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G.M. Cookson/Socialist Action

8,000 Maoris march in Wellington, New Zealand, October 13 demanding legislation to protect their land. Representatives of several

different tribes are at head of march, which was one of the largest demonstrations ever held in Wellington. See page 1579.

Maoris March for Land Rights

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Ford's Cabinet Shifts—Aimed at Reagan

By Michael Baumann

Gerald Ford's drive to obtain the Republican presidential nomination for 1976 faces a serious obstacle.

Ronald Reagan, the standard-bearer of the most reactionary wing of the Republican party, is steadily moving toward an open challenge for the nomination. He has made clear that he intends to launch a campaign aimed at quickly undercutting Ford's advantage as an incumbent president. The plan is to defeat or at least tie Ford in three early presidential primary elections coming up at the end of February and the beginning of March.

It was to meet this threat that Ford suddenly shifted his cabinet. On November 2 he announced the dismissal of Defense Secretary James Schlesinger and CIA Director William Colby, and the resignation of Commerce Secretary Rogers C.B. Morton. At the same time Ford disclosed that Kissinger had been ousted from one of his posts, national security adviser.

The following day it became clear that Ford had tried to clear his skirts of Rockefeller, who is regarded by right-wing Republicans as an incorrigible liberal, if not a pinko. The former New York governor announced that he had decided not to seek the Republican vice-presidential nomination in 1976.

Colby, Schlesinger and Morton were replaced by George Bush, Donald Rumsfeld, and Elliot Richardson, who may be gambling on the creation of a Ford bandwagon on which they can make their political fortunes.

Kissinger's replacement as national security adviser is his deputy, Lt. Gen. Brent Scowcroft. Since Scowcroft normally takes over several of Kissinger's functions when Kissinger is out of the country, this change is clearly no more than formal.

There has been some speculation on the meaning of these shifts for détente, housecleaning at the Central Intelligence Agency, and the Pentagon budget. None of this clear, probably because Ford had in mind nothing beyond his factional problem in the Republican party.

It is true that Moscow and Peking treated the shifts in Ford's cabinet as a matter of international significance. Pursuing their own interbureaucratic struggle, the Kremlin viewed the ouster of Schlesinger as a reaffirmation of détente, while Peking considered it a concession to Moscow.

Ford's public explanation had obviously been worked out by his campaign managers.

"I wanted a team that was my team," he told reporters. "Mr. Bush and Don Rumsfeld are long personal friends of mine. . . . These are my guys and the ones that I wanted."

The shuffle in actuality was designed to help Ford win the Republican nomination by outmaneuvering Reagan. Ford correctly fears that he may not get the nod from the extreme right wing. He has some formidable obstacles to overcome.

This political hack from Grand Rapids, Michigan, has never won an election outside of his local congressional district. Before being named vice-president by Nixon, he had no national following in the Republican party or anywhere else, no real political base.

The Mayagüez incident, the deliberate leaks about CIA operations, and the refusal to provide federal aid to forestall the bankruptcy of New York City all represent efforts to build an image attractive to the right wing of the Republican party. In addition, he needs a machine of his own to carry out an effective campaign, particularly in the primaries, which are crucial for Ford.

The Mayagüez seizure was intended to show that despite the humiliating defeat in Vietnam, Ford knows how to act with exemplary firmness against any country

that dares to challenge the American flag, particularly the small ones.

The leaks about the CIA's operations in Portugal, Angola, and now Iraq [see article elsewhere in this issue] were designed to show that while his hands may be tied by the unfavorable publicity the CIA is receiving in the press, he is doing the best he can to keep the damage to a minimum and to increase the effectiveness of the CIA.

His refusal to provide aid to New York City, despite the fact that the city pays out billions more in federal taxes than it receives in services, represents a bid to the most backward sentiments in rural areas—a strong factor in Republican party infighting.

However, after fifteen months in office Ford still has not succeeded in winning over the Reagan-Goldwater wing of the Republican party. He is now resorting to more dramatic measures.

Rockefeller, for instance, was removed as a contender for the vice-presidency in 1976 so as to make this plum available for bait at the Republican party convention. Kissinger was, in appearance, cut down a peg to enable Ford to present a stronger image.

If Ford does succeed in winning an OK from the extreme right-wingers of his party—which remains to be seen—he will still be faced with the problem of appealing to the electorate at large. Here his very success with the right-wingers may spell his doom. For the key issues remain the depression, inflation, and above all unemployment. Ford's do-nothing policy on these questions has led to a steady decline in his popularity, as evidenced by a recent Harris poll.

The likelihood that Ford can build a new, attractive image on these questions is remote. It is much more likely that he will do himself in with the moves designed to appeal to the Goldwaters. □

If New York Defaults . . .

Speaking on television November 9, President Ford insisted there would be no "serious ramifications in the money markets of this country" if New York City defaults on its \$10.3 billion debt.

A representative of the White House, when asked the same day if Ford had reconsidered his refusal to support a federal guarantee of the New York debt, responded: "The President has not changed his position one iota."

Ford's show of confidence, however, was not shared in most financial circles. One commentator in the November 10 *Business Week* said, "President Ford's plan to help New York City after it defaults was drawn up by the same economic advisers who a

year ago drafted a bill to increase taxes just as the economy was heading into the worst recession since the 1930s."

A default by the city would also involve \$2 billion in loans refinanced by the recently created Municipal Assistance Corporation, and would imperil the state of New York, with its \$12.5 billion debt.

Eighteen percent of all state and local debt outstanding in the United States is accounted for by New York City and New York State. Walter A. Haas, Jr., board chairman of Levi Strauss & Co., the largest clothing manufacturer in the world, said, ". . . the ramifications are frightening. It scares the hell out of me. After this, how does anyone have confidence in govern-

ment bonds?"

At an international bankers conference held in New York November 5-7 a poll showed that 59% of 210 participants thought that a default by the city would have serious negative results. Foreign bankers were especially nervous: 69% of those from outside the United States feared a major impact on the world financial system.

"I think the repercussions could be bigger than we understand now," said Bjarne Kvigstad of the Norwegian Credit Bank in Oslo.

"If New York can go into bankruptcy," he continued, "people will begin to ask, Can the city of Oslo also go into bankruptcy? As a European, it is unbelievable to me that they could let New York City go bankrupt."

A British bank officer attending the conference told *New York Times* reporter Terry Robards November 6 that the impact of a default would be "quite considerable" and would "make any other city in the world suspect."

Congressman Thomas M. Rees of California, who addressed the gathering of bankers, told Robards: "It's inconceivable to many abroad that the financial capital of the United States could go into default. There is no telling what effect this psychological factor might have upon those who possess millions, if not billions, of C.D.'s [certificates of deposit] in our banking system."

Fears of what a New York default would mean were heightened by the news November 6 of the biggest monthly rise in the wholesale price index in a year—1.8%—followed the next day by the news that unemployment in October had leaped from 8.3% to 8.6%.

"In these circumstances, it is not enough for Mr. Ford to keep saying that things are fine, just fine," complained Tom Wicker in the November 9 *New York Times*.

The national impact of a possible New York default was indicated by government figures showing that in just the four southern states of Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, and Louisiana, ninety-six banks hold 20% or more of their assets in New York bonds.

Financial writers and bankers insist that the huge New York banks, which play a key role in world trade and finances, would be able to weather a New York default, although they would take losses.

But other problems were raised by Lewis H. Young in the November 10 issue of *Business Week*. He noted the possibility of "serious social upheaval."

"Citicorp Chairman Walter Wriston, for example, worries that if sanitation workers in Bedford-Stuyvesant do not get paid, they will drive their trucks right into the Citibank branch in that deteriorated neighborhood. And the police, without paychecks themselves, would not stop them." □

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Angolan Fighting Escalates on Eve of Independence

By Ernest Harsch

The civil strife in Angola intensified in the weeks preceding November 11, the date scheduled for the colony's assumption of formal independence from Portugal. Lisbon withdrew most of its troops from the colony, and according to the *New York Times* only 2,000 were still in Angola as of November 6.

Although the Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA—People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola) appeared to be in a dominant military position in early October, it has suffered reverses, particularly in the southern part of the country, as its two nationalist rivals launched an offensive to regain territory they lost to the MPLA several months before.

In the last week of October, Sá da Bandeira and Moçâmedes, two of the largest cities in southern Angola, were retaken by forces of the Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola (FNLA—Angolan National Liberation Front) and the União Nacional para Independência Total de Angola (UNITA—National Union for the Total Independence of Angola).

The cities of Benguela and Lobito along the central coast were also reported to have been taken in early November.

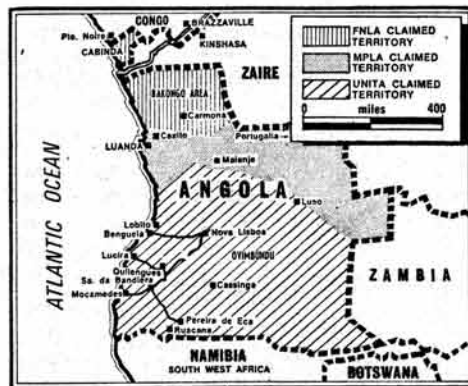
In addition, there was renewed fighting in the Cabinda enclave, in the diamond-rich northeast, and in the area just north of Luanda. According to the MPLA and a few other sources, the FNLA and UNITA were aided by foreign mercenaries.

Reporting from Luanda, Angola's capital, David Martin said in the November 2 *Observer*, "No one is sure who the mercenaries are. But a Portuguese captain who talked with them at Angola's southern port of Mocamedes on Tuesday [October 28] says the column is led by English-speaking officers who, he believes, are South Africans. . . .

"Portuguese military intelligence sources say that 65 per cent of the column were Africans. . . .

"Most of the whites are former Portuguese officers and now members of the clandestine ultra-right-wing 'Portuguese Liberation Army' (ELP), which is sympathetic to former President Spínola, and is believed to be financed largely from Paris and Madrid by exiled Portuguese businessmen."

The November 7 *Jornal de Angola*, which is controlled by the MPLA, stated that the FNLA-UNITA column had twenty-six mili-



Observer/November 2, 1975

tary vehicles. *New York Times* correspondent Michael T. Kaufman reported from Luanda the same day, "According to French sources, the vehicles, Panhards, were supplied by France but paid for by wealthy Portuguese landowners who fled from their large estates, to which they hope to return."

Kaufman also noted, "The composition and origins of the column remain something of a mystery."

Some reports placed its strength at 250 soldiers, others at more than 500. Some charged that the South Africans reportedly involved in the offensive were mercenaries, others that they were regular South African troops.

The MPLA claimed that the column was headed by Daniel Chipenda, a former leader of the MPLA who joined the FNLA earlier this year. There have also been frequent charges by the MPLA that troops and military advisers from neighboring Zaïre, which has long backed the FNLA, were fighting with that group.

Both the FNLA and UNITA have denied that they employ mercenaries, dismissing the reports as "MPLA propaganda."

However, two representatives of the FNLA, Onofre Martins dos Santos and Monteiro Barreto, admitted at a news conference in Paris September 12 that "many Portuguese troops, as well as civilians, have offered us their services."

On November 1 three Portuguese who had reportedly been captured by the MPLA during a battle with the FNLA were interviewed on Portuguese television. They said they were part of a group of twenty former Portuguese troops who were training FNLA forces. An African, who said he was

a member of the Zaïre army, was also presented on the program.

Although the South African regime has refused to comment on the reports that it is currently battling Angolan nationalists, it admitted in August that it had sent troops into southern Angola to "protect" the water-pump station at Calueque.

South African Defense Minister P.W. Botha said in October that South African troops destroyed two guerrilla camps of the South West African People's Organisation (SWAPO), which is fighting against the South African occupation of Namibia. The South African press estimated that all SWAPO bases were in southern Angola. The racist regime claims "the right of hot pursuit" against the Namibian rebels.

According to some reports, however, the South African incursion into Angola in August was not to "protect" the water-pump station at Calueque or to pursue SWAPO guerrillas. The August 31 *Jornal de Angola* cited a report that South African troops attacked both MPLA and UNITA positions on August 22. SWAPO also reported that the South Africans strafed several Angolan villages.

Civil wars often attract outside powers interested in exploiting the conflict to their own advantage. This is particularly true in Angola, which has abundant mineral resources.

If the recent reports of foreign troops fighting in Angola are true, then the Angolan independence struggle is gravely threatened. It would be a dangerous error for any of the nationalist groups to rely on foreign military forces in their factional struggle for power, since such forces could imperil the entire nationalist movement and pave the way for even greater foreign intervention.

The presence of foreign troops in Angola could also be used as a pretext for sending a United Nations or Organization of African Unity "peace-keeping force" to the embattled country to "protect" it from "invaders."

Whether the reports of mercenaries in Angola are accurate, however, remains unclear. Dispatches by foreign journalists in Angola are frequently unreliable, often being based on rumor or secondhand information. The only Angolan newspapers still published are in Luanda, and all are controlled by the MPLA. Statements by Portuguese officials should also be treated with skepticism, since some of them favor

the MPLA over the two other nationalist groups. Most of the major Lisbon newspapers likewise favor the MPLA.

One example of how "news" accounts from Angola are embellished was an article in the November 1 issue of the Lisbon *Diário de Notícias*. Charging that "thousands of Angolans were murdered at the hands of the fascists of the ELNA [the FNLA's military wing]," the writer claimed that the military column in the south was composed of 250 troops, of which fifty were Angolans, 100 Zaïreans, and the rest Portuguese, South Africans, and Israelis. The commanders, the journalist said, were Chinese.

In addition to troops from those countries already cited, the MPLA has also charged that Belgian, Tunisian, Brazilian, and Afro-American mercenaries were among the ranks of the FNLA and UNITA.

Moreover, the MPLA denies that its two rivals are "legitimate" Angolan nationalist groups. Because the FNLA gets much of its support from among the Bakongos in northern Angola and the hundreds of thousands of Bakongo refugees in Zaïre, the MPLA has often branded the FNLA as an "invading force."

The FNLA and UNITA have responded to the MPLA's slanders with similar charges. UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi, for instance, has claimed that the MPLA employs "Cuban, Vietnamese, Russian, Katangan, and Mozambican mercenaries."*

In reality, all three Angolan independence groups have white members. For instance, one of the MPLA's top military leaders, who uses the name Juju, is Portuguese.

The September 25 *Diário de Notícias* reported that "Debusmann [a Reuters correspondent] said that according to military specialists, all the Angolan liberation movements utilize non-Angolan officials and soldiers. The majority are soldiers demobilized from the Portuguese armed forces who considered returning to their own country a gloomier prospect than remaining [in Angola] as soldiers."

Whatever the truth of the accounts that mercenaries are fighting with the FNLA and UNITA, the MPLA has used the claims to help mobilize support for its struggle for power. On October 23, the MPLA ordered the military mobilization of all men and women between the ages of eighteen and thirty-five in the areas under its control to

resist the "international fascist brigade."

In a message to the Organization of African Unity November 4, MPLA President Agostinho Neto charged that the "foreign invaders" were attempting the

"recolonization of the country and the establishment of a government dominated by whites." He then called on the OAU to aid the MPLA "with arms and planes, to allow us to meet the invasion." □

South Korean Dissident Repudiates Forced 'Confession'

Kim Chi Ha Faces Possible Death Sentence

Kim Chi Ha, a South Korean poet, was arrested March 14 by Seoul authorities under the notorious anti-Communist laws. He faces a possible death sentence.

To "prove" its charges that Kim is "a Communist who infiltrated the Catholic church," the regime of President Park Chung Hee produced a written "confession" from Kim claiming that he was a "Communist." The dictatorship published a pamphlet entitled *The Case Against Kim Chi Ha*, which contained the "confession" and extracts from Kim's prison writings.

During his first court session on May 19, Kim repudiated the "confession." Later, in a 12,000-word "Declaration of Conscience," which was smuggled from prison and publicly released August 8, Kim described how the Korean Central Intelligence Agency (KCIA) had extracted the "confession."

"It was not a voluntary statement," he said. "I was a powerless individual in an underground interrogation room of the KCIA's Fifth Bureau. They were the almighty agency of state terror, beyond any law or decency. . . . The government had decided to destroy me politically and religiously. They were going to crush me until I was flattened out like a piece of dried cuttlefish."

Suffering from anemia and insomnia, Kim resisted his tormentors for six days. Finally, "exhausted and delirious," he wrote the "confession" dictated by the KCIA interrogators. "I scribbled it down like graffiti on a toilet wall and threw it at them," he said.

Kim has been arrested four times since 1970. In July 1974 he was sentenced to death by a military tribunal. The sentence was commuted to life imprisonment after international protests by such figures as Jean-Paul Sartre; French film director Louis Malle; Professor Noam Chomsky of the United States; and Oda Makoto, a leader of the Japanese anti-Vietnam War movement. In February 1975, Kim was released under conditional amnesty.

Despite threats to reimprison him, Kim published a series of articles describing the methods of torture used by the KCIA and denouncing Park's case against twenty-two alleged members of the outlawed People's Revolutionary party (PRP) as a frame-up.

(Eight of the defendants in that case were executed April 9.) The KCIA then rearrested Kim March 14, charging that he had aided the PRP, a "subversive organization."

Kim was kept in prison for six months under pretrial detention, the maximum allowed under South Korean law. When the six months were over, the Park regime reinstated the previous life sentence to keep him in prison until it brings him to trial. □

Protest in Philippines Demands Release of Kim Chi Ha

About 100 Filipinos, including priests, nuns, and students, rallied outside the South Korean embassy in Manila October 16 to present a petition calling for the release of Korean poet Kim Chi Ha. Kim faces a possible death sentence on charges of "subversion." The group was led by Bishop Julio X. Labayen, and the petition was signed by church officials from the Philippines, Thailand, India, Malaysia, and Sri Lanka.

The protesters were met at the embassy by police and Philippine Constabulary troops armed with riot equipment. According to an October 24 New Asia News dispatch from Manila, about 150 persons were arrested on their way to the embassy.

Four Writers and Artists Sentenced in Tehran

The Iranian regime has imposed harsh prison sentences on four writers and artists in Tehran, according to a November 3 news release from the Union of Iranian Students in France.

Film producer Nasser Rahmani-Nejad was sentenced to eleven years in prison. Said Soltan-Pour, a writer, poet, and film producer, received a five-year sentence. Another film producer, Mohsen Yalfani, got five years. Mahmoud Dowlatabadi, a writer and comedian, received a two-year sentence.

"We appeal to French public opinion and in particular to professional people and artists to vigorously protest against these arbitrary sentences and to demand the freeing of these prisoners," the statement said.

*The Katangan mercenaries alleged to be fighting with the MPLA are former gendarmes of the Belgian-backed Moïse Tshombe regime in Katanga, which is now part of Zaïre. After the collapse of Katanga in the early 1960s, the Portuguese imperialists allowed the gendarmes to take refuge in Angola.

