiveness in action. It came about when the Silver Shirts attempted to hold another rally, to be addressed by Pelley himself.

On the day of the scheduled affair a cab driver delivered Pelley to a residence in the city's silk-stocking district. The driver immediately reported this to Rainbolt, who telephoned the place and warned that Pelley would run into trouble if he went ahead. To show he was not bluffing, Rainbolt led a section of the union guard to Calhoun Hall, where the rally was to be held that night. Arrival of the union forces caused the audience to leave in a hurry, and the demagogue never did show up. Then, around midnight, another cab driver called Rainbolt to report that he had just dumped Pelley at the Milwaukee depot in time to catch a night train to Chicago.

Following that incident the Teamsters took a step calculated to throw a further scare into the would-be union busters. It came in the form of a special notice printed on the front page of the *Northwest Organizer* of September 29, 1938. The notice instructed all captains of the defense guard to have their squads up to full strength forthwith and to be prepared to mobilize them, ready for action, on short notice.

The move seemed to have the desired effect, for the Silver Shirts transferred their next meeting to the neighboring city of St. Paul. It was held on October 28 at the Minnehaha Hall, and the place was well guarded by cops. Zachary was the main speaker. As reported in the newspapers the next morning, he boasted:

"Leaders of 544 have said we cannot hold meetings in Minneapolis, but we shall hold them, with the aid of the police. The police know that some day they'll need our support and that's why they're supporting us now."

Zachary's line was taken seriously by the Teamsters for several reasons. More could have been involved in the St. Paul affair than a mere effort to boost the sagging morale of the profascist elements by holding a successful meeting. Part of the scheme could also have been to bring pressure upon the Minneapolis authorities to provide them with comparable police protection in that city as well. If so, Associated Industries was in all likelihood involved in the maneuver.

Acting on such assumptions, the high command of the union defense guard decided to put on a public show of force. The aim was twofold: to make it plain to one and all that the Silver Shirts were not going to operate in Minneapolis without a serious fight and, simultaneously, to test the guard's efficiency in the course of such a demonstration.

Toward those ends an emergency mobilization of the defense formation was called on one hour's notice. Only three people knew what was up. As part of the test all others were left with the impression that a real crisis had developed. By the designated assembly time, just sixty minutes after the first call went out, about 300 members of the guard had turned out ready for action—an impressive performance.

The mobilization took place on a vacant plot of land in the center of the city, so a lot of people would see what was going on. Once the men were assembled there, Rain-

bolt explained that it had been a practice operation to give yet another warning to the Silver Shirts and their supporters among the employers. A clinical discussion was then held about the results of the test.

Since all kinds of personal plans for the evening had been rudely upset, a bit of entertainment was in order by way of compensation. So the guard was marched in a long column—armbands prominently displayed—to a downtown burlesque theater, where a block of seats had been reserved.

As for the ultrarightists, they appeared to have gotten the union's message loud and clear. Zachary made no further attempts to hold rallies in Minneapolis; fascist propaganda tapered off; and after a time it became evident that the Silver Shirt organizing drive in the city had been discontinued altogether.

Despite this favorable turn in the situation, the union defense guard was maintained as a form of insurance against any resurgence of the fascist threat. But the nature of its activities underwent a change. Target practice and drill sessions were tapered off. Gradually the guard's functions shifted mainly to monitoring union picnics and other large social gatherings. Through occasional public displays of this kind the antilabor forces were reminded of the continued existence of the defense formation.

On balance, Local 544 had not only warded off another capitalist attack. The experience with the Silver Shirts had given many of its members a better understanding of the need for workers' self-defense, and the best militants had gained deeper insight into the laws of class struggle. □

London March Hits Labour's Ties to Apartheid

By Patricia Fryd

LONDON—More than 2,000 persons marched through the streets here March 23 to protest the Labour government's continued collaboration with the South African apartheid regime.

"Support the liberation struggles in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa" was the lead banner as the demonstrators moved off from Speakers Corner, Hyde Park, and marched through London's main shopping streets, crowded with onlookers, to a rally at Trafalgar Square.

Black organizations, students, and other youth formed the majority of the demonstrators, although banners were carried by four trades councils and two major unions, the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers, and the Association of Scientific, Technical, and Managerial Staffs.

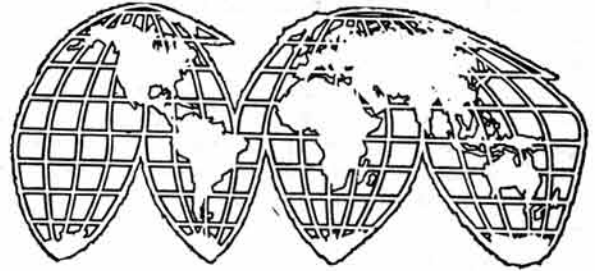
Many branches of the Anti-Apartheid Movement were represented. Banners were

carried by branches of the Labour party Young Socialists, the Labour party, the Young Liberals, the Communist party, and the Young Communist League, among others.

The International Marxist Group (IMG—British section of the Fourth International) had a contingent, as did the Revolutionary Communist Group, Proletarian Struggle, and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

The rally was chaired by Labour Member of Parliament Stan Newens, a member of the "left" *Tribune* group. Speakers included Abdul Minty, honorary secretary of the Anti-Apartheid Movement; Edwin Ogbu, Nigerian ambassador to the United Nations and chairman of the UN committee against apartheid; and Bill Ronksley, president of the Amalgamated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen. □

AROUND THE WORLD



Student Rallies Protest Park Regime

Student demonstrations continue in South Korea, with large rallies being held almost daily at Yonsei, Seoul National, Korea, and other leading universities. The main demand is for the readmission of students arrested last year for voicing opposition to the Park regime's repressive policies. The government has refused to allow the students to return to school unless they express repentance for their protest activities.

The students have also demanded revision of the constitution, which gives Park dictatorial powers; the withdrawal of police agents from the campuses; the release of political prisoners still being held; and freedom of the press.

Korea's deteriorating economy has placed additional pressure on the government. According to official figures, consumer prices rose 24.3% last year, with another jump of 4.9% in the first two months of this year. Unemployment was listed at 6.2% at the end of last year, a figure regarded as not reflecting the actual situation.

U.S. Unemployment Highest Since Great Depression

Unemployment in the United States rose in March to 8.7% of the work force, the highest rate since 1941 at the end of the



Great Depression. In addition to the eight million workers officially listed as jobless, a record 1.1 million are listed as "discouraged workers," those who have given up hope of finding a job and are counted as having dropped out of the labor force altogether.

George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO, the American trade-union federation, termed the new unemployment figures "appalling." He pointed out that adding the "officially unemployed" and "discouraged workers" produced an "actual" rate of unemployment of at least 9.8%.

Blacks and teen-agers were again the hardest hit: 14.2% of all Blacks and 20.6% of all teen-agers are listed as unemployed. For Black teen-agers, the figure is 41.6%.

Ford Wields Trade Weapon

Twenty-four countries have been excluded from a list of countries Washington has designated as eligible for special trade concessions, including elimination of tariffs on a wide range of imports.

Those cut from the list, which was signed by Ford March 24, include all thirteen members of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC). Washington is currently pressuring these semicolonial oil-producing countries to lower the prices they charge the multinational oil monopolies.

Also excluded from the list of favored countries were all the workers states except Yugoslavia. Uganda, Somalia, and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen were cut because of what the *Wall Street Journal* described as "unresolved investment disputes with U.S. companies"—for example, their failure to offer acceptable "compensation" for U.S. industries they have nationalized.

Former Chairman of Common Market Scores 'Reign of Terror' in Chile

Sicco Mansholt, former chairman of the European Economic Community, charged March 22 that the military junta in Chile has imposed "a reign of terror comparable to what the Gestapo did during the Second World War." He had just returned from spending two weeks in Chile.

Mansholt, who is now vice-president of the Socialist International, told an Amsterdam news conference that the world Social

Democratic grouping would ask all countries to refuse economic aid to Chile.

He said he had met several persons who had been tortured by the police, including a woman whose torso had been severely burned, and some men who had been subjected to electric shocks to their genitals.

"The DINA [Dirección de Inteligencia Nacional, the national intelligence service] has direct contacts with the government," Mansholt charged. "Pinochet meets with its chief every morning and gives him his instructions."

Many Chileans are still being held without charge, he said.

Foreign Investments in Israel Drop

According to figures released by the Investment Center in Jerusalem, foreign investment in Israel dropped 60 percent in 1974, the Jerusalem newspaper *Maariv* reported April 1. U.S. and Canadian investments fell from \$152 million in 1973 to \$45 million in 1974. Investments from other countries totaled \$118 million in 1974, compared with \$241 million the year before.

The world economic crisis and the fears of an Arab boycott of investors who dealt with Israel were cited as factors contributing to the decline.

300 Million Persons Unemployed in Underdeveloped Countries

At least one of every four men and women capable of working—300 million persons—is idle or underemployed in the colonial and semicolonial countries, according to a study by the International Labor Organization. The ILO study, cited in the March 18 *Le Monde*, adds that the situation is steadily growing worse.

The study notes that the workers states, with their planned economies, have succeeded in achieving better use of their labor power.

13 Indicted for Conspiracy After Tunisian Teachers' Strike

Thirteen Tunisian teachers, students, and workers were committed to trial before the State Security Court on March 26. They were charged with belonging to a clandestine group, spreading false information, insulting the prestige of the head of state and members of the government, and

inciting citizens to disobedience. Three of the thirteen are reported to have evaded arrest.

The charges arise out of a teachers' strike January 28 called by the secondary-school teachers union. The union was demanding increased salaries, a housing supplement, improved hours of work, and the reintegration of five teachers given suspended sentences during the trial of 202 Tunisian dissidents in August 1974 on similar charges now facing the thirteen. (See *Intercontinental Press*, September 16, 1974, p. 1154.)

Despite a press campaign against the "seditious" call, the strike apparently drew broad support. (The government, however, claims that fewer than 10 percent of the country's teachers participated.)

After the strike several teachers were dismissed or suspended. The teachers union was disbanded by the General Union of Tunisian Workers, the country's only labor federation. The federation's general secretary, Habib Achour, is a member of the national council of the Destour Socialist party, the sole official party and personal political instrument of President Habib Bourguiba.

Bourguiba himself referred indirectly to the teachers' strike during a speech to the National Assembly March 19, just after the assembly had unanimously rubber-stamped a law making him "president for life." A strike, said the "supreme commander," would "amount to a stab in the back for this regime based on the people."

"We are ready to give scholarships to Tunisians so they can go and see what is happening in other countries," he said. "... But strikes, factional struggles, and the lust for power can shake the stability and undermine the foundations of the state."

The "president for life" said that "dangers to Tunisia can come only from inside the country" and praised Tunisia's international "friends"—singling out "France, Turkey, and Spain, which colonized us."

Burmese CP Leaders Reported Killed

Burmese Communist party Chairman Thakin Zin and Secretary-General Thakin Chit were reported to have been killed by government troops March 15 in the Pegu Yoma hills north of Rangoon, according to a communiqué published March 16. Military authorities also claimed that the CP headquarters had been overrun and several other party members taken prisoner.

Brazilian Newspaper Seized for Criticizing Censorship

Brazilian federal police seized an issue of the satirical weekly *O Pasquim* only a few days after the military regime suspended prepublication censorship of the paper.

April 14, 1975

According to a report in the April 2 *Washington Post*, the regime said that the issue—which had the word "uncensored" across the front page—was contrary to "public morality and good customs."

Millor Fernandes, the publisher of *O Pasquim*, said the paper was seized because of an editorial pointing out that the order lifting the censorship "could be taken back tomorrow morning, and the paper could be seized while you're reading this."

Courtroom Spectators Protest Conviction of Attica Defendants

Heated protest erupted in a Buffalo, New York, courtroom April 5 as the first major frame-up trial stemming from the September 1971 uprising at Attica prison ended. Two Native Americans—John Hill and Charles Parnasilice—were convicted on charges connected with the death of an Attica guard. Hill was convicted of murder, Parnasilice of attempted assault.

The real criminal—the official who ordered 500 cops into the prison to drown the uprising in blood—was not present in the courtroom. Former New York State Governor Nelson Rockefeller was in Washington, attending to his duties as vice-president.

Catch 22

More than 800 persons wrote to the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Central Intelligence Agency, and the Internal Revenue Service in February and March to find out if the government was keeping files on them and what they contained. The flood of requests followed amendments to the Freedom of Information Act that went into effect February 19.

According to a report in the March 26 *Washington Post*, "The FBI . . . opens a file on each letter writer, if a file does not already exist, after independently checking the writer's identity."

A Casualty of the Times

The London magazine *Value Today*, whose stated purpose was to help people cope with inflation, ceased publication after six issues. Increasing costs were given as the reason.

Butcher of Chinese Workers Dies

Chiang Kai-shek, the dictator of Taiwan and the ruler of China until his overthrow in 1949, died of a heart attack in Taipei on April 5.