Stalinist Tactics Continue to Injure Portuguese Revolution

By Gerry Foley

LISBON—The Communist party is continuing to use gangster tactics, camouflaged as “direct democracy,” to maintain the positions it gained by putting its organization at the service of the military regime. As a consequence, it is helping to smooth the way for reestablishment of the bourgeois governmental authority that the CP leaders now claim to oppose.

By now all the major political forces in the radical and workers movement have at least a general understanding of the CP's strategy and its limitations. Both the Socialist party and the various ultraleft groups have explained this in one way or another, although with differing emphasis in their publications.

None, however, are able to oppose the Stalinist duplicity effectively or to exploit the contradictions of the CP's position so as to draw the sections of the working class it still influences into united struggles against the bourgeois policies of the sixth government. The SP continues to alienate and discourage large layers of its previous supporters by trying to use bourgeois legality and legitimacy against the CP and the ultraleft. In the CP-ultraleft bloc itself there are more and more tensions.

The ultraleft groups now evidently fear being co-opted by the CP, or at least losing their distinctive political place as they side with the Stalinists on all decisive questions. However, they cannot escape the logical consequences of adopting the Stalinist “third period” sectarianism toward the SP and of accepting the antidemocratic concepts of the Stalinists, which were disguised as “direct democracy” exercised by the “politically conscious” representatives of the workers and the toiling masses.

These tensions first appeared openly in the Great United Demonstration of the Organs of People's Power on October 23. This was so obviously a CP action that the ultraleft groups in general were forced to repudiate it.

A similar conflict arose over a demonstration in support of the Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA—People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola) on November 3. The action was sponsored by the Frente de Unidade Revolucionária (FUR—Front for Revolutionary Unity), which includes a number of ultraleft groups.

However, the Communist party could not have been in disagreement with the purpose

of the November 3 demonstration. The main slogan was “All power to the MPLA.” The CP supports the MPLA's claim to be the “only liberation movement in Angola.” A demand to bring all Portuguese soldiers back from Angola now was included, but it was given no special emphasis, and was lost among other slogans the CP supports, such as “Against imperialism, revolutionary unity, national independence,” and “Sixth Government, no; Revolutionary Government, yes.”

The CP-controlled papers were obviously friendly to the demonstration, although they did not give it a really big buildup. For example, although no more than 2,000 persons participated, the Stalinist-dominated morning paper *O Século* made the account of the demonstration its main front-page story.

A leader of one of the participating groups told me that the CP had informed its members that since a rightist coup was being planned they should stay in their neighborhoods and factories. As a result, he said, only a sprinkling of CPers were present. However, he blamed the other participating groups also for the CP's absence. He said that the Movimento de Esquerda Socialista (MES—Movement of the Socialist Left), for example, had opposed inviting the CP and that other groups had given way to this pressure.

Politically the MES has been a satellite of the CP since the dispute over the “Trade Union Unity Law” in January. However, this stance has apparently led the organization into a deepening crisis. In mid-October, it lost nearly all its members in Coimbra, which dominates the central region of Portugal.

In a rally at the Lisbon Sports Palace the week before the FUR demonstration, the MES drew only 800 persons, a drastic decline from previous showings. Apparently, therefore, it felt that it had to get out from under the shadow of the CP to survive, but in the absence of a real political alternative its strugglings ended in a display of sectarianism.

Attempts by ultraleft groups to differentiate themselves from the CP by pushing the Stalinist policy further than the CP itself is willing to carry it have not achieved the desired results. In fact, the consequences are appalling. A case in point was the “occupation of the Faro district administration building” on October 26.

On October 22 new civil governors were appointed for the districts of Braga, Castelo Branco, Lisbon, and Faro. The former holders of these posts had all been members of the Movimento Democrático Português (MDP—Portuguese Democratic Movement, the petty-bourgeois front organization of the CP). The Stalinist-controlled radio networks reacted by stressing that the ousted governors had been “outstanding antifascists” and their removal represented another example of the sixth government's “purge of the left.”

The Socialist party argued that the CP got only a small minority of the vote in these districts in the April 25 Constituent Assembly elections, and the MDP got even less. Thus these governors were unrepresentative. The SP leaders argued that they were not opposed to CP governors in districts where the party actually received large votes.

In its October 24 issue, *A Luta*, the Lisbon evening paper that reflects the viewpoint of the SP leadership, noted that Helder Madeira, a member of the CP, had been appointed civil governor of the Setúbal district that includes the party strongholds in the industrial belt to the south of Lisbon. The SP edged out the CP even here in the Constituent Assembly elections but the vote was very close.

“The naming of a PCP [Partido Comunista Português—Portuguese Communist party] member for this important post,” *A Luta* commented, “will certainly give food for thought to those who have made hasty accusations of ‘purges of the left.’”

The Faro Demonstration

Nonetheless, the CP and the FUR called a demonstration in Faro, the main town in the far southern region of Algarve, to protest the appointment of the new governor there. The demonstration was supported by a number of “organs of people's power” such as “tenants committees” and so forth. The FUR and the CP claimed that the new governor was “against people's power.”

A Capital, the Lisbon evening paper controlled jointly by the CP and the ultraleft, gave the following version of the events:

The demonstrators numbered several thousand. They gathered in the Largo do Carmo and afterward marched through the main streets of the city carrying posters and shouting slogans

such as "Social Democrats out," "Reactionaries out of the barracks now," and "Down with the rightist policy." They moved toward the Largo Pé da Cruz where the district administration building is located. The doors were opened. Then many demonstrators appeared at the windows shouting slogans such as "Soldiers always, always at the side of the people," "The district administration building belongs to the people," "The SUV [Soldados Unidos Vencerão—Soldiers United Will Win] will be victorious," "No one is going to move an inch from here," "People's power is victorious," and "Orders from fascists will not be carried out."

The building was guarded by a small force composed of soldiers and elements of the Public Security Police.

The demonstrators later had a meeting with the commander of the Faro Infantry Regiment, Lieutenant Colonel Rebelo de Sousa. A result of this meeting was formation of a Struggle Committee made up of representatives of the PCP, the FUR, the Faro District Council of Intersindical [the CP-controlled union federation], and workers and tenants committees.

The Struggle Committee distributed a communiqué shortly after the occupation in which it voted that by a "wave of purges of the left" the Sixth Provisional Government was "trying to recover April 25 for the capitalist bourgeoisie." After this, it said that at the end of the demonstration "as a result of an irresistible surge of demonstrators, they entered the building and occupied it. The soldiers present gave their entire support to this initiative."

All of the media controlled by the Stalinists and their ultraleft allies disseminated extensive quotes from this communiqué. It was read over the national networks in a dramatic voice by a representative of the "Struggle Committee."

A Capital ran the following quotation:

This occupation is to be carried out in the best possible order and with absolute respect for the furnishings of a building that belongs to the people. A Struggle Committee was set up in an assembly with the commander of the Faro Infantry Regiment at the presiding table. By this means, the workers and tenants present in the district administration building in Faro want to demonstrate their repudiation of the removal of the civil governor and to demand that the post of civil governor be given to someone who pledges to support the extension of people's power and to denounce the rightist policy of the Sixth Provisional Government. For the advance of people's power.

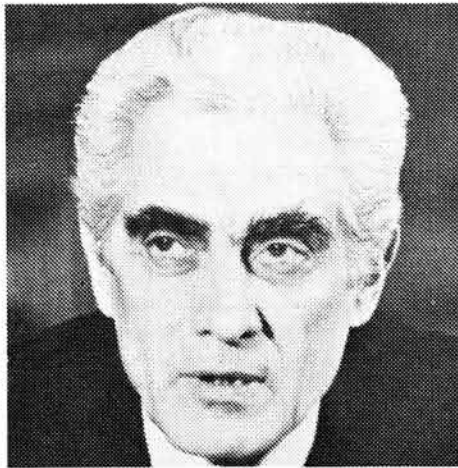
The Stalinists claimed that the occupation was meant only to be symbolic, and they left at midnight. However, the ultralefts remained, apparently determined to carry out an indefinite occupation. The SP called a mobilization to oust the occupiers from the building, and their activists were joined by Maoists and anti-Communists.

A clash occurred, which resulted in the clearing of the building. The papers controlled by the Stalinists and ultralefts claimed that the occupiers had been persuaded to leave by the military in order to avoid an incident. There were some peculiar gaps in this version.

The papers close to the SP gave a different account. For example, in its Octo-

ber 28 issue, *Primeiro de Janeiro*, an Oporto morning paper where SP journalists are in a majority, said:

At about 1:00, a demonstration in protest against the occupation of the district administration building moved toward the site of the



CUNHAL: Stalinists pander to military while trying to hold on to posts.

incident. It was made up of hundreds of members and sympathizers of the SP and PPD [Partido Popular Democrático—Democratic People's party, the main bourgeois party]. Despite various attempts by the military to break up the march by driving their vehicles through it, the demonstrators got into the building. They occupied one of its wings. While this was happening, elements from the FUR and other participants in the earlier demonstration hurled bottles and other objects at those who approached the building. They were forced, however, to barricade themselves in some of the rooms, doing serious damage to the building and the furniture, which was thrown at those who wanted to oust the occupiers.

In the meantime, the commander of the Faro Infantry Regiment, who had tried to get the occupiers to leave, tried, once again without success, to persuade the counterdemonstrators.

It was a moment of great enthusiasm when Dr. Almeida Carrapato, the new civil governor, arrived. Some people had gone to get him at his home.

After conferring with the military authorities and the besieged occupiers, he appealed to the public not to take reprisals against those inside, since they were going to be taken to the Faro Infantry Regiment in military vehicles. . . .

Some of the occupiers, fearing the worst, fled down the back stairs and leaped into the street from a height of fifteen feet. One suffered fractures of bones in his feet, for which he was hospitalized. Another required a head operation and is on the critical list.

The events in Faro corresponded to what the SP had claimed was the scenario for the "great united demonstration" in Lisbon on October 23. At the time, the SP claimed that the Stalinists intended to use the demonstration as a cover for occupying key government buildings and carrying out a "coup."

Actually the march was nothing if not peaceful. The SP could claim that the CP

retreated when it realized the action was a failure. In fact it was quite clear that the Stalinists did not intend to push things to the point of a decisive test of strength, either there or in Faro.

In Lisbon, however, they had to proceed with greater caution. A misstep at the center of political power could have been irreparable.

The official communiqué issued by the CP on the Faro events failed to reassure the SP that the Stalinists were not contemplating a "totalitarian adventure." The communiqué stated:

At midnight, the hour set by the Struggle Committee for ending the occupation, the PCP directed its members and sympathizers to leave the district administration building. Also at that hour it became known that leaders of the SP, the PPD, and notorious reactionaries were mobilizing in various sections of the Algarve to provoke violent confrontations with the occupiers. Some of them were threatening to attack the PCP headquarters. Unfortunately, some elements in the district building violated the decision of the Struggle Committee, thereby unnecessarily prolonging the occupation. Then well-known leaders of the SP, members of the PPD, and fascist and MRPP [Movimento Reorganizado do Partido do Proletariado—Movement to Reorganize the Proletarian Party, a sectarian Maoist group allied with the SP] provocateurs attacked the district building. They displayed an attitude of vandalism and desperation. They destroyed doors, windows, chairs, and property paid for by the working people, which the occupiers had carefully tried to safeguard. They wounded several citizens including the commander of the Faro Infantry Regiment, who, along with the soldiers of the military police, was able to witness the orderly attitude and peaceful aims of the demonstrators and the savagery of the holy alliance that laid siege to the district building. This desperate and provocative attitude of the SP leaders, the PPDs, and the fascists could not, however, take away from the importance of this grandiose action of struggle.

The communiqué ended:

The District Committee of the PCP salutes all the participants in this important demonstration, including the soldiers who took the side of the people, and calls on the working class, all the toiling masses and their organizations, to remain vigilant and ready to continue their just struggle to oppose the removal of the civil governors, against the purge of the left, in defense of the grass-roots people's organizations, and for the advance of the revolutionary process on the road to socialism.

The headline *A Capital* used for this story was "Soldiers in Control of the Situation at Faro District Administration Building."

Throughout the CP statement and the comments in the CP-controlled or CP-influenced papers was a bizarre combination of sectarianism and pandering for the favor of the military.

Social Democrats in Panic

This provoked an equally violent response from the SP. For the Social Democrats, it was a matter of life or death. If they

could not get the government to put their representatives in the place of CPers who gained the key positions under the previous cabinets, they could be counted out in the competition with the CP for the role of labor lieutenants of the Portuguese bourgeoisie. They would have no prospects.

Mário Soares, the SP leader, warned that if the military failed to do its duty to safeguard "democratic legality," the SP would take matters into its own hands. There was a large element of bombast in this. The SP is an electoralist party and to a considerable degree is both unwilling and unable to resort to direct action. It seeks by its nature to achieve its ends through "legal means," that is, through the bourgeois state.

However, under the pressure of CP bullying, the SP has had to transcend its own nature somewhat. In the period immediately following the Constituent Assembly elections, the CP leadership apparently counted on the SP being unable to mobilize large numbers of persons in the street. They miscalculated, and lost the decisive gamble. In fact, it was probably their pressure that enabled the SP leadership to do what it otherwise could not have done. The Stalinist bullying united the heterogeneous electoral party and convinced its mass following that they had to take action to defend their rights.

Once the CP bid for the role of mass organizer of the military regime was defeated in the struggle unleashed in June, which culminated at the end of August with the removal of the Stalinists' ally Vasco Gonçalves from the premiership, the SP began to lose its capacity for mobilization. This process was reinforced by a sudden loss of popularity for the SP when it assumed the main political responsibility for a bourgeois government.

However, the CP's continued use of sectarian and bullying tactics, with the help of the ultraleft, has reunited the ranks of the SP around the leadership on positions further to the right. This resulted, at almost the same time as the CP-ultraleft adventure in Faro, in the biggest victory to date of the sixth provisional government. On October 25, the SP organized a rally in Oporto in support of Premier Pinheiro de Azevedo. It drew a crowd estimated at more than 200,000, dwarfing all the demonstrations of opposition to the sixth government.

The demonstration was also supported by the PPD and the right-wing bourgeois party, the Centro Democrático Social (CDS—Social Democratic Center). There was considerable tension between these forces. The SP even denounced the CDS participation as a provocation. Nonetheless, in its struggle with the CP and the ultraleft, this reformist party has been unable to dissociate itself effectively from the bour-

geois right. It could do that only by means of a revolutionary program, which it obviously does not have and cannot have.

In the radical climate in Portugal, the bourgeois parties, even the CDS, are prepared to back left-appearing demagogic formulas. While there is considerable conflict between the SP and the bourgeois parties, the class contradictions tend to be overshadowed by the struggle between the SP and the CP.

Blunders of the Ultralefts

Since the CP has been using the soldiers' struggle against the reestablishment of hierarchical bourgeois discipline as a means of pressuring the government, it was easy for the SP and bourgeois political leaders to turn the Oporto rally into a demonstration against the radical soldiers. The leaders of this struggle, generally ultralefts and CPers, did not sufficiently dissociate it from the fratricidal conflict between the CP-ultraleft bloc and the SP that has been continuing since June in an acute form.

In no other case has the political failure of the ultraleft groups been clearer. Although the SUV and the Struggle Committee at the Oporto artillery base did not go beyond the general framework of ultraleft politics, they were less sectarian than the FUR as such. Thus, for a period, the fight against the reestablishment of "order" in the Northern Military Region bypassed the CP-ultraleft bloc and drew in significant numbers of rank-and-file SP members, in the armed forces above all.

But the leaders of the soldiers' struggle did not try hard enough to consolidate broad political support, in particular in the civilian population. To demonstrate their power, they tended to depend on statements of support by the "organs of people's power," which are recognized only by the Stalinists and the ultralefts, and daring initiatives of the most politically convinced soldiers.

When I talked to a representative of the Struggle Committee at the Regimento de Artilharia da Serra do Pilar (RASP), the Oporto artillery regiment, on October 27, he was very nervous and pessimistic. The mass rally in support of the sixth government had obviously had an impact on him. He was a sympathizer of the half-Maoist, half-anarcho-workerist União Democrática do Povo (People's Democratic Union) and thus a fervent supporter of "direct democracy," and an opponent of all kinds of electoralism.

But now for the first time he talked about the problems caused by the SP's electoral victory. I asked him what effect the SP's opposition to the soldiers' struggle had on SP sympathizers on the base. He told me that it had demobilized them. He seemed to

be more objective in dealing with this question than other ultralefts, who claim that because of the SP's attitude there are no more Social Democrats in the armed forces.

It is not likely that the broad mass of those who are attracted to a political party by its general positions would be alienated immediately and completely by its position on one specific question that might appear secondary, even though it affected them directly.

I asked the soldier what the Struggle Committee had done to show that it was not a tool in the CP-ultraleft campaign against the SP. Had it appealed to the SP for support, tried to pressure leading figures in the SP to take the side of the soldiers?

"We couldn't do that," he told me. "We are not a party-political organization. We don't go to parties asking for support. They come to us."

Now he thought it was important to show that "we aren't a minority." He hoped that a demonstration called for Wednesday, October 29 by the Struggle Committee and some workers and tenants committees would do that. He expected it to be a "test of strength."

There had been another kind of test of strength over the weekend that proved that "direct democracy" was not as advanced in the RASP barracks as the ultraleft believed. The Struggle Committee had wanted to hold a general assembly on the base on Friday, October 24, in which representatives of the workers and tenants committees could participate. That would have represented a big step forward, since civilian access is limited even to the most radicalized bases.

However, on October 24, Copcon (the military security forces) called a national alert, confining soldiers to base. The reason given was a few bomb explosions in Lisbon and Alcácer do Sal. A salient political effect of the alert was to foil the plans of the opposition groups in the armed forces to resume the fight against reestablishment of military discipline that had been demobilized by Gen. Carlos Fabião's apparent concessions to the RASP soldiers. (See *Intercontinental Press*, November 3, p. 1476.) The result was a severe defeat for the RASP Struggle Committee.

On the morning of October 24, the "progressive" commander of the RASP base called the men into formation. He told them that the Northern Regional Command had refused to authorize the projected assembly and that he was supporting this order. As my informant told me, the commander said: "I have confidence that you will obey orders, and it will no doubt be a comfort to you to know that there are friendly troops stationed in key positions ready to help maintain discipline."

In fact, heavily armed police and military units were stationed at strategic spots in Oporto and heavy artillery was positioned on a site overlooking the base.

When I went to the base on Monday, October 27, there was still considerable tension. While I was talking to the representative of the Struggle Committee, we heard an aircraft approaching. My informant dashed outside, obviously upset.

I looked around the lounge where we had been talking, apparently a junior officers' club, thinking where to run if the base was strafed. My friend seemed to have had the same idea. The helicopter landed without any fireworks, but my friend was still worried. We could not continue the discussion.

So, the Wednesday march would be very important for the morale of the opposition in the armed forces, especially since a support demonstration during the weekend had drawn only a few hundred.

No one among the political organizations supporting the action, however, seemed very hopeful. It seemed to me too that it had been called too hastily. There was little time to build, to mobilize support. My informants also were quite vague about what groups were backing the march and what they were doing to build it. I noticed that the CP-controlled papers ran reasonably prominent articles about the upcoming demonstration, but that they did not really play it up. The only important national paper that gave it important coverage was *A Capital*, where the ultraleft has strong influence.

The march was billed pretty much as another "people's power" and "anti-sixth government" demonstration. The slogans included support for the "workers'" takeover of *República* and Radio Renascença.

Young people started gathering early in the Praça Humberto Delgado, where the march was to begin. They seemed spirited, but there were not all that many of them. Only a few thousand.

Delegations of soldiers marched in uniform from the Abrantes and Santa Margarita bases. But I counted only 250 soldiers, far less than reported in previous demonstrations. One of the participants told me that the base commander had developed some effective methods of preventing soldiers from leaving their bases for such marches.

There was also another soldiers' demonstration at the same time in Entroncamento, which drew away potential supporters. It was unfortunate that the military opposition divided its forces when the decisive test was in Oporto.

A March of Radicalized Youth

The march started moving slowly and picked up speed after it got out of the square. Its first destination was the Regional Military Headquarters in the Praça da



SOARES: SP leader is calling on military to back "democratic legality."

República. At that point, about sixty uniformed soldiers from the Chaves base marched toward the main group and joined it. It was a dramatic moment as the tight bloc of soldiers converged with the enthusiastic demonstrators.

This addition, with some others, may have brought the military contingent up to about 400. That was impressive. It was enough to reflect extensive radicalization in the armed forces. But it did not demonstrate a revolutionary advance. Nor did the march in general. It was a march of radicalized youth, not unlike many in the United States during the antiwar movement, or in other capitalist countries far more stable than Portugal.

Under the circumstances, it marked a grave defeat for the RASP soldiers and the opposition movement in the military more generally.

In the week after the Oporto demonstration, informants told me that a repressive atmosphere was growing again in the barracks and that the opposition was becoming at least momentarily demoralized. In fact, none of the participants I talked to seemed very certain of its perspectives.

They noted that the numbers of the armed forces were being reduced very rapidly, that the more politicalized elements were being mustered out, and that plans were well under way to rebuild the army as a smaller, more reliable, professional force.

I had the impression that the leaders of the military opposition made a mistake similar to that of the ultralefts in the United States during the antiwar movement once they got interested in work in the army. They lost sight of the fact that military work is dependent on political work in the general population. They tended to view work in the armed forces either in isolation from the general political struggle, or in connection with "people's power" projects that in the terms conceived were more or less illusory.

In the context of a national political situation that is still strongly colored by the Stalinists' attempt to use bodies formed by relatively small groups of activists under their control or influence as a way of countering SP demands for majority rule, the vanguardism of the movement in the armed forces was doubly disastrous.

This vanguardism enables the bourgeois parties and the right-wing SP leaders to present the opposition movement among the soldiers as part of the CP campaign to maintain its influence through thug methods. What the Stalinists have been trying to do in all areas is to impose their objectives by the force of their machine without paying any attention to majority will. They do this in the name of unrepresentative or self-elected "workers committees," "struggle committees," and so forth, and under the cover of the most shameless demagoguery.

Obviously in a military contest, groups acting to achieve their objectives through direct action without gaining the support of a majority of the workers has particularly disturbing implications. This sort of thing lends plausibility to the SP's repeated alarms about "left coup" plots. The alarmist cries are designed to create the conditions for the reestablishment of "legal," that is, hierarchical, authority in the armed forces.

Rolando Masferrer Assassinated

Rolando Masferrer, leader of a private army of an estimated 2,000 goons in Batista's Cuba, was killed October 31 in Miami. A dynamite bomb exploded as he tried to start his car.

During the seven years of the Batista dictatorship, Masferrer functioned as the Al Capone of Oriente Province. A senator and newspaper publisher, he was one of Batista's strongest allies and enjoyed government support for his vigilante activities against rebel leaders and for vast crime operations.

A high percentage of the 20,000 political murders the Castro government calculates took place under Batista have been attributed to Masferrer's "Tigers," as his private army was known.

The Occupation of 'O Século'

LISBON—The process of the opposition in the Portuguese armed forces becoming discredited by association with Stalinist antidemocratic schemes has been accelerated by a particularly gross example of thuggery in the last week, the occupation of *O Século*.

The case is virtually a caricature of the take-over of the unofficial Socialist party daily *República* in May in which ultralefts and Stalinists cooperated. The methods perfected at that time have been applied in a well-oiled operation whose smoothness makes a mockery of the pretense that it was a spontaneous action by the workers who wanted to maintain "nonpartisan class unity."

The conflict began October 27, when an assembly of workers in the Sociedade Nacional de Tipografia, which publishes *O Século* as well as a number of magazines and books, voted 363 to 62 to oust the Communist party editors and replace them with a group that represented a coalition of Socialist party members and a Maoist group.

After the vote, according to the SP supporters, the minority walked out and met in another room. When most of the workers had left, thinking the assembly had finished its work, the minority group returned, now making up a majority. Then it passed motions opposing the previous decision, and at the same time it announced its determination to prevent a change in the line of the paper by force if necessary.

On October 28, representatives of the majority group occupied the editorial offices, acting, as they said, to force the implementation of the assembly's decisions. The old Stalinist editors had proposed that the paper be run during the dispute by a provisional board composed of the state interventor Major Rego, and three journalists. The majority group, however, rejected this solution.

The Stalinist-controlled typographical union backed the minority group and provided its essential muscle as it had in the *República* occupation. The Socialist party majority group tried to put out an issue of *O Século* on the offset machine, but that was occupied by a squad from the typographical union.

On October 31, the minority group succeeded in putting out an issue of the paper with the old Stalinist line. In this issue, it published a communiqué that said:

The group occupying the editorial offices announced that it would not respect the decision of the administration, proposing to publish a "second" *O Século* in offset, which it proved unable to accomplish. . . .

An assembly made up essentially of production workers decided to make a last attempt at achieving a common platform with the other workers. For this purpose, the workers went to the editorial offices and tried to engage in a dialogue, which was immediately rejected.

In face of this situation, the workers left the room, and meeting again in an assembly after contacting the administration, elected by acclamation a comrade production worker as interim editor of *O Século*. The blue- and white-collar workers present decided to put out the paper.

In the meantime, many motions of support have come into the *O Século* offices condemning the divisionist maneuvers on this paper and energetically repudiating party political interference as well as the "economic blackmail of the Ministry of Mass Communications, which is aimed at silencing an organ in the service of the revolution," as the Railroad Workers Union said. [This union is Stalinist-controlled.]

Because *O Século*, an old bourgeois paper, was owned by the banks, it became state property after the nationalization of banking. In the struggle that followed the ouster of the editors compromised with the old regime, the Stalinists managed to gain the leading positions. They did this through the strength of their machine and through their alliances with the military.

The paper has been the most openly and unreluctantly partisan and crudely propagandistic of the CP-controlled dailies. Its popularity among the general public is in conformity with its character. It has a huge deficit and cannot survive without large subsidies. The proposals of the Socialist party that the paper broaden its editorial board or give up its subsidies have been denounced by the Stalinists and their ultraleft allies as "economic blackmail."

The Stalinist communiqué continued:

Likewise, we could mention the support of the Lisbon metalworkers union, the Setúbal metalworkers union, the Southern Printing Workers Union, the Secretariat of the Aveiro district council of Intersindical, the Intersindical District Council in Castelo Branco, the Pottery Workers Union of the Coimbra district, the Hotel Workers Union . . . the organizing committee in the national printing office and mint ("energetically repudiating the reactionary maneuvers of the Social Democrats, and the fascists of the ELP [Exército de Libertação Portuguesa—Portuguese Liberation Army] and the CIA. . .").

In another statement, the Stalinist "workers committee" said:

Several hundred workers concentrated during last night and early this morning at the doors of

O Século to demonstrate their support for the struggle of its workers against the divisionism fomented from outside and against the "blackmail" methods of Minister Almeida Santos [the SP minister of information] and for information at the service of the revolutionary process under way in our country.

Some of the slogans shouted by the demonstrators revealed a perfect identity of feeling with the workers inside: "Down with Almeida Santos's blackmail," "Long live the working class," "Reactionaries out of the newspapers now," "Soldiers always, always at the side of the people," "*O Século* will win," and "Get the paper in the street now." "Workers control, yes; negotiations, no," "Information in the service of the revolution."

At various points, the demonstrators sang the revolutionary anthem, the "Internationale," and the Chilean fighting song "Venceremos."

The workers united will win.

In line with this demagoguery, the paper made concessions to the ultralefts. It played up some statements and actions of ultraleft groups as the CP faction escalated its rhetoric seeking left cover for its maneuver.

The Socialist party papers claimed that the demonstration referred to by the group in control of *O Século* was a CP goon squad sent to make sure the distribution of the paper would not be blocked.

On November 3, supporters of the majority group demonstrated outside the *O Século* building. The Stalinist "Struggle Committee" issued a communiqué saying:

During the night, possibly as a result of hysterical appeals launched by the group that assaulted our office in Rossio Square . . . Nazi-fascist-type hordes of the MRPP gathered outside the building. Their clear intention was to cooperate with the group occupying the editorial offices to prevent the paper from coming out.

When the journal was almost ready in the printshop, a big disturbance started outside, with an announcement that the group of provocateurs inside was going to occupy the press. The workers present mobilized rapidly and occupied the strategic points. . . . As a result of the precautions taken, this maneuver was not carried out. But when the paper came off the press, the group of provocateurs that was occupying the distribution office moved to the door of the building with the apparent objective of obstructing the trucks.

In the meantime, the Military Police force that had guarded the area during the night sent to the administration some elements who seemed interested in negotiations between the Struggle Committee and the group of provocateurs, which was now impossible. The discussion went on for a long time. (As day approached, groups of workers supporting the publication of the paper concentrated outside.) We got out of the impasse only with the arrival of reinforcements from other military units, which made it possible to carry out the wishes of the workers. . . .

After this the workers met in an assembly, and following a discussion of the situation, decided to remove various elements of the group of provocateurs from the enterprise as the only way of normalizing its activity (which was being impeded by these provocateurs) and of eliminating fifth columns.

In the November 5 *O Século*, the Struggle Committee announced the suspension of sixteen employees of the enterprise, including those elected by the October 27 assembly.

bly to run the paper.

In the November 4 issue of *Jornal Novo*, an independent daily close to the SP, the editor, Arturo Portelha Filho, posed the issues this way:

Suppose it had not been a paper but a country. And when 80 or 90 percent voted for something, it was not these who won but the 10 or 20 percent. And then when the 80 or 90 percent timidly

claimed that this was not right, that they were the majority, that the democracy established by Greece, the French revolution, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and the April 25 revolution defined the rights of the majority—then this 80 or 90 percent was purged.

He ended his essay by saying:

Let there be no doubt about it, it is not a paper that is in question, it is a country.

In fact, the Stalinists' objectives are

limited to maintaining a bureaucratic influence in a capitalist state. But obviously such bullying and "big lie" tactics are apt to provoke very strong reactions from those whose rights are abused. It is precisely this sort of thing that may convince a decisive section of the Portuguese people that the CP is planning a coup, in conjunction with the ultraleft, and that any kind of alliance is justified to prevent this. □

10,000 Demonstrate at New Zealand Parliament

Maori March for Land Rights Draws Wide Support

By George Fyson

WELLINGTON—About 10,000 Maoris gathered in Parliament grounds here October 13. The demonstration concluded a historic march for land rights that began one month earlier when several dozen marchers set out from Te Hapua, at the northern tip of the North Island, 700 miles away. Tens of thousands of Maoris in total participated in the march at some stage.

The march, which passed through the central city streets of Wellington before reaching Parliament, was made up almost entirely of Maoris. Many had walked off jobs. Construction sites were silent with the workers all out on the march; truck drivers left their vehicles beside the road to join in.

The marchers sang and chanted traditional Maori verses, as well as the song specially written for the land march by its central leader, eighty-two-year-old Whina Cooper.

The Wellington demonstration, one of the largest ever seen in the capital city, presented the demand that all legislation having the power to "take Maori land, alienate Maori land, designate Maori land, or confiscate Maori land" be repealed, and that this should be reversible only by a national referendum of Maoris.

Today Maoris own less than four million acres of land, out of New Zealand's total sixty-six million acres. Most of this land was taken in the second half of the nineteenth century following a series of resistance wars in which many Maori tribes united under an elected king against the British colonists.

The majority of Maoris now live in the cities, forming an important section of the industrial working class. They number about 9 percent of New Zealand's population of three million.

The current Labour government, elected

in 1972 with strong Maori support, took steps to slow down the process of dispossessing Maoris of their land. But it was its failure to put a halt to the land loss that prompted the Maori march.

The march arrived in Wellington at the close of the parliamentary session and just as the general election campaign is beginning. The power and the united character of this action have forced both government and opposition politicians to take far more serious notice of Maori demands. One sign of this is the recent announcement by the opposition National (conservative) party that they would amend certain laws, such as parts of the Town and Country Planning

Act, under which Maori land has been taken.

As well as forcing the government onto the defensive, the march has had a big impact on the Maori community. When the march began, Syd Jackson, a leader of the Maori radical group Nga Tamatoa (Young Warriors), said, "This is the beginning of a new type of politics. . . . Even if only two people make it to Wellington it will be an achievement because it has taken us 135 years to get that far."

The way in which support for the Maori land march snowballed as it traversed the North Island indicates that a "new type of politics" can indeed be expected in the Maori community. □

Arabs in Galilee Protest Israeli Land Grab

Israeli Arabs have initiated protests over a five-year plan to increase the Jewish population in the area of Galilee. Dr. Khanis Saliba, one of the organizers of the National Conference for Defense of Arab Land, claims that the Israeli regime ultimately plans to confiscate 15,000 to 20,000 acres of Arab land to make room for new Jewish settlements.

"It's part of a gradual process of taking over our land," he said. "In the 27-year history of this state, land transactions have gone in only one direction: from Arabs to Jews. Never the other way around."

The racist character of the Zionist regime and its population plans was indicated by a report on a parliamentary discussion on the ratio of Jews to Arabs in Galilee in the August 21 issue of the Israeli daily *Maariv*.

"The Knesset working party discussed

the problems of the Judaization of Galilee and especially the issue of apartments being sold to Arabs in Upper Nazareth," *Maariv* reported. "Knesset Member Yigal Cohen (Likud) suggested that a local population committee be formed to keep an eye on prospective buyers. He also suggested that the Land Authority and the Ministry of Housing should not permit the sale of housing to any but Jewish applicants. The members of the working party promised to raise the matter in the Knesset debate."

Shmuel Toledano, the prime minister's Jewish adviser on Arab affairs, told *New York Times* reporter Terence Smith, "I recognize that we must take some Arab land if we are going to go ahead with the expansion of Upper Nazareth and the other communities. But I am frankly afraid of the impact it is going to have on our relations with the Israeli Arabs." □

The CIA and the Kurdish Struggle in Iraq

By David Frankel

Does acceptance of arms from one or another imperialist power brand a struggle as reactionary? The question has come up once again in regard to the fight of the Kurds in Iraq for autonomy.

It was widely known that the shah of Iran supplied the Kurdish rebels with arms until he reached an agreement with the Iraqi regime in March. Now, as a result of congressional hearings on the Central Intelligence Agency, it has been revealed that Richard Nixon ordered the CIA to send a shipment of arms worth several million dollars to the Kurds.

John M. Crewdson reported in the November 2 *New York Times* on information provided by "a senior intelligence official." According to Crewdson, the official "said the delivery, made up of Soviet and Chinese arms, was delivered to the rebel forces through the Iranian Government after the Shah of Iran asked former President Richard M. Nixon to provide military assistance to the Kurds during Mr. Nixon's visit to Teheran in May, 1972."

It was not explained how the CIA obtained such large quantities of "Soviet and Chinese arms" or whether the supplying of arms made in China or the Soviet Union is a common CIA practice to disguise White House aid.

The shah's role in the transaction, of course, had nothing to do with concern over the rights of the Kurdish people. He explained his intentions in a cynical interview with Egyptian journalist Mohammed Hassanein Heykal, which was published in the September 17 issue of the Tehran daily *Kayhan*.

"I would like to make it clear," he said, "that we did not invent the Kurdish revolution but merely faced it as an existing reality. . . . The Kurdish revolution offered itself as an opportunity for us to take advantage of."

"Do we want to create a Kurdish problem? Of course not. You must realize that we ourselves have a large Kurdish minority."

"For years the ruling regimes in Iraq maintained a hostile attitude toward Iran. Didn't we have the right to react to that attitude? And didn't we have the right to use any opportunity that arose?"

The aggrieved shah ended on a note of reconciliation, however, saying, "The Iraqis stopped their hostilities, and so did we."

Oponents of the Kurdish struggle used the fact that the fighters were receiving aid



Sven Simon/Christian Science Monitor

BARZANI: CIA gave Kurdish leader shipment of Soviet and Chinese arms.

from the shah to smear it as a proimperialist movement. The most active role in this campaign was played by the pro-Moscow Stalinists.

The Kremlin had supported the Kurds during the 1960s. But in April 1972 the Iraqi regime signed a fifteen-year treaty with Moscow, and the following month two members of the Iraqi Communist party were brought into the cabinet. As a result, the past was conveniently forgotten.

The head of the Iraqi CP wrote in January 1975: "The attempts of the imperialist oil monopolies to retain their hold on our country have been frustrated; so international reaction is now pinning its hopes on the right wing of the Kurdish movement. . . . The anti-Soviet tendencies of the Kurdish rightists gladden reactionaries of all hues."

The Stalinists hailed the accord between the Iraqi Baathist regime and the shah that enabled Baghdad to crush the rebellion.

The March 19 *Daily World*, newspaper of the CPUSA, printed an article by William Pomeroy that went so far as to suggest that perhaps the shah was turning into a progressive ruler.

"Behind the settlement with Iraq," Pomeroy said, "lies an important shift of policy by Iran, a nation which, with the encouragement of U.S. imperialism in particular, had been inclined to seek an overlord role in the Middle East. It had close ties with Israel and unfriendly relations with the Arab states. The October War in 1973, however, and the consequent 'energy crisis' that brought deep contradictions between U.S. imperialism and the oil-producing states has altered the Shah's outlook."

Unfortunately, the Stalinists have not been alone in denouncing the Kurdish struggle, and the confirmation that the Kurds obtained arms from Washington will no doubt be seized on as justification for this attitude.

However, the fact remains that the Kurdish struggle is a legitimate expression of the demand of an oppressed nationality for self-determination. As such it deserves the unconditional support of all revolutionists.