An arch-anticommunist and a close ally of U.S. imperialism, Chiang will long be remembered as the brutal butcher of the Chinese workers and peasants during the years that his Kuomintang regime was in power.

Throughout his long record of bloody repression, the event that stands out most



Laura Gray/Militant

CHIANG KAI-SHEK

glaringly was the massacre of the Shanghai workers during the last months of the 1925-27 Chinese revolution. On April 12, 1927, Chiang's forces, aided by the French, British, and Japanese imperialists, launched a wave of terror in Shanghai, arresting and summarily executing tens of thousands of trade unionists and Communists. In the weeks and months that followed, the massacres spread to Canton, Wuhan, and other cities.

Chiang's regime collapsed when faced with the new rise of the Chinese revolution in the late 1940s, and he and his supporters were forced to flee to Taiwan.

Bankers Forced to Postpone Plans to Renegotiate Chile's Foreign Debt

Opposition to the murderous Pinochet dictatorship runs so high in Western Europe that the so-called Paris Club of creditor governments postponed a scheduled meeting, set up to renegotiate Chile's international debts, rather than force through a politically explosive decision.

Seven of the fifteen governments to which the junta owes money—including Britain, Belgium, Sweden, and the Netherlands—reportedly refused to attend the meeting. Only Washington and Madrid are publicly on record as favoring a further extension of the payment schedule.

In March 1974, 80 percent of Chile's debt was renegotiated by the Bank of Paris, delaying payments on this portion until 1977. The remaining 20 percent was to be paid in annual installments in the intervening three-year period.

España: Las Razones de la Preocupación de Washington

Por Joaquín Canales

[Continúa de la semana pasada]

Las desquebrajaduras de la estructura interna del Estado español se hacen cada vez más evidentes. Surgen críticas de todos lados: el ejército, el clero, los funcionarios del mismo gobierno y la prensa entre otros. Todo esto contribuye a la descomposición, ya en estado avanzado, del régimen franquista.

El 6 de febrero *Excelsior* informó la primera protesta de funcionarios públicos desde la Guerra Civil, "unos 500 funcionarios españoles enviaron una carta al Jefe del Gobierno, pronunciándose en favor de un 'estado democrático'."

"Demandan la desaparición de la inmunidad del Poder Ejecutivo, la libertad sindical para los empleados del Estado y la neutralización de los grupos de presión de los intereses privados."

La carta estaba firmada por catedráticos de la Universidad de Madrid, economistas estatales, técnicos de ministerios de Estado, inspectores de Trabajo, abogados y otros.

La prensa española cada vez se atreve a publicar más críticas al gobierno. *Mundo* ha llegado al grado de sacar una tira cómica que se llama "El Dictador." La televisión española también ha sido centro de descontento. *Mundo* informó el 9 de febrero que 43 directores realizadores se declaraban en huelga en apoyo a las demandas de los actores. Estos constituían el 80 por ciento de los directores realizadores de Televisión Española.

Por otro lado, una de las fuerzas claves de apoyo que ha tenido el franquismo, el clero, se vuelve cada vez más crítico. *Cambio 16*, revista española informó el 3 de febrero sobre una de las homilías que han pronunciado los curas rebeldes:

"Esta homilía, preparada por un numeroso grupo de sacerdotes, comenzaba analizando la situación conflictiva que atraviesa Navarra y, en concreto, el conflicto de Potasas: 'Los problemas que nos preocupan hay que analizarlos a la luz del Evangelio, porque existe un paralelismo entre los sufrimientos del pueblo de Navarra y la imagen de Jesús como liberador de los hombres.'"

"Denunciaba a continuación la injusticia económica, la discriminación económica salarial. Los sacerdotes pedían el derecho de reunión: 'Los obreros han tenido que reunirse en las iglesias porque no se les permitía hacerlo en otra parte. . . la fuerza pública los expulsó violentamente de la

catedral el día 21 de noviembre.'"

Varios sacerdotes han sido multados por criticar al gobierno en sus sermones. Se ha dado el caso que las multas han llegado a ser hasta de 6,000 dólares. Desde el principio del año las multas impuestas a 34 sacerdotes en Navarra han llegado a la cantidad de 3,965,000 de pesetas (70,800 dólares) según el *Christian Science Monitor* del 11 de febrero de 1975.

Un sector que el gobierno ve con preocupación es el ejército. Hay muestras claras que los eventos en Portugal y la radicalización de las bases del ejército portugués han tenido un gran impacto en España. Entre otros, las fuerzas armadas españolas han sido afectadas. El 21 de febrero, el *Christian Science Monitor* hace una lista de los acontecimientos que los observadores consideran significativos en la actual situación del ejército:

"Un mayor y un capitán, ambos del ejército, fueron puestos bajo 'arresto preventivo' en el Castillo de Figueras en el norte de Cataluña." El mayor arrestado, Julio Busquets "es conocido ampliamente como el autor de un estudio sociológico, 'El soldado de carrera en España,' publicado en la década de los sesenta."

Entre las 160,000 firmas que se recolectaron pidiendo amnistía para los presos políticos se encuentran "las firmas de 2,000 oficiales del ejército. La petición fue elaborada por el Movimiento Justicia y Paz, éste se lo entregará al Caudillo pero sin las firmas."

"Hay reportes constantes de que existen comités clandestinos de oficiales jóvenes en los cuarteles militares. Reflejan, según informes, impaciencia con la situación de estancamiento en la situación política y la reincorporación del general Franco en el poder desde el mes de septiembre pasado. . . ."

"En enero, el teniente general Francisco Coloma Gallego, ministro del Ejército, advirtió a los soldados que no se involucren en la política. Si alguien en el ejército siente que 'puede servir mejor a España promoviendo una cierta línea política,' dijo el general Coloma, debería abandonar el ejército."

La situación tumultuosa de España ha agudizado la tendencia de algunos sectores de la burguesía a considerar la posibilidad de un cambio substancial en la política del gobierno para contener el ascenso revolucionario. *Mundo*, que apoya este tipo de

cambios, informó sobre una reunión de liberales burgueses.

El martes 21 de enero se reunieron casi 1,000 personas en la Escuela Superior de Administración de Empresas en Barcelona. Asistieron "un amplio sector de las finanzas y alto mundo de intelectuales, liberales y ejecutivos . . . hombres de simpatías demócrata-cristianas, liberales y socialdemócratas moderados." A esto se le llamó "Operación Centro-izquierda" cuyo propósito es, ". . . lograr la baza de una amplia canalización ideológica, lejos de cualquier sintonía autoritaria tanto de derecha como de izquierda, y con la esperanza incluso de captar elementos no-autoritarios de tradicionales núcleos de oposición en la región."