There is nothing new in national liberation movements turning to one or another imperialist power for material support. The Irish revolutionists, who led the famous Easter Rebellion of 1916, for example, turned to Germany for aid. A German submarine loaded with arms was sent, but was captured by the British. Had the arms arrived safely, would this have justified the dismissal of the Irish liberation struggle as a German imperialist plot?

A similar example was the struggle of the Arab people for independence from the Ottoman Empire during World War I. A massive Arab rebellion was encouraged by British agent T.E. Lawrence ("Lawrence of Arabia"), and armed by British imperialism. Was the demand of the Arab masses for independence and their rebellion against the Ottoman Empire therefore a British plot, not deserving of support?

The answer of revolutionary socialists is that the right of self-determination is an inviolable principle, and peoples denied this right by an oppressor nation are justified in fighting for it by any means necessary. This includes the right to take advantage of whatever contradictions may exist among the world powers and to accept arms from

any source that will supply them.

The question of who is leading the struggle, or of what other forces may seek to reap profit from it, is secondary to the main principle.

Support to a national liberation struggle means in essence support to the right of a people to establish its own state and choose its own leadership. No socialist would dream of questioning the right of the masses in an imperialist country to vote for the policies and the leaders of their choice, even if they disagreed with the result.

Thus, in the case of the Kurds, there are really only two questions that need be asked to determine what attitude to take toward their struggle:

Are they a nation?

Are they fighting against oppression?

Why the Kurds Fought

Not even the Iraqi government disputes the fact that the Kurds are a distinct people. They have their own language, culture, and history, and a long record of struggle around nationalist demands. Furthermore, the regime in Baghdad admits that the Kurds faced persecution under its predecessors, but argues that all this has now changed. The Iraqi Baathists point to the "Law for Autonomy in the Area of Kurdistan," a decree issued by the government in March 1974, as proof that the Kurds are no longer oppressed.

This "autonomy" law is a cynical fraud. There are no elections in Iraq under the Baathist regime and in keeping with this reality the Legislative Council for Kurdistan set up by the autonomy law is appointed by the central government. Furthermore, written into the law is the provision that any law passed by the Kurdish regional government can be vetoed by a special committee appointed by the central government.

Against the phony autonomy law, it is necessary to weigh the systematic discrimination against the Kurds in the following areas:

- Economic development. Only 3 percent of Iraqi industries are located in Kurdish areas. Only one of the twenty-five members of the Economic Planning Board is a Kurd. Iron and steel plants have been built in Basra, although the raw material comes from Kurdistan. Similarly, while denying that Kirkuk, Khanaqin, and similar oil-rich areas are Kurdish, the Baathist regime admitted this in fact by refusing to construct oil refineries in these areas.

The Kurds amount to 20 or 25 percent of Iraq's population, but only 7 to 12 percent of the national budget is spent in the Kurdish areas.

- Employment and education. For the last ten years no Kurds have been allowed to enter the Air Force College. Medical,

dentistry, agricultural, and engineering colleges discriminate heavily against Kurds. Only 7 percent of all university students in Iraq come from the Kurdish areas, and the percentage of Kurds in secondary schools is half that of Arabs.

- Language and culture. The Iraqi Ministry of Information published more than 100 books in 1972, but not one of them was in Kurdish, or about the Kurds or Kurdistan. There are few television programs in Kurdish, and there are no plans to build new radio or TV stations in Kurdish areas.

It is these conditions that have produced Kurdish rebellions.

What Washington Wanted

The fact that Washington sent arms to the Kurds is worth considering from another angle as well. When a government chooses to supply arms to one side in a war, it is a natural assumption that it is interested in seeing the side it is supplying win. However, that is not always the case.

Iran and Turkey are Washington's only allies bordering the Soviet Union's southern boundary. Both of them have considerably larger Kurdish minorities than does Iraq, and both of them have suppressed Kurdish nationalist movements in the past. An independent Kurdistan, or even the success of the Kurds in winning autonomy within the Iraqi state, would threaten the equilibrium of both the Iranian and Turkish regimes.

The shah alluded to this danger in the interview cited above. Washington was also well aware of this, and it had no desire to upset the status quo among its own allies. Its aim was simply to maintain the Kurdish

rebellion as an ongoing internal problem for the Iraqi regime, while not giving the Kurds enough aid to attain their objectives. This plan had to be abandoned when the shah decided he had more to gain from a deal with Baghdad than by backing the Kurds.

There are numerous precedents for double games of this type. Both the Soviet and Chinese bureaucracies gave limited arms aid to the Vietnamese freedom fighters while attempting to hold them back from an outright victory. However, thanks in part to the international campaign of solidarity with the Vietnamese freedom struggle, things worked out considerably better for them than for the Kurds.

Since the recent defeat of the Kurds (see *Intercontinental Press*, March 24, p. 392), Washington gave the blade in their back another twist. Quoting "an unimpeachable source," *Christian Science Monitor* correspondent Dana Adams Schmidt reported November 3 that Mustafa al-Barzani, the Kurdish leader, had secretly been brought to the United States by the CIA, which arranged a medical checkup for him.

Schmidt's source revealed that while Barzani was in the United States he learned "that the Iranian Government has decided to send back to Iraq by Dec. 10 most of about 80,000 of the Kurdish refugees still in Iran. Many of those who are being sent back are going unwillingly, he said."

Barzani may have been tempted to protest, but the CIA made sure that he "was kept in total isolation." Barzani also "asked to stay [in the United States] longer but was told he must return to Iran. He asked if he could go instead to Switzerland or Sweden but was told he must go first to Iran." □

Uruguayan Trotskyists Mistreated in Prison

Mistreatment of thirteen Uruguayan Trotskyist activists and leaders jailed by the Bordaberry regime continues.

Carlos Astellano, Fernando Souto, Aldo Gili, Rubén Coronel, Walter Longo, Ramón Trelles, Luis Alberto Villarrubia, Hugo Martínez Báez, and Freddy Cabrera are being held in Libertad prison. They are barred from pursuing studies. Family visits, which are permitted only every fifteen days, must take place across a window covered with a grating—by telephone.

María Barboza, Liliana Caviglia, and Cristina Araujo are being held in a Montevideo barracks. They too are allowed family visits only twice a month and are denied access to any food except that served by prison authorities.

The Trotskyists were arrested in March and held incommunicado and tortured for several weeks. These twelve members of the

Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (Uruguay) (PST[U]—Socialist Workers party [Uruguay], sympathizing organization of the Fourth International) and its youth affiliate, the Juventud Socialista (JS—Socialist Youth), were sentenced June 9 to terms of from two to six years for "conspiracy." The presiding judge has still not stated the exact time each prisoner is to be held.

The whereabouts and charges against the thirteenth Trotskyist prisoner—Yuber Pereira—are unknown.

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UN Report Scores Torture in Chile

By Judy White

Chile's representative to the United Nations General Assembly's Social, Humanitarian and Cultural Committee voted October 17 in favor of a resolution condemning Zionism as "a form of racism and racial discrimination." This surprising vote by one of the most compliant supporters of Washington, which spearheaded opposition to the resolution, was denounced the following day as a vote-selling operation.

A high official at the American Mission to the United Nations was reported by the *New York Times* to have charged Chile with voting for the motion in exchange for Arab support in an upcoming vote on a UN report documenting torture of Chilean political prisoners.

On October 30 Chile reversed its position, announcing it would abstain on the anti-Zionist resolution in the General Assembly. Pinochet stated that the previous vote "did not have his approval" and that it would be "rectified."

The UN report, released October 14, accuses the Pinochet junta of "arbitrary detention, torture, deportation, and firing" against "real or presumed" opponents. It was drafted after a seven-month investigation by representatives from Pakistan, Austria, Sierra Leone, Ecuador, and Senegal.

A key section of the report lists eleven centers throughout the country where political prisoners are questioned "by methods amounting to torture."

The junta published a half-page advertisement in the October 23 *New York Times* rejecting the findings of the report as "hearsay" from persons "who have long been absent from the country."

"At the proper time," the ad said, the Chilean delegation to the UN will provide a detailed answer to the report's findings. It is to be hoped that the delegation will also explain how the UN fact-finding committee was supposed to interview witnesses *inside* Chile when the junta refused to grant it permission to enter the country.

Nonetheless, eighty-three witnesses—mainly Chileans in exile—and eyewitness reports previously submitted by the Organization of American States, among others, provided the committee with enough documentation to yield a 132-page preliminary report.

Detailed descriptions of torture techniques and the names of some military and



People's World

CORVALAN: Tortured by Chilean jailers.

police officers who had administered them were included.

"Although the present military government has been in power for two years," the report stated, "evidence recently recorded tends to reveal an increase in the resort to psychological torture, particularly in the form of moral pressure and the use of drugs."

Detailed accounts of how such torture methods are used appeared in an article in the Mexico City daily *Excelsior* some months ago. One case reported was that of Chilean Communist party General Secretary Luis Corvalán:

"Subjected to confinement; isolation; starvation diet (one serving of soup a day); intensely cold climate; beatings and the application of electricity to the mouth, penis, and anus; simulated shooting after having dug what was to be his grave; continuously blindfolded for a period of ten days. They used LSD to produce intense sexual stimulation and loss of mental control, which, added to his general depression, had an effect of twice the normal magnitude. Then they extracted blood from him.

"When the effect of the 'cocktail' begins to diminish, the organism sinks into a limitless, total, or deep depression. Approximately three hours after Corvalán took LSD,

they gave him massive doses of Reserpina, which markedly accentuated the depression brought on by the previous experiment.

"It should be pointed out that the choice of this active depressant also produces alterations in vasomotor [nerves that supply the muscle fiber of the walls of blood vessels] functioning. These are generally unpredictable because they are a function of the general state of the prisoner.

"Latest reports indicated that Luis Corvalán's health has gotten worse because of a stomach ulcer and acute sinusitis, factors that aggravate his specific mental condition even more.

"He was taken to a psychiatrist who subjected him to extended interrogation, during which Corvalán showed no motor response but was still able to respond orally. After this series of experiments he was compelled to carry out forced labor."

Attached to the UN report were the names of 164 "missing" persons who were thought to have been either arrested or killed.

In July the Chilean press reported that 119 missing "extremists" had been found dead, killed "by their own compañeros" in various countries of Latin America and Europe. The impression given was that they had left Chile after the September 1973 coup to carry out revolutionary work abroad. Their violent deaths, it was said, showed they would "shoot each other like rats" in arguments over money and personal affairs.

However, affidavits sworn by relatives and attorneys stated that all 119 had been detained by the junta *inside* Chile since May 1974.

Moreover, when the mother of Luis Alberto Gundelman—one of the 119—flew to Argentina to identify his body, she saw it was not her son. The corpse lacked childhood scars Luis had, it had far more fillings in the teeth, and the identification card on the body had Gundelman's name misspelled. Similar falsifications have been discovered in the cases of others among the 119.

Junta representatives visiting the United States in recent months have received the "red carpet" treatment, Jack Anderson reported in his syndicated column October 16.

Col. Manuel Contreras Sepulveda, head of the Dirección de Inteligencia Nacional (DINA—National Intelligence Service), vis-

'SWP Urges Release

of Luis Corvalán

[Peter Camejo, Socialist Workers party candidate for president, sent the following cable to Gen. Augusto Pinochet November 5.]

* * *

I demand the immediate release of Luis Corvalán, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Chile, unjustly imprisoned by the Chilean junta under brutal conditions since September 27, 1973. Corvalán and all political prisoners must be freed at once and democratic rights restored to Chile.

ited the United Nations while the subcommittee report was in preparation.

DINA, which Anderson described as "a Latin American version of the CIA, FBI and Defense Intelligence Agency all lumped together," is the main agency implementing the junta's policy of bloody repression. Contreras reportedly attempted to convince UN officials that its committee was barred because it consisted of Marxists, assorted leftists, and troublemakers.

The colonel proceeded from New York to the capital, where he met with CIA Deputy Director Lt. Gen. Vernon Walters and members of the House International Organization Subcommittee.

Shortly before Contreras's visit, junta press attaché Federico Willoughby also visited Washington to speak with the CIA, the State Department, and several congressmen.

White House aid to the Pinochet junta amounted to \$291.8 million in fiscal 1975, according to a letter printed in the *New York Times* October 16.

Herbert Semmel and Louis Diaz broke the aid down as follows:

\$25 million under the Foreign Assistance Act.

\$62 million under the Food for Peace Act.

\$55 million in "housing loans"—more than twice the amount of housing loans ever made in one year to any country in Latin America under the Foreign Assistance Act and eleven times larger than the only previous housing guarantees made to Chile (\$5 million in 1968).

\$21.3 million in direct loans from the Export-Import Bank.

\$25.3 million in guarantees and \$8.2 million in loan insurance from the Export-Import Bank.

\$95 million in payments due on rescheduled loans. □

November 17, 1975

Vladimir Herzog Found Dead in Army Prison Cell

Thousands Protest 'Suicide' of Brazilian Journalist

Several thousand persons attended a memorial service in São Paulo October 31 for a Brazilian newsman found dead in his army prison cell.

Vladimir Herzog, news editor at the state-owned educational television station TV Cultura, reported to DOI (Departamento de Operações Internas—Internal Operations Department, the São Paulo antisubversive unit) October 25 for interrogation. The army had called him in as part of an investigation of alleged "subversive" activities.

Military authorities claim he hanged himself while left alone for an hour to write a confession he had supposedly given them orally during the morning. The confession, found ripped up near his body, was said to contain admissions that Herzog had been a member of the banned Communist party since 1971 or 1972.

Skeptics of the army's version of his death pointed out that official photographs of Herzog hanging in his cell show a cloth belt around his neck tied to a steel bar in the window about five feet six inches above the floor. Herzog was five feet eleven inches tall. Friends also stated that Herzog did not wear that kind of belt.

Herzog's funeral October 27 was attended by more than 600 persons. Among them were the two federal senators from the state of São Paulo and federal and state deputies.

Although Jewish law prohibits burial in holy ground to suicides, local Jewish leaders permitted the journalist's body to be buried in a Jewish cemetery.

Thirty thousand students and professors at the University of São Paulo participated in a strike at the end of October to protest his death. The professors explained they were joining the student protest because "the climate does not permit us to carry out our teaching functions freely." Herzog had taught at the university.

The journalists union of São Paulo blamed security forces for his death and called on authorities to halt "such situations in which professional journalists in the full, clear, and public exercise of their profession remain subject to the decisions of the security organizations."

An editorial in a prominent São Paulo daily referred to the government's story on Herzog's death as an "absurd hypothesis." A local editor was quoted as saying:

"Among newsmen at least, the credibility of Brazilian security organizations is zero. We've just seen too many cases of people we know [who] were tortured to death in jail but whom authorities listed as 'hit-and-run victims' or 'shot while resisting arrest.'"

Herzog was one of at least twelve journalists arrested recently. Hundreds of other arrests have also taken place, including more than 200 in the state of São Paulo alone. □

New Limits on Immigration Threatened in Canada

A Canadian parliamentary committee has urged the imposition of a ceiling, to be set each year, on immigration into Canada. The committee was formed in March after a racist outcry against the increased entry of Blacks from the Caribbean and of Asians into Canada. Robert Trumbull reported in the November 7 *New York Times* that "the report took note of widespread anxiety over the rapidly growing number of nonwhites among immigrants to Canada. The proportion of Asian and Caribbean immigrants has risen from less than 3 percent to nearly 24 percent in 20 years."

Although the new rules are supposedly nondiscriminatory, Trumbull explained that under them "new settlers would lose the present privilege of bringing in a number of distant relatives, a cause of complaint here against immigrants from Asian and Caribbean countries where

families tend to be large and family ties are strong."

The committee recommended a ceiling on immigration no higher than 150,000. In 1974 Canada admitted 218,465 immigrants, and the figure for the first six months of 1975 was 94,907. Thus, immigration would be cut even further than under the old policy, which required applicants to have language and job skills and which left considerable discretion to racist immigration officials. More than 600,000 persons apply to settle in Canada each year.

Unemployment Up in West Germany

West German unemployment rose by more than 50,000 in October, going from 1,005,500 in September to 1,061,100. This lifted the unemployment rate from 4.4 percent to 4.6 percent.

Behind the Ferment in Hangchow

By Kai Chang

[The following article appeared in the October issue of *October Review*, a revolutionary-socialist monthly published in Hong Kong. The translation was done for *Intercontinental Press* by Jerry Chow.]

* * *

Since the middle of July, on the basis of broadcasts of the Chekiang provincial radio, China watchers in Hong Kong have reported unrest in the city of Hangchow. According to these reports, workers demanded higher wages. The demands were followed by strikes, slowdowns, factional strife, and "sabotage" in many of the city's factories. Ten thousand troops were sent to these factories "to participate in production." The leadership in the province warned that those involved in the strikes would meet merciless suppression.

Earlier in the year, foreign correspondents in Peking reported that railroad workers in Chekiang Province had been on strike and that some of the striking workers had been arrested. This beautiful area, best known to foreigners as the favorite vacation retreat of Chairman Mao Tsetung, was said to have been closed to foreign visitors for several months.

The country's dailies and periodicals have not yet reported the whole event clearly. However, issues of *Renmin Ribao* (People's Daily) carried the following news:

"Substantial numbers of workers at the Hangchow Steel Plant, Hangchow Silk Printing and Dyeing Plant, Hangchow No. 1 Cotton Mill, Hangchow No. 2 Cotton Mill, and Chekiang Hemp Spinning and Weaving Mill . . . are determined to further strengthen revolutionary unity and develop the national economy. . . . Owing to both the influence of the counterrevolutionary and revisionist line and the interference of bourgeois factionalism, these enterprises were unable for a time to increase production. . . .

"In the most recent period, these enterprises have time and again called meetings to make oaths to promote revolution and production. . . . They have exposed and beaten back those bad elements who intended to destroy peace and solidarity and to sabotage revolution and production. . . .

"Everybody expressed the need to arrive at a satisfactory solution to the whole situation. . . . In the past few days the production of sacks, linen, raw silks, and silk goods has increased quite rapidly." (*Ren-*



MAO: Finds thoughts not sufficient for increasing production, uses troops.

min Ribao, July 14, 1975.)

In the Hangchow Clutch Factory, "during last year's campaign to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, a handful of people in the factory, because of bourgeois influences, carried out wrong activities with the intention of weakening and even getting rid of the leadership of the party. . . . For some time a fallacy that ran counter to our party's line of promoting revolution and production appeared in the society. . . . Many workers, however, actively participated in voluntary labor and resisted wrong ideas with concrete actions." (*Renmin Ribao*, August 15, 1975.)

"A number of PLA [People's Liberation Army] soldiers entered plants to participate in production on the eve of Army Day, August 1. During the recess periods, they devoted themselves to propagating among the workers the major directives of Chairman Mao and the party center. . . . As a result of their hard work, workers started to follow the PLA soldiers' example and work hard and conscientiously for the purpose of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. Therefore, production has gradually increased." (*Renmin Ribao*, August 2, 1975.)

In the Jin-hwa railway district of the Hangchow Railway Branch Bureau, "the

quantity of goods transported in the second quarter of this year was nearly double that of the first quarter. Since March of this year, the transport quota has been surpassed nearly every month." (*Renmin Ribao*, August 10, 1975.)

If we dig out the facts hidden under this Maoist phraseology, it is clear that the following things have been confirmed by *Renmin Ribao*:

1. Actions detrimental to production had repeatedly surfaced in Hangchow. The output of many enterprises stagnated owing to slowdowns and strikes. After the "bad elements" were attacked—in other words, after the striking workers were suppressed—production "increased quite rapidly."

2. Rail transport in the vicinity of Hangchow was operating at only half its capacity before March of this year. This indicates that rail workers in that area were then engaging in a slowdown or even a strike.

3. There is a coincidence in the timing of the suppression of the "bad elements" in the factories and the sending of the PLA soldiers. These soldiers, ostensibly sent into the factories "to participate in production," could not really help production very much because of their lack of skills. They could not have replaced the skilled workers. One cannot help but ask why they were sent into the factories where production was stagnant.

From the information in our hands we can infer that since last year, strikes sporadically occurred in Hangchow and its vicinity and that the event reported recently was one of the biggest. The latest strike lasted for such a long period that Mao and the party center had to issue an "important directive" on the problem in Chekiang Province, and soldiers had to be sent into factories to suppress the striking workers.

The working class in China is hailed by the Maoists as the leading class in society. According to the Maoist view, they should not have engaged in strike action. Yet they did go on strike, and the scope of the strike was very extensive. This cannot be attributed to the influence of the class enemy. The fact that the Chinese Communist party called them only "bad elements," not "counterrevolutionaries," shows that their class backgrounds must be impeccable, making it impossible for the CCP to pin a worse label on them.

In fact, it is the CCP's policy alone that has caused the workers to engage in slowdowns and strike actions. Their wages have not been raised for a long time, yet their production quotas have been raised higher and higher. They have been urged to "produce more, faster, and better." All political campaigns waged by the CCP inevitably came down to an exhortation to the workers "to increase production." The workers were encouraged to contribute more

and produce more, but to receive less in return. Wage demands were denounced as "revealing bourgeois life-styles and attitudes."

An actual description of the working conditions and the level of labor intensity can be seen in the quotation below:

"At present, it is the rainy, damp, and hot season in Hangchow. However, workers, cadres, and technicians in these enterprises welcome difficulties, brave high temperatures, and strive to increase production. The workers of the Hangchow No. 2 Cotton Mill are overcoming the production difficulties that the hot and damp climate has brought about, and are striving to operate more spinning and weaving machines for the purpose of increasing production. . . . They said, 'When we work hard for the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, however hard the work is, and however tired we feel, our heart is still light.'" (*Renmin Ribao*, July 14, 1975.)

The above sufficiently illustrates the true working conditions. But how many workers really feel that "their heart is light" under severe hardship? How many would express that sentiment willingly? The slowdowns and strikes are the best answer to that.

For a long time China's rulers have asked the workers to endure this "hardship" and "tiredness." Yet they themselves can go to summer resorts for a vacation or work in air-conditioned offices during the summer. But the workers can no longer endure poor working and living conditions. They are forced to seek improvement through slowdowns and strike actions.

This is their right, and it has been recognized as legitimate by the new constitution. But the rulers did not accept the demands by the workers to change their policies. On the contrary, they not only ruthlessly suppressed the workers, but also used their propaganda machines to sing in the name of the workers the hymn, "However hard the work is, and however tired we feel, our heart is still light."

The condition of the working class in Hangchow is really just an illustration of the situation in all parts of China. The strike in Hangchow is but one of the numerous strikes that have occurred in China in the recent period. It reflects the irreconcilable contradiction between the working class and the ruling bureaucracy, which have opposing interests. It also shows that the guarantee of "workers' freedom to strike" and all other promises of democratic rights in the new constitution are empty words. The real purpose of these promises is to cover the dictatorial nature of the ruling bureaucracy.

In face of the growing discontent and opposition of the masses, the CCP has continually waged various "campaigns." These "campaigns" have two purposes: On

the one hand they put ideological pressure on the masses, urging them to work hard to increase production; on the other hand, they allow the purging of some bureaucrats whom the masses hate most.

Basically, all the recent campaigns, such as the campaign of "criticism of Lin Piao and rectification," the campaign to "criticize Lin Piao and Confucius," and the campaign for the "study of the theory of the

dictatorship of the proletariat," have these two functions.

Every "campaign," however, will inevitably arouse unrest and struggle inside the party and deepen its internal crisis. It will sap the strength of the CCP and shake the foundation of its rule. At the same time, however, these processes will also raise the political level of the masses, and their confidence in their own power will be strengthened. □

Raise Funds to Launch Daily 'Rouge'

Festival Held by French Trotskyists Draws 60,000

More than 60,000 persons went through the gates of the "Fête Rouge" organized by the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR—Revolutionary Communist League) October 18 and 19. Held in the immense Villette Hall in Paris, the festival aimed at raising funds for a daily *Rouge*, scheduled to be launched next January. The newspaper is at present published weekly by the French Trotskyists.

The LCR projected the festival as a meeting place of groups to the left of the Communist and Socialist parties in France and internationally. Groups of this type as well as sections of the Fourth International were invited to set up display booths and to promote their literature.

Those that responded included: from Italy, *Avanguardia Operaia*, *Il Manifesto*, and *Lotta Continua*; from Britain, *Workers' Fight*, *International Socialists*, *Socialist Charter*, and *International Marxist Group* (British section of the Fourth International); from France, *Lutte Ouvrière*, *Parti Socialiste Unifié*, *Libération*, *Révolution!*, and many others.

From Spain, both groupings of the Fourth International, the Communist League and the Revolutionary Communist League—ETA VI, as well as the FRAP (Revolutionary Antifascist and Patriotic Front), were represented. From Portugal a number of political groupings were represented, including the FUR (Front for Revolutionary Unity) and the SUV (Soldiers United Will Win).

Many forums and political debates featured in the festival attracted audiences as large as any of the cultural events. They covered such topics as freedom of the press in the transitional period from capitalism to socialism; the French Union of the Left; national minorities and the class struggle; the soldiers movement in France; the Portuguese revolution; the political situation in Spain; and prospects for women's liberation.

Prominent figures on the European left

were featured as speakers. They included Rossana Rossanda, Henri Weber, Perry Anderson, Ernest Mandel, Alain Krivine, J.M. Vincent, and François Maspéro.

Organizations of many different kinds came to spread information about their work and gain support for the struggles they are engaged in. Several women's liberation groups and some union locals attended.

Many defense committees, organizations of oppressed nationalities in France, ecology groups, various Portuguese revolutionary organizations, youth groups, radical publishing houses, and soldiers committees added to the wide spectrum of political and social activity represented at the festival.

The huge turnout provoked some comment in the French press. *Le Monde*, for example, reported it with a headline quote from Alain Krivine, a leader of the LCR, saying: "Alain Krivine: un succès pour tous les révolutionnaires" (a success for all revolutionists).

"The importance of this demonstration," Bernard Brigouleix said in the October 22 issue of *Le Monde*, "goes considerably beyond its strictly utilitarian interests. It was also a matter of showing that the Trotskyist movement, and tomorrow its daily newspaper, undertakes and will be undertaking actions and struggles solidly rooted in day-to-day life. . . . it was a particular success for the LCR."

Other organizations on the French left also took note of the gains registered by the LCR at the fête.

"The most important thing," *Lutte Ouvrière* said in its October 25 issue, "is that the far left was able to assemble tens of thousands of youths under its banner. The essential point here is that a Trotskyist organization was able to speak to those thousands of persons; that this success shows the vitality of the Trotskyist movement. For that reason, this success brings joy and comfort to all revolutionists." □

The Indian Economy Since Gandhi's Coup

NEW DELHI—In the last analysis, the explosive potential of the economic slump must be regarded as the main reason for Gandhi's imposition of the state of emergency in June.

When the budget was presented in March, the major economic problems facing Indian capitalists were inflation, the slackening of investment and production in both industry and agriculture, the weak financial position of the Gandhi regime, and the lack of competitiveness of the Indian economy in the midst of the worldwide depression.

The pre-budget economic survey for 1974-75, which Gandhi presented to Parliament in late February, described 1975 as the year of the most "unprecedented economic challenge since independence" and discounted any possibility of "dramatic changes in the short run."

Commenting on this survey, an editorial in the February 25 *Economic Times* remarked: "The fears are really about future development, about sluggishness of production and export, about the competitiveness of the Indian economy and the ever upward course of Indian prices and costs."

The economic survey itself concluded on a pessimistic note: "It will be unrealistic to assume that a major breakthrough in the rate of growth in industrial production is just round the corner." The survey conceded that the regime had only a limited margin of manoeuvre in bringing about a sharp acceleration in the overall rate of growth.

As the March 1 editorial in the sober *Economic Times* noted, the budget for 1975-76 was marked by the absence of any attempt to counter the escalating inflation.

How did Gandhi respond to the crisis at the time, that is, in March 1975? The theme then was "growth with stability." The dangerous economic situation had to be met somehow. Gandhi's answer was to increase production.

By June, the economic situation had considerably worsened. Kamani Engineering, one of the largest engineering complexes in Asia, was on the verge of collapse. Major marketing concerns like Voltas, Larsen, Tubro, and others reported huge stockpiles of durable consumer goods and industrial equipment. Prices had climbed to an all-time high. The purchasing power of hard-pressed consumers was steadily being eroded, leading to a growing decline in demand for a wide range of goods.

The urgency of the economic situation demanded drastic action on a political level. From this point of view, Gandhi's abolition



GANDHI: Asks Indian workers to "appreciate" country's economic difficulties.

of civil liberties was a necessity for the bourgeois economy.

This or that aspect of the tactical course followed by Gandhi, Jaya Prakash Narayan, or Morarji Desai might accelerate or retard the drive to restrict civil liberties. Ultimately, however, it is the entire system of bourgeois democracy, functioning within the conditions of a backward capitalist economy, that is at stake.

The declaration of the state of emergency has temporarily checked the economic crisis. As an editorial in the September 16 *Economic Times* said, "The Indian economy, which had been subjected to severe strain and stress, has now probably reached a state nearer stability."

Prices have stabilized somewhat. A complete industrial truce has been promised and practiced by the leadership of the major trade unions. "Industrial discipline" has led to an increase in production. Favorable monsoons have also raised hope of an improved harvest. Emergency measures have greatly slashed overtime payments to employees.

Raids, searches, the curbing of smuggling, and the arrest of some economic and social offenders have contributed to the unearthing of hoarded valuables and "black [untaxed] money." They have also reduced somewhat speculative activities in land and in the building industry.

These measures have considerably boosted the morale of the regime, and the bourgeoisie has once again rallied round Gandhi.

But it still cannot be said that the Indian economy has recovered. The editorial in the September 16 *Economic Times* pointed out, "Inflation remains a major problem in spite of the decelerating trends noticed recently."

The annual report of the Reserve Bank of India has rightly claimed that the moderation of inflation was a notable feature of 1974-75. The rise in average prices was 17% (July 1974 to June 1975) compared with 25% in 1973-74.

The lead article in the September 16 *Economic Times* commented skeptically that "even the average of 17% has to be viewed in the context of Indian social and economic conditions and the much lower rates of increase in the earlier period."

The article correctly pointed out that the decline in the rate of inflation has been brought about largely by import surpluses financed from external assistance. Data on imports corroborate this. Imports—mainly of food, fertilizer, and fuel—rose by 49% in 1974-75 compared with an increase of 29% for exports. The rise in imports doubled the trade gap from Rs. 402 crores* to Rs. 1096 crores during 1974-75. This trade gap resulted in a massive balance-of-payments deficit at the end of fiscal year 1974-75, which was financed by external assistance and drawings on the International Monetary Fund.

This large inflow of external assistance has undoubtedly contributed to helping the economy. In fact the Reserve Bank's report observed that without it the regime's fiscal and monetary policies "would have been much less effective."

It is not without reason, therefore, that the lead article of the September 15 *Economic Times* warned: "What ultimately matters is whether inflation in India is controlled—not just cyclically moderated, but permanently expelled from India's political economy."

The Reserve Bank and the Finance Ministry have claimed progress in returning the economy to normal. But certain recessionary trends have been pointed to by leading business executives and industrialists.

A September 24 *Economic Times* editorial entitled "Is recession on?" reported that

*One crore equals ten million units. A rupee is officially equivalent to US\$0.114.

there is a glut of cement, paper, steel, tyres, and a range of other products. The textile industry is swamped with unsold stock. Many engineering units are in the same position. Some steel plants have already closed down.

An *Economic Times* study of business inventories covering 290 companies showed that as a percentage of net sales inventories had increased by as much as 32.2% in 1973-74 and 34% in 1974-75. The latest data suggest that the figure has since gone up.

A lead article in the September 20 *Times of India* pointed out that the acute shortage of aluminum has turned into a large surplus. Black-market premiums on a wide range of goods have disappeared. The article also reported that the manufacturers of consumer durables are in dire straits, the building trade has come to a virtual standstill, and space in railway wagons is to be had for the asking.

It is thought that this decline in demand is a result of the drive to suppress dealings in "black money." But the *Times of India* article correctly pointed out that at best this would explain only the slump in the demand for consumer durables and to a lesser extent in the building industry. It cannot account for the lack of market for textiles, steel, cement, aluminum, tyres, and chemicals, all of which are industrial goods. Thus the editors of the *Times of India* warned September 20: "The Government cannot therefore ignore any longer the danger of a recession."

The editors of the *Economic Times* noted with satisfaction September 16 that the climate for production had improved with the restoration of "industrial peace." It is true so far as workers are concerned that economic struggles have almost come to a standstill. This is the major "achievement" of the emergency in the economic field.

The industrialists have not, of course, observed any truce. An official statement issued September 25 said: "The Government has noticed with concern that despite assurances given to the Government by the leaders of industry, instances of lay-off, retrenchment and even closures are being increasingly reported. Some of these relate to fairly large industrial establishments including units of multi-national companies."

The regime has announced that it will introduce legislation to prevent unjustified lay-offs, retrenchment, and closures in certain classes of establishments. That this pledge may be regarded with some skepticism was indicated at the end of September when Gandhi slashed the minimum bonus of the workers in the organized sector from 8.33% to 4%.

In announcing this measure, she asked the workers in the organized sector to "appreciate" the overall economic difficulties that made the cut "necessary." □

What the Figures Don't Tell

Hidden Unemployment in Japan

Under the impact of the world recession, the Japanese economy has shifted into "low gear." The high employment rate made possible by the rapid economic growth has also been curtailed. Tokyo's official labor statistics, which claim that the unemployment rate is only 2%, hide the real extent of unemployment in Japan.

New Asia News staff writer John Junkerman, in an October 24 dispatch from Tokyo, explained, "A central feature of the employment structures in Japan is the lifetime employment system, that is, guaranteed employment from the time of school graduation until compulsory retirement at age 55. Thus, except in the industries hardest hit by the current recession, such as textiles, electrical appliances and machinery, most large companies have not resorted to layoffs of regular workers but have found other ways to cut back on labor costs."

Among the methods used by the Japanese capitalists to cut back on the size of the work force are the following:

Overtime, which is a regular source of income for many Japanese, has been restricted. It fell from 15.5 hours per capita per month during 1970-74 to 7.9 hours by January 1975.

New hirings of high-school and college graduates have been drastically reduced or totally frozen. There are now only about 40% as many job openings for college graduates as there were last year.

Some of the temporary workers in Japan are seasonal, coming to the industrial areas from the countryside during the winter months. Because of the scarcity of job openings, the number of these seasonal workers dropped last year by 20%.

Day laborers, who hire out for such jobs as construction or dock work on a daily basis, have been particularly affected. Until the summer of 1974, they could find work an average of fifteen days a month. This fell to five days a month by October 1974 and recently dropped to two days a month.

Because wage rates increase steadily with seniority, companies require their workers to "retire" at the age of fifty-five, although they cannot receive pensions until they reach sixty.

Older workers are therefore forced to return to work, either in the same company or in another enterprise, at reduced wages with no employment guarantees. A survey by a labor union in Nagoya revealed that 55% of those visiting the unemployment office were more than fifty-one years old.

Women have also been hard hit, particularly by direct layoffs. The prime minister's office reported that the number of women in the working population dropped by 490,000 in 1974 and another 230,000 in the first six months of 1975. The layoff rate for women in early 1975 was twenty-six times higher than that for men. □

State of Emergency Challenged in India

Four imprisoned opposition members of Parliament have launched a court challenge against Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's declaration of a state of emergency. A.B. Vajpayee and L.K. Advani, leaders of the Hindu chauvinist Jan Sangh; S.N. Mishra, a leader of the Organisation Congress; and Madhu R. Dandavate, a leader of the Socialist party, have brought the case before the Karnataka state high court in Bangalore, the state capital.

"We are challenging the entire emergency, and the measures the Government has imposed to protect it," said Shanti Bhushan, an attorney for the four political prisoners. The outcome of the case could affect political prisoners throughout the country.

Specifically, the four opposition leaders are challenging the manner in which the emergency was declared. They say that

President Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed formally declared the emergency June 26 at the direction of Gandhi alone, not on the orders of the cabinet, as provided in the Indian constitution.

They are also contesting a constitutional amendment barring the courts from ruling on the legality of the emergency decree and a presidential amendment to the Maintenance of Internal Security Act. The amendment states that the regime need no longer disclose its reasons for arresting persons under the act.

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Socialist Youth Alliance Holds Sixth National Conference

Australian Trotskyists of the Socialist Youth Alliance held their sixth national conference in Melbourne October 4-5. Analyzing the prospects for the SYA in the coming year, the delegates noted the opening of a new stage in the radicalization of Australian youth, offering many new opportunities to make recruits to revolutionary socialism.

The political resolution, the main document discussed, was presented to the conference on behalf of the SYA national executive by Jamie Doughney, outgoing national secretary. Doughney outlined the prospects for Australian workers in the context of a growing international economic depression and Australia's worst economic crisis since the Great Depression.

"The word has gone out through the ruling circles in the capitalist world that the screws have to go on the working class and all its allies—Blacks, women, students. That call has been taken up in Australia by the Labor Government which has never more brazenly shown its subservience before, loyalty to and support for big business in this country."

The brunt of this attack will come through higher unemployment, inflation, and wage controls, he said. But they will also try to shackle unions; cut back social services, education, and public utilities; and restrict democratic rights.

The political resolution analyzed the resulting changes in the tempo of the radicalization and the prospect of increased working-class struggles. Youth will be in the forefront of these struggles, the SYA concluded.

With the aid of the SYA's new twelve-page monthly newspaper, *Young Socialist*, the conference projected a propaganda offensive to reach out to young workers and students in the schools, workplaces, campuses, and on the streets.