En la conferencia Jordi Pujol, banquero catalán, hizo el siguiente llamado a la burguesía:

"La burguesía necesita dirigentes con autoridad moral y política capaz de hacer entender determinados planteamientos. Un planteamiento integrador ha de ser socialmente avanzado. Para que un amplio sector de la sociedad no se sienta marginado deberán producirse cambios en la redistribución de las riquezas, una intervención pública democrática sobre las empresas, incluso ciertos nacionalismos o socializaciones, un movimiento sindical y cooperativistas fuertes."

Es significativo que sectores de la burguesía estén buscando una salida "democrática" a los problemas que causa la movilización de la clase obrera y sus aliados. El problema fundamental quizá fue expresado con más claridad por un comunicado de Barcelona publicado en el *New York Times* el 2 de febrero, que le atribuía el siguiente comentario a un ejecutivo de una fábrica controlada por capital extranjero, "No sabemos con quién hablar," dijo quejumbrosamente. "Si llegamos a un acuerdo con el sindicato oficial, no podemos estar seguros de que se mantendrá."

Evidentemente, no se puede negociar con un movimiento obrero ilegal. De ahí que la opción de legalizar a las Comisiones Obreras (organismos de lucha), las huelgas e inclusive los partidos políticos de izquierda pueda ser bastante viable para la burguesía.

Desde el 12 de febrero del año pasado, bajo la presión de las masas, el gobierno decidió abrir un período de concesiones mínimas a las masas. Sin embargo, un año después Henry Giniger, corresponsal del

New York Times, informaba desde Madrid el 13 de febrero:

"El gobierno español, en el primer aniversario de su programa de reformas, se encuentra mucho más ocupado reprimiendo la amenaza 'subversiva' que promoviendo reformas democráticas.

"Los funcionarios se encuentran en lucha contra los obreros, actores, empleados públicos, estudiantes universitarios y periodistas; además, se enfrentan a un sentir general de disgusto y escepticismo sobre los resultados de las reformas."

La reforma en la cual cifraba sus esperanzas el régimen franquista, era la Ley de Asociaciones. Sin embargo ésta no satisfizo las necesidades crecientes de las masas por lo reducido de la ley. Hace un año, el 13 de febrero, el *New York Times* informó sobre las limitaciones de la ley:

"El Primer Ministro dijo que la participación en asuntos políticos y sociales será todo lo amplia que sea posible y excluirá solamente aquéllos que se eliminan a sí mismos porque acuden a la subversión y la violencia. Advirtió a los que subvierten el orden público que 'la justicia dejará sentir, con más rigor que benevolencia, todo el peso de la ley.'"

Esto, por supuesto, excluía a toda la izquierda y al movimiento de masas de formar organizaciones políticas. De hecho hasta la fecha solamente se han asociado organizaciones del Movimiento (los falangistas). La revista *Mundo*, el 25 de enero, hacía el siguiente comentario al respecto del fracaso de la Ley de Asociaciones:

"Aunque sopla de todos lados, la olla asociativa no llega a hervir. ¡Qué raro! Sin embargo, aplicando la lógica y un poco de sentido común debemos exclamar: ¡Claro! ¿Cómo quieren que hierva si el fuego de la reunión está apagado?"

No obstante lo limitado de las reformas, éstas han creado un ambiente de intranquilidad en sectores que pugnan por más reformas y también han causado la furia de los viejos falangistas, que ahora se sienten abandonados. Según *La Opinión* del 8 de marzo, "Durante un reciente servicio religioso en conmemoración del almirante Carrero Blanco [ejecutado por la guerrilla vasca en 1973], los veteranos de la guerra civil española del 36/39 abuchearon a Arias: lo llamaron 'traidor' y 'blando como la mantequilla.'"

De hecho, algunos grupos de fascistas se sienten amenazados. El día 8 de febrero uno de esos grupos, *Fuerza Nueva*, reflejaba ese temor en los discursos que se pronunciaron en el Pabellón de Deportes de Granollers:

"Somos atacados desde todos los ángulos porque *Fuerza Nueva* es la única que mantiene erguidas las mismas banderas del 18 de Julio [día en que se sublevó Franco] y eso, es una cosa que molesta a unos porque les recuerda su derrota y molesta a otros porque les recuerda su traición." Palabras

de José Ruiz Hernández, delegado fascista de Granollers.

En otro discurso, Blas Piñar, conocido falangista, refiriéndose a los adjetivos que se les han lanzado de "ultras" y "payasos" dijo:

"... palabras que ya no nos ofenden porque sabemos que Cristo fue un ultra que murió por los judíos y porque también él fue tratado como un payaso, colocándole una túnica y una corona de espinas," nos han llamado hasta "exaltados, como hemos oído últimamente de damas con ilustres apellidos. . . y que tienen que recordar que esa exaltación fue la misma que llevó a Franco a levantarse el 18 de Julio."

Más adelante amenazó que "aunque nosotros estamos en las cámaras no hemos renunciado a la calle." Recordó su participación callejera cuando en diciembre de 1970 protestando tras el juicio de Burgos, "donde dijimos ¡Franco, sí! ¡Gobierno, no!, porque creímos que el Gobierno era el peor enemigo en aquel momento."

Refiriéndose a la sucesión monárquica dijo, "No serviremos a ninguna monarquía liberal."

El acto terminó cantando el himno falangista "Cara al sol" con el brazo en alto, y la muerte de la esposa de un jerarca fascista de un ataque cardíaco allí mismo.

El mismo Arias Navarro ha atacado de inquisidores a estos grupos menos visionarios. Pero el problema sigue sin resolver. Las pequeñas reformas han incrementado la lucha de las masas y enfurecido a sectores de la Falange. El gobierno se encuentra más débil que nunca. Se mantiene en un curso insostenible negándose a oír las sugerencias bien intencionadas, desde el punto de vista liberal burgués, que le hace la revista *Cambio 16* en su editorial del 24 de febrero:

"Son muchos los círculos políticos españoles que insisten en la imposibilidad de transformar paulatinamente este régimen autoritario para adecuarlo a la nueva sociedad y a los nuevos tiempos. Confían sólo en catastrofismos o rupturas para llevar adelante el cambio político, que es cada vez más evidente y necesario. Cuanto peor, mejor.

"Es posible que la historia les dé la razón; es posible que la experiencia esté de su lado, pero también es cierto que la inmensa mayoría del país alberga el sueño infundado de que la normalidad se imponga por la fuerza de la razón y no por la razón de la crisis o la fuerza."