The conference also pledged to build support for the December 6 demonstrations being organized by the Women's Abortion Action Campaign to repeal laws restricting abortion.

Work on the defense campaign for the Brisbane Three—three activists in the Black movement who are being framed up by the racist Queensland state government—will be another priority for SYA activists in the coming months.

The political resolution also considered the changing international context, focusing on the victory of the Indochinese people over imperialism and the issues posed by the Portuguese revolution. A highlight of

the conference was a talk on the latest developments in Portugal given by Jim Percy, national secretary of the Socialist Workers League.

The SYA has always been proud of its record in defense of the Palestinian revolution, and a special resolution on Palestine was presented to the conference. The reporter was Greg Adamson, a member of the SYA national executive. The conference resolved to continue and strengthen the SYA's work in this area.

The conference also considered the explosive situation in East Timor. The SYA sees the campaign against Australian and Indonesian intervention as a central task for revolutionists in Australia. The conference called for defense of the sovereignty of the East Timorese people, and demanded that Portugal grant the colony immediate independence.

A high point of the conference was a public rally October 4. It featured a wide range of speakers:

- Kay McVey from the New Zealand Young Socialists.
- Elizabeth Wheelahan, Melbourne organizer of the SYA.
- Jim McIlroy from the Socialist Workers League. He announced the SWL's decision to run candidates in the next federal elections. (See article elsewhere in this issue.)
- Alan Pinjen, who spoke on the struggle of Malaysian students against the Abdul Razak regime, and the need for a defense campaign in Australia.
- John Garcia, one of the Brisbane Three.

• Nita Keig, editor of the fortnightly socialist newspaper, *Direct Action*.

The speeches were followed by an appeal for funds as part of SYA's drive for A\$1,000 (A\$1=US\$1.28) to help in the production of the *Young Socialist*. Participants in the rally contributed \$940 toward that target.

The final sessions of the conference dealt with the organizational plans of the SYA. Nita Keig, who presented the organization report, was later elected as the new national secretary. Following these sessions, special educational talks and discussions were held, including a panel on women's liberation, a talk by Peter Conrick on the labor struggles in the 1930s and the lessons they hold for today, and a talk by Paul Petit on the nature of today's radicalization and the strategy for revolutionists.

At different points during the conference, a number of greetings were read. A telegram was read from SYA comrades in Perth who were unable to get to the conference (Perth being 2,000 miles from Melbourne). John Tully, a representative of the Socialist League in Tasmania gave greetings and received prolonged applause when he announced the intention of the Socialist League to fuse with the SWL. (See interview with Tully in *Intercontinental Press*, November 3, p. 1492.)

Greetings were also presented by the New Zealand Young Socialists, and by the Communist League, which along with the SWL is a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International in Australia. Written greetings were read from Trotskyist groups in the United States, Hong Kong, Canada, India, and Sri Lanka. □

Australian Trotskyists Launch Election Campaign

The Socialist Workers League has opened its campaign for the coming federal elections¹ in Australia with the announcement

that it will run candidates for the Senate in at least three of the six states. The campaign was launched at the public rally held October 4 in Melbourne during the sixth national conference of the Socialist Youth Alliance.

Three of the candidates announced so far, to run in New South Wales, Victoria, and South Australia, were introduced at the rally:

Helen Jarvis, who works at Sydney University and is a postgraduate student there. Jarvis was a founding member of the Sydney women's liberation movement and was active in the early days of the anti-Vietnam War campaign in Canberra. She

1. At the time of the announcement, no date had been set for the election, although most political commentators were predicting that pressure from the Liberal-National-Country party opposition would force the Labor government to go to the polls in the near future. On October 16 the opposition, which has a majority in the Australian Senate, rejected the government's annual budget and said it would block its passage until Prime Minister Gough Whitlam resigned. With funds now cut off from government departments, an early election is certain unless the opposition backs down.

spent five years in the United States, where she was involved in antiwar and women's liberation activities. During 1975 she has been an executive member of SWL Sydney branch and prominent in the Women's Abortion Action Campaign.

Peter Conrick, a Melbourne secondary teacher. While studying at Melbourne University he was active in the anti-Vietnam War movement and was a member of the Students Representative Council. He is currently a member of the National Committee of the SWL.

Brett Trenergy, the branch organizer of the Adelaide SWL. He was active in the antiwar movement in Melbourne, as well as the secondary-school student-rights movement and the gay liberation movement. In 1973 he was a Victorian Teachers Union representative at Melbourne Teachers College.

The SWL plans to run two candidates in New South Wales, Victoria, and South Australia in the coming election, whatever its exact form and timing. The candidates would thus appear on the ballot as a Socialist Workers League slate rather than as individuals.

The three other candidates announced to

be part of the SWL slates in these three states are the following:

Gordon Adler, a radiologist at a Sydney hospital who joined the SWL in 1972 after many years as a member of the Communist party of Australia.

Jenny Ferguson, who has been active for a number of years in the women's liberation and radical movements in Melbourne.

Peter Abrahamson, an Adelaide metal-worker who has been a shop steward in the Amalgamated Metal Workers Union as well as an activist in the campaign for rights for apprentices.

This is the first time the Socialist Workers League has put up its own candidates in a parliamentary election.

In its campaign in opposition to the betrayals and anti-working-class actions of the Whitlam Labor government, the SWL will be putting forward the following policies:

For a genuine indexation scheme to counter inflation. For automatic monthly wage adjustments according to an index controlled by the union movement.

For the right to a job for all. A shorter workweek without loss of pay. A massive

system of public works to provide jobs for all.

For women's rights. Repeal all anti-abortion laws. Equal pay and opportunity for women.

For full rights for Blacks. Defend the Brisbane Three. Against police attacks on the Black community. Land rights now. (Australian Blacks are demanding recognition of their right to their tribal lands and an end to their despoliation and dispossession by mining companies and others.)

Let the Palestine Liberation Organization be heard. (Earlier this year the government denied visas to a PLO delegation.) For a democratic, secular Palestine. Let the Palestinians return to their homeland.

If a double dissolution occurs, and elections are to be held for both houses of parliament, the SWL will put forward the slogan: "Vote Socialist Workers and Return a Labor Government!"

For the Senate election, the SWL is advocating: "Vote 1 Socialist Workers! Vote 2 ALP [Australian Labor party]!"

2. Australian elections are by preferential ballot, so if the voter's first choice is not elected, his or her next preference is counted as a full vote, and so on.

Growing Support From Labor Movement

Rallies in Australia Protest Frame-up of Brisbane Three

Actions took place in five Australian cities October 13-17 demanding that all charges be dropped against the Brisbane Three, activists in the Black rights movement facing frame-up charges from the racist Queensland state government. The three, Lionel Fogarty, John Garcia, and Denis Walker, face fourteen-year jail sentences on trumped-up charges of extortion. (See *Intercontinental Press*, October 6, p. 1327.)

The largest action was in Brisbane October 13. About 500 demonstrators held a rally in King George Square before marching to the Supreme Court to protest as legal proceedings against the three took place inside. The court adjourned the case to a later date.

In Melbourne a demonstration of about 250 persons gathered outside the Queensland Government Tourist Bureau October 13. Black community leaders Bruce McGuinness and Cheryl Buchanan addressed the rally as well as Australian Union of Students (AUS) Vice-president Tas Ockenden. Messages of support were received from the Amalgamated Metal Workers Union (AMWU) and the Food Preservers Union.

Following the rally the demonstrators marched through the city. A collection for the defense fund was taken, and petitions in support of the defense effort were circulated.

In Sydney a picket of seventy persons was held outside the Queensland Government Tourist Bureau October 13. A public meeting at the Trades Hall October 17 was attended by 180 persons. Speakers included defendant John Garcia; Black public servant Charles Perkins; Jack Cambourn from the Federated Engine Drivers and Firemen's Association; Labor state Member of the Legislative Assembly George Petersen; pastor Ted Noffs from the Wayside Chapel; Black activists Pat O'Shane, Sol Bellear, and Marcia Langton; and Eric Wilson from the Sydney University group of the Student Action for Aboriginal Australians.

A rally of twenty-five persons was held in Canberra October 13, and in Adelaide fifty persons demonstrated outside Parliament House October 14.

Many prominent individuals and organizations in the labor movement have added their support to the campaign in recent weeks. Among them are the following:

Bob Hawke, president of the Australian Labor party (ALP), and president of the

Australian Council of Trade Unions; Jack Egerton, vice-president of the ALP and president of the Queensland Trades and Labor Council; Senator George Georges from Queensland; Senator Jim Keefe from Queensland; the Queensland Trades and Labor Council, which passed a motion urging affiliated bodies to "support the campaign for the defence of the three activists in whichever way possible."

Also, the New South Wales South Coast Trades and Labor Council; the Queensland branch of the Building Workers Industrial Union, which passed a motion condemning the proceedings against the three as being politically motivated and sent a check for \$100 to the defense committee; Ted Bull, an official of the Victorian Waterside Workers Federation; Merv Nixon, president of the NSW South Coast Trades and Labor Council.

Also, Peter Duncan, Adelaide state labor member of Parliament; Adelaide regional AUS conference; Flinders University Students Representative Council; Sydney branch of the AMWU; Darlington (NSW) branch of the ALP; the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation in Brisbane; Amnesty International in Brisbane.

The Impact of the Great Depression on Australian Labor

By Peter Conrick

[The following major excerpts are from an article by Peter Conrick printed in the October 16 issue of *Direct Action*, a revolutionary-socialist fortnightly published in Sydney.]

* * *

We are about to enter the third radicalization of the Australian working class. The two previous radicalizations, of the 1890s and 1930s, occurred under conditions vastly different from those of today. But the radicalizations of the past and that of the present are alike in that they are responses to circumstances created by capitalism, but the circumstances are different, occurring at different stages in the development of capitalism, and so the responses to them are not the same.

The radicalization of the 1890s was a response to the contradictions of a developing capitalism, the growth of urban areas in Melbourne and Sydney, and the heavy development of the mining and pastoral industries. The next radicalization came out of the big economic depression that struck this country after the 1920s. Unemployment, hunger, economic insecurity, and the fear of war and fascism were the factors that shaped the second big radicalization. The Second World War signaled the end of this period and brought with it a new set of conditions that were to set the outlines of the radicalization of the 1960s and 1970s.

What are the factors which we think will make the new ferment of the working class and its allies different from its predecessors? Above all, this radicalization takes place in a changed international framework. The weakened power of U.S. imperialism, heralded by the defeat in Indochina, has shifted the relationship of forces in the world in favor of the oppressed. Also, the current radicalization, unlike the situation during the 1930s, takes place in a period of ascending world revolution. In the 1930s fascism was on the march, Stalinism was approaching the peak of its domination of the workers movement, and there were demoralizing defeats like that of the Spanish revolution. The situation is very different today.

Another central point of difference is that the relative size and social weight of the Australian working class is much greater now than it was in the 1930s. The Australian working class today is a totally changed phenomenon. It is larger, more concentrat-

ed, and socially a more decisive group than forty years ago. It now includes technicians, office workers, teachers, etc., which were only peripheral layers in the 1930s.

And, of course, it is younger, and has more women and migrants in it. Perhaps the most important factor of all is that it has been and will be influenced by the radicalization of other sectors. The revolt of the youth, women, gays, Blacks, that took place in the late 1960s and early 1970s has ensured that the working class radicalization in this decade will not be a simple repetition of the 1930s. Too many women workers have been influenced by the ideas of the women's liberation movement, too many young workers have been infected by the attitudes and styles of the youth radicalization. Their ideas about work, their lack of respect for authority, their general attitude toward this society and its values and restrictions, are markedly different from those of the older workers they have replaced. The actions of younger workers in the recent printing industry dispute in Melbourne indicate just how important their influence will be in changing the outlook and role of trade unions.

1930s Depression

What then were the features and forms of the radicalization of the 1930s? What lessons can be learned from the labor militancy of the Great Depression and what were some of the mistakes made in those days that we don't want to repeat?

By any standard, the Australian economy fared badly during the 1930s. Its fate was common to all countries dependent on world market prices for primary products and a new heavy industry based on a high inflow of foreign capital. This is basically why Australian capitalism did so badly in the depression and why Australian workers suffered so greatly.

Despite strong established trade unions and the historic acquisition of a labor party, the working class could not hold back the tide of mass unemployment and poverty. One of the big differences today is that the working class has come to expect a standard of living well above that of the twenties and thirties. This means that any attempts to cut back on wages and incomes will be met with fierce resistance. It is going to be much harder for the bosses to significantly reduce the standard of living of Australian

workers than it was in the 1930s. Expectations are that much greater.

This is not to say that attacks on living conditions were not resisted in the 1930s. One of the common events of everyday life in the Great Depression was the eviction of people from their homes when they were unable to pay the rent. Organized defiance of evictions was an important way working people fought back against landlords and housing authorities. In many cases the police were used to brutally throw people out of their own homes.

And despite the demoralization in the depths of the depression, there were those who resisted unemployment, like the miners at Rothbury in NSW [New South Wales] who refused to be laid off and were gunned down by the cops.

Failure of ALP and Unions

By and large these people got no support from their trade unions. Both the unions and the Labor party failed miserably to protect the interests of their members and supporters. The federal Labor government of James Scullin, like the Whitlam government today, capitulated to big business in the name of preserving the status quo. And the trade-union bureaucrats, like their counterparts today, put their faith in mild reforms rather than mount an attack on the power and privilege of big business.

They always had their scapegoats to explain their betrayals. The labor bureaucracy has never been short of excuses to explain its fear of real social change. At one stage, back in the 1890s, the scapegoats were the Chinese and the Pacific Islanders who came here as immigrant workers. Racism was once a shabby part of Australian laborism. In the 1930s it was the banks, the money sharks, and the incorrect belief that "money power" was the source of all evil that became the bureaucrats' explanation for the misery created by capitalism. Today the multinational corporations have become the whipping boy for the labor lieutenants of capitalism in the ALP [Australian Labor party] and the unions. They have latched onto the multinationals as the justification for doing nothing to save or create jobs and improve the lot of the working people.

Their denunciation of the multinationals is neither revolutionary nor radical. It's a cover, just as the "money power" conspira-

cy theory was a cover hastily pulled down over the betrayals of the thirties. Jack Lang¹ explained away his whole dirty political career by blaming an international monetary plot, just as Connor² and Cairns³ will write in their memoirs how they were crucified by the multinationals.

Some of you might recall the influence that these quack theories had in the 1930s. One of the most enduring of these was the fear of banks. Of course, to some extent, the distrust of banks was well founded, but a lot of it was used by the union bureaucrats and labor brass as a substitute for a real analysis of capitalism.

The attempt by Labor to cope with the Great Depression produced many strange theories of international monetary plots. It is appropriate to quote from Jack Lang, the Jim Cairns of the 1930s, in this regard: "The people of NSW have been sacrificed on the altar of financial imperialism, these foreign masters have betrayed our new revolution—a revolution which we said would not come with our streets being barricaded or by the accompaniment of arms, but by act of Parliament." You only have to substitute "multinationals" for "financial imperialism" to see that things haven't changed much in the ALP.

Socialization Movement

Some were prepared to take up the fight for real social change. Although it is small, the example that they set was important and one which should encourage us to take up the fight that they began.

From the outset of the depression workers turned their hopes to the Labor party. They were to be disappointed in nearly every case except one. That was in NSW, where a strong extraparliamentary left wing grew inside the ALP. This movement, known as the Socialization Movement, became a real threat to the entrenched leadership of the ALP. The object of this movement was straightforward, to educate and popularize the ideas of socialism.

1. Jack Lang was Labor party premier of the state of New South Wales during the early part of the depression. A fiery and demagogic Social Democrat, he was dismissed by the governor for suspending interest payments to London bankers that were due on the state's debt. Hundreds of thousands of workers rallied to his support, but Lang capitulated and refused to continue the fight.

2. Rex Connor, minister for minerals and energy in Whitlam's Labor government, was pressured to resign October 14 because of the so-called overseas loans scandal, a clumsy attempt to borrow money from Arab regimes and buy back Australia's mineral resources from overseas companies.

3. Dr. Jim Cairns was dismissed from his cabinet post as treasurer by Whitlam in July because of the "loans scandal."

Such was the attractiveness of the socialization movement that in Sydney and Newcastle, the chief working-class centers in the state, it doubled the membership of



Direct Action

LANG: Demagogic Social Democrat claimed to be "Greater Than Lenin."

the Labor party in six months. The people who joined these units were predominantly young and working-class. The strength of the units lay in its rapidly developing mass base, and they were to grow to such an extent that they threatened the stranglehold of Lang upon the NSW ALP.

The Socialization Units were created at the 1930 NSW Labor conference to explain the party's socialization objective. They were formed by a group of women and men belonging to a faction called "Socialism in Our Time." Throughout 1930-31 the units expanded in structure and membership to the extent that they became a party within a party. Their estimated membership ran into the thousands. They began to speak to party branches, to unions, unemployed organizations, and organize their own public meetings. In 1931, units began to be formed in the trade unions and this is when the alarm bells started ringing in the Lang machine.

Lang's Demagogy

Lang decided that the units were an electoral liability and that he would quietly chop them off at the 1931 conference of the Labor party. His idea was to dismantle the organization and wind up the propaganda

campaign. Lang did not come straight out and say that he opposed socialism—that would have destroyed his reputation as a militant. Instead he just shuffled and stalled, speaking as though committed to socialism.

Lang maintained the aura of a militant through a massive public-relations stunt. Slogans such as Lang Is Right, Lang Is Greater Than Lenin, were churned out. Busts were produced inscribed underneath with "Jack Lang, the people's champion," all in an effort to outflank the Socialization Units from the left.

But Lang's attempt to head off the Socialization Units failed completely. As soon as Lang had made a speech full of references to socialism at the 1931 conference, a representative of the Socialization Units got up and moved the following:

1. There be vested in the people's government all the rights of ownership and control of private property.

2. The administration of all specified industries and the functions of government, including banking, by national industrial commissions and subcommissions, with direct workers and producers control.

3. The establishing of compulsory pools for the handling of the nation's entire production.

4. The encouragement of workers- and farmers-controlled cooperatives.

To say that the Labor brass were surprised and angry by the motion is an understatement. Talking about socialism was one thing, but this motion was quite different. It did not see socialism as a vague and distant objective, nor as party rhetoric, but as a statement of policy, of a specific, concrete course of action. All sorts of attempts were made to amend and stall the vote on this motion. But Lang's amendments were lost and the plan was carried and adopted. This is one of the few times a Social Democratic party has been committed to socialism as immediate policy.

However, within twenty-four hours Lang had the decision reversed and the situation turned. The only credible way he could do this was by posing as being more radical than the Socialization Units. His advisers invented Lang's own supposedly more radical economic policy and then claimed that the supporters of the units were utopian socialists and that Lang was a scientific socialist.

This setback was by no means the final defeat of the units. They continued to grow and by mid-1932 they were mass organizations, very popular and very strong. The only way Lang could defeat them was by organizing a massive campaign of vilification against the units in ALP branches and the trade unions. All the time he protected himself with radical rhetoric. This campaign continued until Lang felt he had the numbers to dissolve the units. He was

finally able to do this in March 1933.

I think that it is important to look closely at the failings of the Socialization Units. The major weakness of the units lay in their leadership. They were certainly well intentioned, but they remained prisoners of the Labor party milieu and thoroughly rooted in that environment. This is evidenced by the fact that most of the leaders of the units simply reverted to their old cliques around the ALP, completely demoralized by the efficiency of Lang's machine.

A second weakness of the units was their political confusion. They had no clear idea of where they were heading, although they often spoke about the dictatorship of the proletariat. This confusion spread to the young rank and file looking to the units as a way out of the depression. The confusion of the leadership disoriented many militants. This helped Lang to outflank them. The third major weakness of the units was their loose organizational structure. This made them easy prey for Lang's machine, which rolled right over them.

It is interesting to see the attitude of the Communist party of Australia to the Socialization Units. In accordance with the line of the Stalinist Third International, it characterized its main enemy as the ALP, which it termed "social fascist." In turn it called the units "left social fascist." There was no attempt to understand them at all. In fact, the bitterness between the ALP and CPA during the depression went as far as street brawls. It seemed that the closer the depression drove ALP members to revolutionary solutions, the more the CPA attacked them.

Why are the units so important? They show that a mass, class-struggle left wing can pose a real threat to the leadership of the ALP. They demonstrated that in the final analysis, the ALP leadership acted as the last defense for big business in an acute social and political crisis. Lang's job was to preserve his own power and move against the real militants and crush them. Through their limitations the units show that the ALP itself will never become a socialist party, that it is an absolute necessity for radicalizing workers to be able to turn to an independent, revolutionary socialist party. We are confident that when the next opportunity arises our party will be that alternative for the workers.

At the same time, these years show that in a period of social crisis the Labor party cannot be ignored. Whether we like it or not, we cannot avoid this fact. Some things may bypass the Labor party, but ultimately the mass of Australians have to make a decision about the ALP. Our aim is to help them make that decision and to turn away from Social Democracy to revolutionary politics.

During the 1930s, organizing the unemployed was a full-time job. There were many

dedicated women and men who spent countless hours going from town to town, traveling all over the country helping to set up unions of unemployed workers. These unions got little support from the official trade-union movement and they were subject to intense harassment from the authorities. Nevertheless, hundreds of thousands of workers were politicized through these organizations. They organized demonstrations against the Commonwealth government's meager dole checks and called for free housing and proper public works schemes to eliminate unemployment.

Unemployment, fear of hunger, and the feeling of complete hopelessness in the future, these were the factors that radicalized workers in the 1930s. They gave the struggles of the time a specific economic character, and to a degree, they limited the perspective of those struggles. Today's working-class radicalization will be (and has already shown signs of being) a far more political expression of discontent. The example of the NSW Builders Laborers Federation gives a glimpse of the difference between working-class action today (or should I say the *potential* of working-class action), compared to the 1930s. The demands of other oppressed groups were not seen as the concern of unions in *any* way. But today, a union is not going to get very far, or have much peace from its members, if, for example, it doesn't relate to the problems of women workers or migrant workers. Already the example has been set for unions to take direct action around the struggle of gays and of women. Support for the struggle of Black Australians is one of those priorities which unions have to come to terms with. This would have been unthinkable forty years ago. But today,

with so many layers of the population already radicalized around some of these issues that I have mentioned, the old trade-union outlook has become inadequate. It is little wonder that some young workers appear apathetic about their unions with some of the union bureaucrats that are around. Many of them are renegades from the radicalization of the thirties. Unless they can relate to the new mood of militancy and explicitly political demands then they will eventually be swept aside.

One of the misconceptions of the way workers radicalize is that they must be starving and thrown out on the street before they will think of revolution. This applies particularly to how people see the Great Depression. It didn't happen like that in the 1930s and it won't happen like that today. If you study the figures you will see that the greatest period of labor militancy in those years came *after* 1933, in other words, just as the economy picked up slightly and there was some reduction in unemployment.

What radicalized people then was the fear of going back to the darkest days of the depression, to hunger and mass unemployment. People had been through one traumatic experience with starvation and they didn't want another. That is why they were desperate to hang on to the smallest concessions and that is why they fought to retain their gains. Fear, uncertainty, and instability are the elements which shape the lives of working people. These will be instrumental in the final decision which the working class and its allies will make, to ditch this society and to begin the construction of a socialist society where the word "depression" will be relegated to the age of barbarism. □

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Protests Greet Razak in Australia and New Zealand



Socialist Action

More than 300 persons took part in picket in Wellington, New Zealand, October 13.

When Malaysian Prime Minister Tun Abdul Razak visited Australia and New Zealand in October, all his major engagements were picketed by demonstrators protesting his regime's repressive policies.

In Wellington more than 300 persons gathered outside the diplomatic reception on October 13 chanting, "Razak out," and calling for freedom of Malaysians detained without trial. Many of the demonstrators were students. A banner carried by a contingent from Massey University in Palmerston North read: "We Come 100 Miles to DEMAND End Surveillance in NZ, Release All Political Prisoners." The surveillance of Malaysian students in Australia and New Zealand is a very real problem, and those on the demonstrations wore hoods to avoid victimization.

More Malaysian students might have turned out for the demonstrations if it had not been for a renewed warning by the Malaysian education minister, Dr. Mahathir Mohamed, just before Razak's visit. He told a meeting of teachers in Kuala Lumpur October 11 that students involved in activities detrimental to the Malaysian government would "certainly" be detained on their return from abroad.

This has already happened to at least two students who have studied in New Zealand,

Khoo Ee Liam and Wong Siong Seng. The international vice-president of the New Zealand University Students Association, Don Carson, told the Wellington picket that Wong had recently been beaten in Kamunting detention camp.

"Information has been sent to us from Malaysia that Wong was beaten with a truncheon for requesting medical attention, and then placed in solitary confinement. Only after many fellow-inmates went on a hunger strike was Wong released from solitary and returned to his original quarters," Carson said.

In Auckland October 14, 250 persons picketed the civic reception for Razak. The Auckland Malaysia-Singapore Students Association gave its support to the demonstration. The association said that although the danger of victimization prevented most of its members from participating in the protest, the vast majority were critical of the policies of the Razak regime.

While in New Zealand, Razak signed an agreement cutting down the number of Malaysian students permitted to study in that country. The regime fears that students will become exposed to radical political ideas while studying overseas and wants to cut down the risk by preventing them from leaving the country.

When Razak arrived in Canberra Octo-

ber 15, more than 200 demonstrators gathered outside the Lakeside Hotel where he was staying. Slogans they chanted included: "Razak out now," "Release all political prisoners," "Stop the political repression in Malaysia," and "Free Juliet Chin, Khoo Ee Liam, and Anwar Ibrahim." Razak canceled his luncheon at the hotel because of the demonstration.

Several Labor members of Parliament indicated their support to the demonstration by boycotting the parliamentary luncheon for Razak. Bob Hawke, president of the Australian Labor party and president of the Australian Council of Trade Unions, told the demonstrators that he had signed a telegram of protest to Razak. □

Opposition Parties in Malaysia Protest New Repressive Law

Lawyers and opposition political figures have issued protests against the Abdul Razak regime's attempt to further restrict democratic liberties in Malaysia by the introduction of new repressive legislation, the Essential (Community Self-Reliance) Regulations, 1975.

Under the new regulations, anyone cited by the public prosecutor as a "security case" can be brought before a special court where the burden of proof shifts to the defense. A suspect cannot be granted bail and cannot be freed on the grounds of insufficient evidence. Witnesses for the prosecution would be able to give their evidence in writing or behind closed doors and may have their identities withheld.

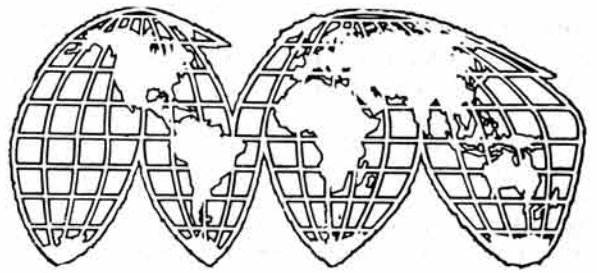
In addition, the regulations make any member of a family over the age of fourteen responsible for any act of another member of the family. The community at large may also be held responsible, an attempt to make potential informers of the entire population.

"The participation of every citizen and resident in this scheme is a way to prove his loyalty to the nation," was the way Razak put it.

Two opposition parties, the Democratic Action party and Pekemas, protested the regulations, expressing particular concern over a provision that abolishes trial by jury. DAP General Secretary Lim Kit Siang, who is a member of parliament, cabled Razak, protesting what he called "changing the whole concept of justice and the rule of law." Pekemas President Dr. Tan Chee Khoo called for a joint meeting of opposition parties to discuss the new law.

V.C. George, chairman of the Malaysian Bar Council, said the council had been flooded with protest calls from lawyers throughout the country.

AROUND THE WORLD



Like the 'Darkest Days' of the Great Depression

The economic depression in Chile is deepening. According to recent figures, industrial production is now less than 75% of the level in 1969. Foreign demand for copper exports has dropped to 650,000 tons this year, compared with 800,000 tons in 1974. Copper prices, moreover, have plummeted on the world market. Unemployment in Santiago, Chile's industrial center, has risen this year from 9% to 15% in August.

Correspondent Juan de Onís reported in the October 30 *New York Times*: "The result [of the depression] is a real contraction in income at all social levels, from the unemployed who are given make-work jobs by the city planting trees for about \$20 a month to the office worker or teacher who does not have money to buy groceries after the 20th of the month.

"Scenes of daily life here now resemble the darkest days of the depression of the nineteen-thirties."

Only 507 Political Prisoners, Pinochet Dictatorship Claims

The Chilean Interior Ministry claimed October 24 that there were only 507 political prisoners in the country. The announcement was aimed at countering a report on political prisoners by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, which sent a delegation to Santiago earlier in the week. The confederation said the junta actually held 9,000 political prisoners, including 5,500 labor leaders.

Three Members of PST Released, Another Jailed, in Argentina

Two members of the Argentine Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers party) who disappeared October 3 have been located. Carlos Alberto Barboza and Osvaldo Morales, it is now known, were arrested in Tucumán and held incommunicado for one month. They were then released. At the time of their disappearance, authorities denied knowledge of their whereabouts.

Daniel Veiga, another member of the PST, was released from jail October 18 on the condition that he go into exile. He had been held since November 1974 with no

charges against him.

On October 21 PST member Juan Carlos Gilli was arrested by the federal police. This brings to nine the number of party members still in prison.

The others are José María Fernández, Juan Llanos, Juan Carlos López Osornio, Rosendo López, Luisa Segura, José Luis Pérez, Angel Carlos Carusso, and Juan Carlos Herrero.

Tokyo Predicts Food Crisis

Minister of Agriculture and Forestry Shintaro Abe, speaking before a business executives' luncheon in Tokyo October 28, predicted a food crisis for Japan. He said there was "no room for optimism in the future for Japan, the world's largest food importer." Japan imports about 60% of its food, including 95% of its wheat, 92% of its barley, and almost all of its corn.

Later the same day Deputy Minister Shinji Miyoshi said before the Japanese parliament, "We have often spoken of the oil crisis. But just as in the crisis over oil, the international and domestic food problem will very seriously affect the livelihood and even the security of the Japanese people."

After sending four fact-finding missions abroad, the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry predicted in 1974 that there would be worldwide shortages of milk and meat by 1980, and of rice, soybeans, wheat, and corn by 1985.

Kremlin Brands Sakharov as 'Judas'

Moscow has escalated its slander campaign against Soviet dissident Andrei Sakharov, following his winning of the Nobel Peace Prize October 9.

Seventy-two members of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, almost one-third of its membership, issued a denunciation of Sakharov October 25. They said that awarding the prize to Sakharov "is of an unworthy and provocative nature and is blasphemy against the noble ideas cherished by us all of humanism, peace, justice and friendship between peoples of all countries."

The slanders became even more strident four days later when *Trud*, an official trade-union newspaper, called the Nobel award

"political pornography" and labeled Sakharov an enemy of détente. Noting that the Nobel Prize included an award of \$100,000, *Trud* declared, "It is difficult to say how this corresponds at the official rate of exchange to the 30 pieces of silver that the ancient Judas received. The bourgeoisie has paid for services rendered, and the 'high court' of the West is delighted."

Sakharov denounced the *Trud* article as "disgraceful" and said the attack on him by the members of the Soviet Academy of Sciences could mean that moves were under way to expel him from the academy.

Farmers Continue Protest Against New Tokyo Airport

More than 5,000 supporters joined the farmers of the Sanrizuka Opposition League in a demonstration at the site of the Narita New International Airport north of Tokyo October 12. The protest marked the tenth year of struggle against the \$1 billion airport, which has forced farmers off their land.

Britain to Cut Social Services in Favor of Boosting Profits

British Prime Minister Harold Wilson announced a new economic plan November 5 that will provide government subsidies for industry at the expense of social welfare programs such as nationalized health care and subsidized housing.

"The objective," Wilson said, "is to transform a declining economy into a high output, high earnings economy."

With unemployment at more than one million and an inflation rate of 26 percent, the Labour government explained its plan "will mean giving priority to industrial development over consumption or even our social objectives."

Increased unemployment is expected as part of the Labour plan. A government statement said: "In some sectors of industry the pressures of international competition will force some shedding of labor. In others, technological improvements in productivity may mean that as modernization proceeds, the same or a larger output can be produced with a smaller labor force."

A report in the November 6 *Wall Street Journal* said, "Most startling is the acquies-

cence of the big labor unions. Their chief priorities thus far have been preservation of jobs and worker purchasing power, extension of the government role and a broadening of the welfare state."

While indicating that it will allow industrial price rises, the Labour government is continuing its wage restraint policy aimed at holding all wage increases within a limit of £6 a week.

Ky Wants U.S. Troops to Return

Nguyen Cao Ky, former dictator of the puppet regime in South Vietnam, learned his lines well but is starting to sound a little dated now that his bosses in Washington have stopped programming him.

He is on the lecture circuit of American campuses and has been urging the return of some U.S. troops to South Vietnam to "protect" refugees who want to return home.

At the University of Florida at Gainesville October 29, his first question from the audience was about charges that he had been involved in heroin sales in South Vietnam. He stalked off the stage in a huff, to a chorus of boos from the audience and under heavy police guard.

Portuguese Army Blocks Land Seizure

A Portuguese army cavalry unit swept onto a farm in the central Ribatejo region October 27 to block a land seizure. The troops expelled squatters and moved to protect the holdings of the landowner. The army action was the first major military crackdown on "illegal" land seizures. More than a half million acres of farmland have been seized by poor peasants.

Public's Confidence in U.S. Polled at All-Time Low

A congressional committee heard testimony October 30 from six leading poll takers on the way the American people feel about the ability of the government to solve the problems they face. They were told that public confidence in the government and the country's economic future is probably at an all-time low.

"The public does not expect any substantial improvement in economic conditions in the foreseeable future," said one expert, adding, "the public believes that the current respite from the severe difficulties of a year ago is nothing more than the calm before the storm."

Louis Harris said that according to his studies, 81% of the American people feel the United States is still in a recession, and 56% think it will be in one a year from now.

"There is a deep suspicion across this land that inflation is making a comeback,

that current measures to stem inflation may just not be working, and that even double digit inflation is not so remote," he said.

Another poll taker testified that the impact of inflation and unemployment "is having a corrosive effect on American confidence that our economy can continue to provide the good life."

One of the panel said that a survey he recently conducted suggests that the basis for the pessimism of the public is the belief that the "close relationship" between the government and big business is not in the economic interest of the average person.

He added that the "American people are willing to go a lot further than any of their leaders have been willing to take them" in pushing through economic changes. The people, he said, are "collectively ready to force the necessary change themselves."

3 African States Devalue Currencies

Three members of the East African Economic Community, Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda, simultaneously devalued their currencies by about 14 percent October 25. The three regimes also announced that their currencies would no longer be pegged to the American dollar. The move was designed to make East African exports more competitive on the world market and to limit imports.

Lisbon Sets Up Military Courts

Lisbon announced the creation of special military courts November 1. The decree of the High Council of the Revolution violated a pledge, made when the old dictatorship was overthrown, that special tribunals would be abolished and violations of state security tried in regular criminal courts.

Three separate courts were decreed—one to try secret-police agents of the Salazarist dictatorship, one to try officers connected with the rightist coup attempt on March 11, and one to try cases involving illegal possession of military weapons.

A November 1 Associated Press dispatch from Lisbon singled out the last provision for special mention, noting that it "could lead to a long-awaited crackdown on holders of an estimated 20,000 military weapons missing from depots."

African Students in Kiev Protest Racial Discrimination

Eight hundred African students went on a week-long strike in Kiev recently to protest the treatment of Alena Grulichova, a twenty-three-year-old Czechoslovak student. According to a report in the November 5 *New York Times*, they charged that Grulichova was ordered home to Czechoslovakia one year before finishing her degree

because she married an African, Udo Ubam of Nigeria.

Demonstrations by African students in Kiev in front of the Czechoslovak consulate and protests to ten African embassies by African students in Lviv forced the authorities to back down. They promised that Grulichova would be allowed to stay.

Ford's Popularity Sinks

President Ford has not been doing too well in the public-opinion polls. According to a Harris poll taken in October, 59% of those asked gave Ford a negative rating, compared with 56% the month before.

Asked about his record in keeping the economy healthy and on their evaluation of his economic program, 68% gave Ford negative ratings.

Eighty-two percent thought he was doing a bad job on keeping the cost of living down, and 75% were skeptical about his ability to bring the country out of the economic slump.

In foreign affairs, 45% disliked Ford's Mideast policies, compared with 42% who approved. This may reflect uneasiness over the decision to dispatch U.S. "advisers" to the Sinai.

15,000 in Mexico Protest Police Killing of 6 Peasants

Six Mexican peasants were killed and forty others wounded in a police assault on their occupation of ranchlands in northern Mexico. The attack on the unarmed peasants took place October 23 at a large estate near Obregón in the state of Sonora. The leader of the National Confederation of Peasants, Celestino Salcedo, speaking to a protest demonstration of 15,000 persons, said the attack was unprovoked.

New Shake-up in Dacca

Less than three months after the first president of Bangladesh, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, was overthrown and killed by a group of army officers, a new power struggle has shaken the government there. On November 6 Khandaker Moshtaque Ahmed, who replaced Rahman as president, resigned. Chief Justice Abu Sadat Sayem of the Supreme Court was named the new president.