La situación en Portugal es un factor de primer orden que ha afectado la vida social y política en España. Las masas han sido inspiradas por sus contrapartes portuguesas. Los círculos dominantes españoles también siguen de cerca los sucesos en Portugal, aunque por diferentes razones.

Mucho se ha especulado sobre la posibilidad de que España siguiera los pasos de su

vecino. Sin embargo, esa opción es mucho más difícil de que sea adoptada por la clase dominante española. En Portugal no existía un movimiento obrero tan poderoso y activo como el de España. Una apertura democrática implicaría un riesgo mucho mayor para la burguesía española.

Sin embargo, cada vez hay menos posibilidades de evitar un ascenso extraordinario de la clase obrera y sus aliados en España.

El Partido Comunista español (PCE) ofrece una solución reformista: la Junta Democrática Española, la coalición de monárquicos y stalinistas. Santiago Carrillo, secretario del PCE, declaró para la agencia yugoslava *Tanjug* a fines de febrero que la Junta Democrática "decretará la huelga general y exigirá el poder. La Junta puede asumirlo. Ya tiene hasta candidato para la presidencia del gobierno provisional."

También declaró que por el momento, "nuestra Junta no insiste en su programa sobre las necesarias reformas interiores, ni siquiera sobre la supresión de bases norteamericanas en territorio nacional."

La burguesía española podrá siempre confiar en este aliado indispensable que siempre estará dispuesto a salvaguardar los intereses del capital. Además el PCE controla mayoritariamente a las Comisiones Obreras. Si el capitalismo español quiere controlar a la clase obrera en estos momentos tendrá que acudir al PCE.

Por otro lado, si bien es cierto que los eventos en Portugal han influenciado a las masas en España, un golpe reaccionario en ese país haría retroceder al movimiento obrero español. Ya han habido dos intentos de golpe reaccionario en Portugal. Es evidente que el imperialismo norteamericano se encuentra "preocupado" con la situación en Portugal. Ahora también se empieza a "preocupar" con la situación en España. En un editorial del 13 de marzo, el *New York Times* expresaba estas preocupaciones:

"Al habérseles negado la participación legal a los grupos políticos moderados, el campo se le ha dejado libre al clandestino Partido Comunista—y, en menor medida a los socialistas—para que fortalezcan su influencia en las organizaciones obreras, las universidades y las asociaciones de barrio. Circunstancias similares permitieron a los comunistas surgir como la fuerza organizada de mayor peso en Portugal después del derrocamiento de la dictadura en ese país. Al menos que el proceso de liberación prosiga con más vigor, España seguirá el mismo camino."

La apertura de un período pre-revolucionario en España dificultaría mucho más las intenciones golpistas del imperialismo norteamericano. Si el ascenso de las masas continúa en toda la Península Ibérica, Washington tendrá muchas más razones para estar preocupado. □

Orlando Martínez Acribillado en Santo Domingo



ORLANDO MARTINEZ

[La siguiente es una traducción del artículo "Orlando Martínez Gunned Down in Santo Domingo" publicado en *Intercontinental Press* el 7 de abril de 1975.

[La traducción es de *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Más de 200 personas, en su mayoría dominicanos, hicieron una manifestación enfrente del consulado de la República Dominicana en Nueva York el 26 de marzo. Con gritos de "Alto a la complicidad del gobierno con el terror derechista" y "Alto a la represión en Santo Domingo," los manifestantes protestaron por el asesinato del periodista dominicano Orlando Martínez.

La manifestación fue llamada por el U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners [Comité Norteamericano Pro Justicia para los Presos Políticos Latinoamericanos] y por Derechos Humanos, comité dominicano de defensa con sede en Nueva York. Fue apoyada por un variado número de grupos políticos y de derechos civiles, provenientes primordial-

mente de la comunidad latinoamericana de Nueva York.

Martínez, conocido columnista del diario dominicano *El Nacional de ¡Ahora!* y director ejecutivo de la revista semanal *¡Ahora!*, fue acribillado el 17 de marzo mientras manejaba su automóvil. Había sido amenazado recientemente por grupos terroristas de derecha y futilmente buscó la protección de la policía.

En las columnas más recientes que escribió, Martínez llamó a una reforma agraria radical, criticó los intentos de aplicar la estrategia guerrillera en la República Dominicana, y dio argumentos en contra de confiar en demagogos burgueses para dirigir el movimiento por el cambio social. Se le conoció por su defensa consecuente de los presos políticos latinoamericanos.

El Nacional de ¡Ahora! informó que miles asistieron al funeral de Martínez el 18 de marzo, inclusive altos funcionarios gubernamentales. Ese mismo día y el siguiente, la policía disolvió manifestaciones en protesta por el asesinato, en las escuelas de enseñanza secundaria de tres ciudades. La policía utilizó gases lacrimógenos y disparó al aire. Más de setenta estudiantes y maestros, se informó, resultaron con lesiones, y alrededor de cuarenta personas fueron arrestadas.

Una serie de grupos políticos dominicanos y varios sindicatos, consejos estudiantiles y organizaciones civiles hicieron declaraciones públicas demandando el arresto de los criminales.

En los Estados Unidos el candidato del

Socialist Workers Party [Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores] Peter Camejo emitió una declaración de protesta el 26 de marzo. "Me solidarizo con todos los que están exigiendo que el Presidente Balaguer arreste inmediatamente a los verdaderos asesinos de Orlando Martínez y sean juzgados con todo el peso de la ley," dijo Camejo.

En vez de buscar a los asesinos de Martínez, el régimen de Balaguer ha respondido arrestando a varios periodistas, que han informado sobre el asesinato, y cinco dirigentes del PLD (Partido de Liberación Dominicana). El PLD es dirigido por Juan Bosch, ex-presidente de la isla que fue derrocado por un golpe de estado en 1963.

Bosch informó que los miembros del PLD seguían detenidos a pesar de que la policía sabía que no tenían nada que ver con el crimen. Señaló que ninguno de los miembros del PLD detenidos habían sido interrogados por la policía.

Bosch dijo que el arresto de sus seguidores era parte de un plan con el propósito de "crear una atmósfera, un ambiente público llamado a culminar con la detención" de él.

El mismo Bosch fue llamado a que se presentara el 25 de marzo a la jefatura de policía para declarar en relación al asesinato de Martínez. Igualmente fue llamado José Francisco Peña Gómez, secretario general del Partido Revolucionario Dominicano. El PLD y el PRD son las fuerzas políticas más influyentes a la izquierda del régimen de Balaguer.

Más de 100 personas fueron asesinadas el año pasado por las bandas derechistas en la República Dominicana, sin embargo, no se ha efectuado ningún arresto.

El método de Balaguer de "investigar" el asesinato de Martínez tiende a darle validez a la posición mantenida por muchos de que el régimen estuvo directamente involucrado en el asesinato. □

Que Mao Libere a los Trotskistas Encarcelados

[La siguiente traducción es del artículo "Let Mao Free the Trotskyists Still Held in Jail" aparecido en *Intercontinental Press* el 7 de abril.

[La traducción es de *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Cerca de 300 oponentes reaccionarios a la Revolución China fueron puestos en libertad en la República Popular de China el 19 de marzo. Según Hsinhua, "Los criminales de guerra, puestos en libertad por una amnistía especial, sumaron un total de 293, entre los cuales se encontraban 290 criminales de guerra pertenecientes a la camarilla de Chiang Kai-chek, dos criminales de guerra del [gobierno] títere de

'Manchukuo' y un criminal del títere 'Gobierno Autónomo de Mongolia Interior.' "

Ya que el régimen stalinista de China ha puesto en libertad a esos contrarrevolucionarios genuinos, ¿por qué permanecen encarcelados, si es que aún viven, revolucionarios proletarios? ¿Por qué no se liberan a los trotskistas chinos encarcelados hace veinte y dos años?

¿Va el régimen maoísta a mantener ante la clase obrera internacional que es humanitario poner en libertad a los sangrientos lugartenientes de Chiang Kai-chek y del imperialismo japonés mientras que los trotskistas chinos languidecen tras las rejas?

En diciembre de 1952 y enero de 1953, la policía de Mao arrestó a todos los trotskistas

conocidos, a sus amigos, parientes y simpatizantes—un total de aproximadamente 200 personas. Ninguna acusación formal jamás fue entregada. Ningún proceso público jamás se llevó a cabo. ¿Por qué? Porque los arrestados, obviamente, jamás cometieron ningún crimen.

Al contrario de los contrarrevolucionarios genuinos que han sido puestos en libertad, su único "crimen" ha sido que plantearon sus puntos de vista socialistas revolucionarios públicamente—derecho garantizado tanto en la constitución de 1954 como en la nueva que ha sido aprobada en enero. De hecho estos revolucionarios fueron encarcelados precisamente porque exigieron que los derechos democráticos fueran otorgados a todo aquél que apoyara la revolución.

La ironía más grande es que muchos de estos trotskistas—por ser fundadores y dirigentes del Partido Comunista Chino—habían sido encarcelados por los antiguos gobernantes imperialistas de China y por el Kuomintang, quizá incluso por algunos de los criminales de guerra sentenciados que ahora han sido puestos en libertad.

¿Quiénes son estos trotskistas chinos que Mao considera un peligro mayor para el estado obrero chino que los contrarrevolucionarios del Kuomintang? Entre ellos se encuentran:

- Chen Chao-lin, miembro fundador del PC chino y del movimiento trotskista chino, un dirigente de la revolución de 1925-27. Chen, si aún vive, tiene aproximadamente setenta y cinco años. Hasta la fecha habrá pasado treinta años encarcelado—siete bajo Chiang Kai-chek, veinte y tres bajo Mao.

- Chiang Tseng-tung, activista dirigente en el movimiento obrero de Shangai y participante en el levantamiento y la huelga general de Shangai en 1925. Si aún vive, tiene aproximadamente sesenta y cinco años.

- Ho Chi Sen, dirigente estudiantil en Pekín al principio de la década de los veinte, ingresó al PC chino poco después de su formación. Jugó un papel dirigente, junto con Mao, en la expedición del ejército revolucionario Kwangtung de 1925-27. Después del golpe de Chiang Kai-chek en Shangai en 1927, Ho trabajó en la clandestinidad para ayudar a revivir lo que quedaba del PC chino.

- Ying Kwan, estudiante en Francia junto con Chou En-lai en 1920 y activista dirigente del PC chino en la provincia de Anhwei durante la revolución de 1925-27. Fue encarcelado dos veces por la policía del Kuomintang en la década de los treinta. Si aún vive, tiene aproximadamente setenta y cinco años.

Estos son sólo cuatro de los militantes trotskistas presos por razones políticas en la China de Mao. Las sentencias y la persecución que sufrieron bajo los imperialistas y sus títeres es un testimonio de su lealtad a la revolución.

Pekín—"actuando bajo las instrucciones del Presidente Mao," según Hsinhua—concedió amnistía a los 219 oficiales del ejército de Chiang Kai-chek, 21 funcionarios públicos y partidarios del Kuomintang, 50 agentes policíacos del Kuomintang y 3 funcionarios de gobiernos títeres del imperialismo. Al mismo tiempo, el régimen de Mao inclusive se rehusa a dar información sobre la suerte de los militantes trotskistas que mantiene presos por razones políticas. ¿Viven aún? ¿Han sido, algunos o todos, juzgados en procesos secretos? ¿De qué crímenes se les han acusado?

Two Labour Cabinet Members Appeal to Save Foundation

Plans to Raze Russell Offices Passed

The Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation,* which has been active in the defense of political prisoners around the world, has lost a round in the fight to save its printing shop and offices from demolition. The Nottingham Planning Committee approved the demolition plans March 24, brushing aside all other proposals for the redevelopment of the area that would have spared the foundation's building.

During the past three years, the Russell Press has printed about 300 radical and socialist pamphlets at inexpensive rates for a variety of groups. The Nottingham Council's present plans to redevelop the area would involve the widening of Gamble Street and the destruction of the foundation's facilities.

A supporter of the foundation, after discussing alternative plans with Coates, met with P.J. Mason, the deputy director of technical services in Nottingham. "Why, I asked him, 'did the council not accept the simple, and cheap, one way system.' Apparently it was not as good as the straight through road scheme. 'Why then,' I further quizzed the fellow, 'do you not move your new road a yard or so back to avoid the essential fabric of the Russell Press.' The answer was for engineering reasons. When I asked what engineering reasons, Mr Mason explained that he was no engineer. . . .

"I shifted the ground to ask why it was that at least one lot of plans submitted to a council subcommittee had been inaccurate. This telling blow was neatly deflected by the thought that it was only a small error. I asked then what he had to say about the opinion, offered by the head of the Planning

Si la más elemental democracia proletaria se observa en China, estos militantes deben ser liberados. Llamamos a todas las organizaciones que apoyan a la Revolución China que tomen posición respecto a este asunto y que exijan respeto a los derechos que garantiza la constitución china.

A 293 contrarrevolucionarios se les otorgó amnistía bajo las órdenes de Mao. Ante esto, es una violación monstruosa a la democracia socialista continuar manteniendo a los militantes socialistas revolucionarios como presos políticos. □

Department—a Mr Byrne, that there was no need for the Russell House building to be razed. He acknowledged this fact and had no comment to make."

The Russell Foundation's activities in defense of political prisoners is also being threatened by Inland Revenue, which is claiming a corporation tax of £35,200 on the royalties for the first volume of Bertrand Russell's autobiography, which had been signed over to the foundation. In February 1973, the case was brought before the Special Commissioners, at which time the attorney for Inland Revenue admitted that a corporation tax could not be levied on the royalties. An assessment of £6,638 in capital gains tax was agreed upon by both parties. In August 1974, the Inland Revenue announced that it would appeal the case.

"Cash reserves don't exist to pay the full amount the Revenue is claiming," Coates stated. "We can't pay without liquidating the Press and we can't wait till the judgment in order to raise the funds."

Two members of the Labour party cabinet, Industry Secretary Tony Benn and Employment Secretary Michael Foot, have signed an appeal for funds to save the Russell Press. Others who have signed the appeal include Clive Jenkins, general secretary of the Association of Scientific, Technical, and Managerial Staffs; Hugh Scanlon, president of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers; and Jack Jones, secretary of the Transport and General Workers Union.

Protests against the tax suit may be sent to Prime Minister Harold Wilson, 10 Downing Street, London, England. Letters protesting the moves to demolish the foundation's offices may be sent to the Lord Mayor of Nottingham, Old Market Square, Nottingham, England. Copies of all protests should be sent to the foundation. □

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

PRG Statement of Policy for Liberated Areas

[The following statement, entitled "Policy in Seven Points Promulgated and Applied by the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam," was issued by the PRG delegation in Paris April 2. Translation from the French is by the *New York Times*.]

[1]

Policy with regard to efforts of the entire population to unite to block forced enrollment and forced displacing and regrouping of the population, the sabotaging of the Paris accord and the continuation of the neocolonialist war undertaken by the United States and the administration of Saigon.

A. All Vietnamese have the duty and the honor of uniting to block by their struggle forced displacement and regrouping of the population. They are determined to protect the young and to prevent the enemy from pushing them along the path of crime upon their compatriots and their country.

B. The revolutionary authority will do all it can to help those who oppose forced enrollment, displacement and regrouping of the population. Youths who seek to escape forced enrollment and Saigon soldiers who desert will be actively protected and aided for the defense of their lives as well as the protection of their belongings. If they wish to enter the zone controlled by the revolutionary authority, they will be helped to find means of existence.

C. Those who help the young, or counsel the soldiers, officers and civil servants of Saigon to act in the interest of the people and of the country or in favor of the application of the Paris accord, will be honorably cited by the revolutionary authority. Those who merit it will be recompensed.

[2]

Policy with regard to families that have members in the Saigon military or administrative apparatus.

A. Families with members in the military and administrative apparatus of the Saigon Government, families of orphans and widows who have been the victims of the American puppet neocolonialist regime of oppression, if they have done nothing against the revolutionary cause, will have the same rights and the same duties as other citizens. The revolutionary government welcomes any Vietnamese family that manifests a spirit of solidarity in the fight

for peace, independence, democratic liberties and national concord.

B. Those who contributed to the revolutionary cause or who have members of their families who have participated in the revolutionary struggle, even if they have other members of their families in the military or administrative apparatus of the Saigon administration, will be considered revolutionary families.

C. Those who have not had the occasion to contribute to the national cause but who now seek to encourage members of their families to fight for the application of the Paris agreement, against the American aggressors and against the bellicose clique in the Saigon army and administration will be acclaimed and their names cited by the revolutionary authority. Those who have encouraged members of their families to contribute to the revolutionary cause will be recompensed. If they participate in uprisings, they will be recognized as families having acquired merit in the revolutionary cause.

[3]

Policy with regard to those who were forced to participate in the "popular self-defense forces," the militia or other paramilitary organizations.

A. If they have done nothing against the population they will have the same rights and the same duties as the other citizens.

B. Individuals and units having struggled to refuse participation in military training, guard duty, patrols, ambushes, operations, opposing the transfer of men from one kind of armed forces to another, to the enrollment of the young or coercion exerted by extortionists, or who have protected and helped youngsters in evading forced enrollment or soldiers after they deserted, or who helped inhabitants to move freely so as to find work or to return to their place of origin, or who participated in the people's fight against the enemy will receive an honorable citation by the people and by the revolutionary authority.

C. Individuals and units that brought their arms to the revolutionary authority or participated in uprisings with a view to destroying the Saigon apparatus of coercion or the concentration camps, or were opposing the forced regroupings of the population, or sought to annihilate military posts or to liberate villages will receive compensation depending on their actions.

D. Those who wish to devote themselves to revolutionary tasks or enroll in the revolutionary armed forces will be well received.

[4]

Policy with regard to soldiers manning military posts or in militia units, "civil guards" or regular troops, or belonging to the different armed branches and police of Saigon.

A. Individuals and garrisons that took part in the struggle against the draconian regime imposed upon soldiers and their families, against forced enrollment and the transfer of soldiers from one category of troops to another, who have demanded demobilization or left their units to go home, and who oppose the operations of encroaching or illegal implanting of military posts, to forced displacement and regrouping of the population, police operations and repression, and who join the struggle of the population and who have taken part in it, will be favorably welcomed and aided by the population and the revolutionary authority.

B. Individuals, garrisons and units that have revolted and handed over their posts and their weapons or brought their weapons and their documents to the revolutionary authority, who have taken part in people's uprisings to eliminate the torturers, wipe out their posts, their bases, their depots or other points of departure for criminal operations contrary to the Paris accord and who contribute to the liberation of villages will be recognized as insurgent soldiers or insurgent units. The same will be true of individuals or units that mutiny at the front to join the People's Armed Forces of Liberation to help punish those who violate the Paris accord. The insurgent units will be recompensed in accordance with their actions. Those who are wounded during these actions will benefit from the same advantages as injured revolutionary combatants. If they are killed in the course of these actions they will be recognized as "killed on mission."

[5]

Policy with regard to the members of the Saigon army and administration now finding themselves in the areas under the control of the revolutionary power:

A. The soldiers, officers, policemen, wounded and war invalids, former soldiers, officials of the Saigon administration, having left the ranks of the Saigon army and administration and gone to the areas controlled by the revolutionary authority, if they do nothing against the revolution and against the people and respect the laws promulgated by the revolutionary power, will receive help in their search for a means

of existence. Those among them who wish to work the land can receive land in accordance with the agricultural policy in force. Those who wish to return to their places of origin will be helped to do so. Those who wish to accomplish a task where they now are will receive encouragement and employment according to their competence.

B. In the newly liberated areas those among them who chose voluntarily to stay on and present themselves to the revolutionary authority in accordance with the dispositions made will receive help. Those that have contributed to the defense of public property, given their arms and documents, helped to unmask those who stirred up trouble, disclosed the existence of underground passageways or of secret stocks of the enemy or have called on others to present themselves to the authorities will receive citations according to their actions. Those who wish to contribute to the edification of the new regime or put themselves at the service of the people and the homeland will be given appropriate tasks.

[6]

Policy with regard to officers, general officers and high civil servants of the Saigon administration in South Vietnam or abroad.

A. The revolutionary authority favorably salutes all those who are really in favor of peace, independence and democracy and national concord and who wish to work together for a strict application of the Paris accord, without distinction as to their past, their opinions or their position.

B. The officers and general officers belonging to tendencies and organization of the political third force will be treated in the same fashion as other members of this force by the revolutionary authority.

C. As to officers and general officers whose units revolt or mutiny under their command to join the revolutionary ranks, they will be recognized as insurgent officers. They retain their rank, will receive important assignments and will be cited. Those who lead particularly meritorious actions will receive promotions.

D. Those who must, because of their actions in favor of the national cause, make their way to the liberated zone, alone or with their families, will be granted all facilities and will have all their belongings safe-guarded. Those who send their families into the liberated zone with their capital and their means of production to take part in economic activities will be helped by the revolutionary authority.

[7]

Policy toward soldiers and officers who have been captured or who surrender, and

toward criminals who have really repented.

A. The population and revolutionary authority accord humane treatment to prisoners of war and humane treatment to those who have surrendered. Those who wish to earn their livings honestly among their families or to devote themselves to

revolutionary tasks will be aided.

B. Those who have committed crimes but who have really repented will benefit from the clemency of the population and of the revolutionary authority. Those who have carried out positive actions will be rewarded according to their actions. □

PRG Rules for Liberated Areas

[We print below the text of an April 4 Agence France-Presse dispatch, as published in the April 5 *New York Times*. In a related dispatch from Paris, AFP summarized several points made in an interview in South Vietnam April 2 by Nguyen Hun Tho, chairman of the Consultative Council of the South Vietnamese Provisional Revolutionary Government. The summary said, in part:

["Discussing the position of foreigners and foreign investment after the war, he said policy since 1969 had been to defend the legitimate interests of foreign nationals.

["He said the Provisional Revolutionary Government had studied the case of French nationals living and working in areas it controls with a view to defending their legitimate interests and creating the best conditions in which they can contribute to the reconstruction of South Vietnam."]

* * *

The Provisional Revolutionary Government announced last night over the Hanoi radio the 10 rules it says it intends to apply in areas liberated south of the 17th parallel. They follow:

1. All existing services should continue their work and carry out policy, and the old system must be abolished and all political

organizations serving "imperialists and puppets" must be dissolved.

2. Democratic liberties include equality of the sexes and freedom of conscience and religion.

3. All activity sowing discord, hatred or suspicion is forbidden.

4. To have the right to work people must maintain order and security and support the revolution. Any sabotage or counterattack will be thwarted.

5. All property of the Saigon administration passes under control of the Provisional Revolutionary Government. Other enterprises having no financial link with Saigon are invited to continue.

6. The property of industrialists and shopkeepers is protected.

7. It is a national duty to aid orphans and other handicapped or helpless people. The rural population should be helped to develop farming, fishing, salt production and forestry.

8. Cultural establishments and hospitals and schools will continue their activities in the service of the people.

9. There must be strict applications of orders to give good treatment to soldiers who have left the Saigon ranks; those opposed to the revolution are to be punished.

10. The lives and property of foreigners are protected. □

MEMO

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Missionary Denounces Repression in Bolivia

[The following item appeared as a letter to the editor in the March 9 issue of the *Detroit Free Press*.]

* * *

I am a Catholic priest from the United States living and working in a slum on the outskirts of La Paz, Bolivia. Some time ago I was asked by the Bishop of La Paz to take on the additional responsibility of visiting political prisoners in the country. I was given the authorization by the Bolivian government to enter any prison where political prisoners were being held. On Christmas Day, Judy and her four children were able to get a pass to visit her husband Bob who has been in prison for the past two years. Bob is not in prison for robbery, assault or pushing drugs. Here in Bolivia he is in prison for something more serious. He tried to get his government to respond more to the needs of the people, and as a result has been sent to jail as a political prisoner for an indefinite period of time and without a hearing or trial.

Bob is not alone. There are many other political prisoners in Bolivia—university and high school professors, military officers, housewives, university students, miners, journalists, lawyers, doctors, factory workers, civil servants and farm workers. These prisoners have one thing in common. Each tried to speak out against the injustice and inhumanity they see and live out each day in Bolivia.

Last week I visited a 35-year-old lady who has been held in solitary confinement for the past month. During this same week a Catholic priest was brought in for questioning and beaten. At the same time a top adviser for the Justice and Peace Commission of Bolivia was given 24 hours to leave the country.

Yesterday I was called to visit a group of 18 mine workers who had just been imprisoned. These men earning 20 pesos a day were picked up and brought to a prison five hours from their homes. Their families have no idea where they are and these men are now living in cells without beds or blankets.

I have now reached a point in my work whereby I can no longer in conscience remain silent to what I am seeing and hearing. Being from the U.S., where we put a high value on freedom of speech and freedom of expression, I am extremely

angry and upset by what I see happening in the lives of many here in Bolivia. As an American here in Bolivia I am told that I do not have the right to interfere in the "internal affairs" of this country. Therefore, I write this letter with a message to Americans.

Recently I questioned many of our U.S. Embassy officials here in Bolivia about the relationship between the U.S. and Bolivia. I was told by William Stedman, U.S. Ambassador to Bolivia, that "the U.S. is on very good terms with the present Bolivian government, we are friends." It is common knowledge here that the U.S. is giving millions of dollars each year in military aid

to the present military dictatorship of Bolivia. However, in questioning the ambassador and other high embassy officials on the subject, I was told that, "while this is not secret information, these figures cannot be given out."

As Americans going through a rather difficult economic situation in the U.S. at this time, I feel that you and I have the right and responsibility to know just exactly how much money is being given by our country to support the military dictatorship of Bolivia and the injustice that is so alive in this country today.

Rev. Roy Bourgeois, M.M.
The Maryknoll Fathers
La Paz, Bolivia

Special Offer



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

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

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