However, the real power in Bangladesh appeared to remain in the army. Maj. Gen. Ziaur Rahman was at first replaced as head of the army by Gen. Khalid Musharaf. But a November 7 Associated Press dispatch reported that Rahman had been reinstated in the top army post, with full powers as chief martial-law administrator for the country. No ideological differences among those contending for power were reported.

BOSS: South Africa's Secret Police

Reviewed by Ernest Harsch



During the past several years, the racist white minority regime in South Africa has greatly strengthened its repressive apparatus. In an attempt to preserve white privilege and the apartheid system, it has sought to obstruct any political activity by the African majority. In addition to the police-state laws that were already on the books for decades, new repressive measures were enacted and security bodies formed to carry out these aims.

One of the most important developments in Pretoria's war against "subversion" was the formation in May 1969 of BOSS, the Bureau for State Security. Like its counterparts in other countries, BOSS functions under a heavy cloud of secrecy. Some facts, however, have trickled out. A recently published pamphlet, *BOSS: The First 5 Years*, provides a useful summary of this information.

The pamphlet lists some of the surveillance methods used by BOSS. These include "the open collection of information on all groups and individuals thought to be present or potential 'enemies' or 'subversives' from published work, public speeches,

newspaper reports etc., and the covert collection of other information on the same people. Covert collection involves agents and informers, both at home and abroad, infiltration of groups, espionage, bugging, blackmail and all the sophisticated apparatus of a modern spy system."

In addition to organizing and coordinating the surveillance activities of the various secret-police forces, BOSS is also responsible for overall security strategy and plan-

BOSS: The First 5 Years. London: International Defence and Aid Fund, 1975. 40 pp. 25 pence. In the United States the pamphlet may be obtained by sending \$1.05 to the International Defense and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, 1430 Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138.

ning. The Potgieter Report, an official 1971 study of BOSS's functions, noted that after a "subversive threat" is identified, BOSS's job is "to formulate a policy for the prevention or combating of the threat and, where operational action against the threat is necessary, to enable the authorities to whom operational action is assigned by law to carry out those functions."

BOSS apparently also plays an important role in the formulation and execution of foreign policy. According to one report, BOSS arranged the communications between South African Prime Minister John Vorster and Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda in late 1974 that led to negotiations between the two regimes over the conflict in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia). Gen. H.J. van den Bergh, the head of BOSS, reportedly accompanied Vorster on his diplomatic trips to the Ivory Coast in September 1974 and Liberia in February 1975.

Within South Africa and the occupied territory of Namibia (South-West Africa), BOSS functions through the local security police. Using special laws outlawing the disclosure of any information regarding BOSS and the presentation in court of any evidence considered "prejudicial to the interests of the state or public security," BOSS also helps in the cover-up of the

brutal "interrogation" methods employed by the police.

Before BOSS was formed, the South African police had already succeeded in driving a number of African nationalist groups, such as the African National Congress and the Pan-Africanist Congress, underground or into exile.

In the early 1970s, the repression was extended to both Black and white student groups and church organizations, including the National Union of South African Students, University Christian Movement, Christian Institute, South African Institute of Race Relations, Black People's Convention, and South African Students Organisation. Offices were raided and some leaders were banned from carrying out public activities. The planning of this campaign is believed to have been under the direction of BOSS.

The infiltration of African nationalist groups by BOSS agents was highlighted in mid-1974 when Noah Mize, the secretary of information and publicity within Namibia for the South West African People's Organisation, was exposed as an informer. He attended a congress of the South West African Native Teachers Association and was seen contacting a BOSS official. Documents were found on Mize instructing him to report on the SWANTA meeting. Mize admitted he was working for BOSS.

A few months after the secret agency's formation, BOSS officers met in Lisbon with officials of the Portuguese and Rhodesian secret police to coordinate their war against the various African liberation groups in southern Africa. BOSS lost an ally when the Portuguese Direcção Geral de Segurança (DGS—General Directorate of Security) was disbanded in Angola, Mozambique, and Portugal after the April 25, 1974, Lisbon coup. But BOSS undoubtedly still collaborates closely with the Rhodesian security police in their war against the Zimbabwean nationalists.

BOSS activities outside of South Africa are not limited to the surveillance of exiled opponents. On February 1, 1974, Onkgopotse Abraham Tiro, an exiled leader of the South African Students Organisation, was killed in Botswana by a mail bomb. All



Clarín

VORSTER: Worried about "subversion."

mail to Botswana passes through South Africa.

A Botswana government statement, cited in the April 1974 issue of the London monthly *Africa*, was implicitly directed at the South African regime. "The Government wishes to state unequivocally," the statement said, "that this kind of terrorism will not make it change its attitude towards those who seek refuge in Botswana from oppression in their own countries. The bomb which killed Mr. Tiro was, after all, not the first to explode in Botswana. There had been two others before it both aimed at political refugees. An East African Airways plane, which was due to fly refugees out of Botswana, and the Refugee Centre were blown up in Francistown."

Two weeks after Tiro's assassination, John Dube, the deputy representative of the African National Congress in Lusaka, Zambia, was killed by a similar bomb. South African agents were also suspected in that assassination.

The Vorster regime maintains a large contingent of BOSS agents in Britain, where they spy on and harass South African exiles and such British groups as the Anti-Apartheid Movement. A British newspaper account quoted in the pamphlet reported that ten agents worked out of the South African embassy and another dozen were attached to various South African companies, or lived in Britain as businessmen or writers. In addition, BOSS recruited part-time agents among Afrikaners in Britain and British citizens sympathetic to the racist regime, as well as hiring professional detective agencies.

BOSS also gets aid from other quarters in Britain. According to a 1971 report in the *Sunday Telegraph* quoted in the pamphlet, "It has long been suspected that individual members of the Special Branch [the British secret police] give them [South African agents] unofficial help."

This "unofficial help" has apparently been given with the acquiescence of successive British governments, both Labour and Conservative. Summarizing an interview with British Minister for Africa Joan Lester about the Labour government's policies toward South Africa, *Africa* magazine, in its August 1974 issue, said:

"Asked whether the government would stop the iniquitous practice of allowing BOSS agents and South African police to operate in Britain with the connivance and help of Scotland Yard, she replied that this was also under review: it was a Home Office matter."

One part of BOSS's collaborative network with intelligence services in other countries was left unexplored in the pamphlet: the ties between BOSS and the American Central Intelligence Agency.

An article in the October 1974 *Esquire*

magazine by Tad Szulc reported that "the Central Intelligence Agency and the South African secret services cooperate closely under the terms of a secret intelligence agreement, similar to United States intelligence accords with N.A.T.O. governments."

'By Tank or on Horseback'

1919 Plan to Invade Canada Disclosed

Fifty-six years after its concoction, a bizarre U.S. Army plan to invade Canada has been unearthed by an American historian.

The plan outlined an invasion of Saskatchewan either by tank or on horseback, backed by artillery support from cannon mounted on railway cars.

"I'm no military strategist," said Dr. Lawrence Larsen, who prevailed upon the army to declassify the plan after it was discovered in the federal records center in Kansas City in September, "but to me it looks ludicrous."

The plans to invade Saskatchewan were but one part of a bigger scheme drawn up by the Corps of Engineers in 1919, Larsen said, after someone realized that the White House had made no provision for defending its land borders. This impression seems to leave out of account Washington's long military expansion into Mexican territory. But perhaps Larsen and his military informants meant only the northern border, the "longest undefended border in the world," so they say.

Just who might have invaded the United

States from Saskatchewan in 1919 is not clear. A spokesman from the Canadian Department of National Defense, when queried about the U.S. plan, said: "I can categorically assure you that we have never had any plans to invade the U.S. Furthermore, I'm pretty sure we've never prepared for an attack from your side."

The year 1919 was not uneventful in the Canadian west. It was the year of the Winnipeg general strike, which peaked an important radicalization in the western Canadian union movement of those days. It would be interesting to see if the U.S. Army had any contingency plan for Winnipeg and Manitoba.

Whatever the story, we can rest assured that the question of the "undefended" border still gets some attention in the Pentagon. "If an attack were ever to take place across the Canadian border," a Pentagon spokesman said, "the army is prepared to defend the country."

What would the army do?

"I can't tell you that," he replied. "It's classified." □

Lisbon Unions Denounce Killing of PST Members

Following the assassination of eight members of the Argentine Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers party) in early September, the Partido Revolucionário dos Trabalhadores (PRT—Revolutionary Workers party) of Portugal launched a campaign against political repression in Latin America.

The October 23 issue of the PRT's newspaper, *Combate Socialista*, reported that the campaign had received wide support in the workers movement. In particular it cited a statement signed by nine trade unions and six political parties in Portugal denouncing the murder of the PST members.

The statement demanded that the Argentine government "investigate and punish those responsible for this crime." It also called for an end to the state of siege in Argentina, which has "served merely as a pretext to attack the mass movement and to keep in the government's prisons more than

1,000 anticapitalist fighters."

The statement was signed by the Trade Union Support Organization of Public Workers; Rail Workers Union of the Central Region; National Union of Professionals in the Hotel Industry and Related Trades of the Lisbon District; National Union of Technicians and Workers in the Chemical Industries of the Lisbon District; Teachers Union of Greater Lisbon; Metalworkers and Technicians Union of the Lisbon District; Union of Workers in Civil Engineering of the Lisbon District; Electricians Union of the Southern Region; Union of Lisbon Textile Workers, Woolen Goods and Clothing of the Southern Region.

Also signing were the Young Socialist Alliance (ASJ), Socialist People's Front (FSP), Socialist Youth (JS), Portuguese Democratic Movement-Democratic Election Committee (MDP-CDE), PRT, and Socialist party (PS).

Capitalism Fouls Things Up

Finless Fish and Clams With Cancer



Scientists are paying increasing attention to the physiological damage done to fish by chemical pollution of the environment. Although fish react to pollutants faster than mammals, the basic metabolic functions of fish and mammals are similar. Fish can thus serve as an early warning system of the toxic effects to humans of the poisonous chemicals dumped daily into the world's water supply.

Delwayne R. Nimmo, a research ecologist for the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency's Gulf Breeze Environmental Research Laboratory in Florida, explained, "If you have an effect on the liver of a fish which is a vertebrate, then you might expect to have the same effect on mammals, including human beings."

In addition to the immediate lethal effects of large doses of poisonous chemicals, fish are also a good indicator of the crippling effects of prolonged exposure to small amounts of certain pollutants.

Abigail Trafford Brett, a science writer for the American Chemical Society, noted some of these effects in the September 14 *Washington Post*.

"In the North Sea," she said, "eels have cauliflower growths on their lips. Sole and flounders along the U.S. Pacific Coast have large lesions on their skin. White croakers

feeding around sewage outfalls along the coast of California develop tumors around the mouth. Thousands of halibut have had to be thrown away because they were listless, underweight, their skin soft to touch.

"In Japan, the gobie fish develop mouth tumors. Cunner in Rhode Island have cancerous tooth tumors. Large catfish in the central lakes of Florida grow tumors the size of a finger joint. Oysters are found with leukemia. A dogfish in Maine has a brain tumor. In the tributaries of the Chesapeake Bay, a cancer epidemic has broken out among the small unedible clams that live in the mudflats.

"Channel catfish in Arkansas have broken backs. Oysters have trouble growing thick enough shells. Finless fish are seen off both coasts—victims of fin rot disease. Two species of fish in the Chesapeake Bay are said to have increased the overall size of their livers by a factor of two. In fish, as in human beings, the liver is the organ that handles toxic materials."

In a laboratory experiment, blue crabs were exposed to low levels of mirex (chlorinated hydrocarbon), which is used as an insecticide against fire ants. The crabs lost the use of their pincers to catch food.

At commercial fish farms in Arkansas six years ago, many channel catfish were found with broken backs. They were unable to swim properly and soon died out. The defect was later linked to toxaphene, one of the pesticides now most widely used in the United States. Eighty percent of the fish examined had some kind of skeletal deformation, with the bones in some becoming so brittle that the backbones snapped. Reproduction was down by 30 percent, and the overall size of the fish was stunted by almost a third.

"All it took to produce these changes," Brett said, "were low levels of the insecticide over a long period of time—levels that correspond to what has been measured in the environment."

Although "voluntary restrictions" have been placed on the production of PCB (polychlorinated biphenyl), and the pesticides aldrin and dieldrin have been banned,

these substances continue to pollute the environment. The PCB level in the Great Lakes is still eight times above the amount set as "safe" by the Food and Drug Administration. One one-hundredth of a lethal dose of PCB can seriously affect reproduction of salt-water fish. Aldrin and dieldrin have caused cancerous growths in experimental fish.

Scientists have found that dieldrin alters the amino acid metabolism of fresh-water fish. Brett said, "In rainbow trout, for example, dieldrin produces all the biochemical trademarks for PKU, the metabolic disorder in human beings that leads to mental retardation."

Although many fish have not been directly killed by the pollutants, their ability to survive has been impaired, leading to "chronic mortality." According to the marine explorer Jacques Cousteau, the overall fish population of the world has declined at least 30 percent during the past two decades. □

Breakfast Can Be Hazardous

Sodium nitrite is a common preservative added to bacon and other cured meats to prevent botulism, the food poisoning. But a recent eighteen-month study conducted by the Agriculture Department confirmed that sodium nitrite can also combine with other chemicals to form nitrosamines, which are among the most potent cancer-causing substances known. This is a particular problem with bacon, which produces more nitrosamines than other cured meats.

According to an October 19 United Press International dispatch from Washington, an official of the Agriculture Department has declared that steps will "probably" be taken to force the country's meat packers to eliminate nitrosamines from bacon. He did not say when.

Nuclear Garbage Piling Up

Highlighting the limitations of the present "disposal" methods for the radioactive waste produced by nuclear power plants, a recent study conducted by the Energy Research and Development Administration



S. Gross/Washington Post

revealed that the waste storage pools for four of the fifty-three plants now in operation in the United States will be full by next year. By 1980, the storage pools for thirty-seven of the plants will be overflowing.

Finding new places to dump the radioactive garbage will only postpone the ultimate problem of how to dispose of it entirely. The contaminated nuclear waste remains dangerous for many thousands of years. With the projected expansion of nuclear energy use in the United States during the next few decades, the waste will pile up in even greater quantities.

The present underground storage chambers risk developing leaks during earthquakes, making them virtual environmental time bombs.

Green Light for Strip Miners to Bulldoze Death Valley

Strip-mining operations have been conducted within the scenic Death Valley National Monument in California since 1971, with Washington's blessings. Among the companies holding the 1,827 mining claims staked out in the valley are Tenneco, United States Borax, Johns-Manville Corporation, Pfizer, Inc., and Cyprus Industrial Minerals.

Tenneco, which mined \$6 million worth of ore from Death Valley in 1974, recently staked a claim to the famous Zabriskie Point lookout, but withdrew its claim after opposition from the National Park Service.

The strip-mining operations in Death Valley could seriously alter its delicate ecological balance. James B. Thompson, the superintendent of the park, said that increased mining could lead to an "environmental nightmare." Thirty-six species of plants are unique to the valley, and at least two animals, the Death Valley pupfish and the desert bighorn sheep, are endangered.

Michigan's Fireproof Cows

In 1973 a major chemical concern, Michigan Chemical Company, accidentally supplied a farmers' cooperative with a large batch of polybrominated biphenyl, or PBB, instead of a feed supplement that had been specified. The PBB was mixed into feed that then went to several hundred Michigan farms.

PBB normally has nothing to do with agriculture, its principal use being a fire retardant for plastics. Unfortunately, it looks a lot like livestock feed and the accident was not pinpointed until a year later, after it became clear something was making a large number of animals ill. By then, more than 20,000 head of cattle in Michigan had died or had to be destroyed. A million and a half chickens suffered the same fate, as well as lesser numbers of pigs and sheep.

Meanwhile, unknown quantities of meat,

milk, and eggs from the contaminated animals found their way onto Midwestern dinner tables. Although no observable ill effects were found in most cases, farmers and their families who had an especially concentrated diet of the contaminated food were stricken. One farmer complained of fatigue, severe and nagging joint aches, and a painfully swollen knee. Tests indicate he has also suffered liver damage. His doctor has thirty-two other patients from farms where PBB-tainted food was consumed. They too show signs of liver damage.

The Food and Drug Administration in Washington had no toxicity studies of PBB when the accident was discovered, so it made a guess about the maximum permissible levels of it in food. As it turned out, the limits were at least ten times too high.

The cattle continued to die, and contaminated food continued to get onto the market. But for a long time the agency did nothing about it. Although scientists were convinced that the permissible levels had to be dropped much lower, the agency had only one reliable test for detecting the chemical at such a level. Government rules require it to have two independent tests before taking action on a harmful substance, so the new guidelines cannot be put into effect until a new test is devised. One agricultural expert estimated that a lower standard would mean destroying another 20,000 head of cattle. Unless, of course, they are made into hamburger first.

And Radioactive Ones in Colorado

The U.S. Environmental Protection Agency revealed in 1974 that cattle grazing on land east of the Rocky Flats nuclear weapons plant near Golden, Colorado, show a substantial level of plutonium in their lungs. In addition to being highly radioactive, plutonium is one of the most toxic substances known.

The EPA report said the Rocky Flats cattle had even more plutonium than cattle grazing near the Nevada underground test site for nuclear weapons.

Red Death No. 2

A report issued October 24 by the General Accounting Office of the U.S. Congress criticized the Food and Drug Administration for keeping Red No. 2, the food coloring found in almost every processed food, on the market while the question of its safety remained unresolved.

The dye, which helps cover blemishes in food, is suspected of causing cancer, fetal death, birth damage, and genetic damage. The most widely used food coloring in the United States, it is added to such foods as frankfurters, cereals, candy, snacks, pudding and gelatin mixes, ice cream, canned



Herblock/Washington Post

fruit, soft drinks, and processed cheese. It is also used in a variety of capsules, pills, and lipsticks. So far this year, 1.4 million pounds of Red No. 2 have been certified by the FDA for public consumption.

The congressional report noted that the FDA had responded to industry pressure to keep the dye on the market by delaying a verdict on it fourteen times during the past fifteen years. This delay has resulted in an "unnecessary risk to the public health," the report said.

New York's Pollution Not Just Home Grown

Industries and power companies in the New York metropolitan area are obviously doing a highly effective job of polluting the region's air. But some scientists now think they are getting help from the smokestacks of Birmingham, Alabama; Gary, Indiana; and Pittsburgh.

Researchers at the Boyce Thompson Institute in New York say pollutants, in the form of particulates, ozone, and sulfur dioxide, are probably being carried to New York by prevailing winds from the South and West.

Ozone is regarded as the country's most dangerous air pollutant to plants and is thought to be a factor in respiratory problems in humans. Oxides of ozone and sulfur can form acidic solutions in the atmosphere, whose effect on humans has not yet been sufficiently studied.

Dr. Bernard Goldstein, assistant professor of environmental medicine at the New York University Medical Center, believes however that "it may form sulfuric acid in the lungs."

For Total and Immediate Independence of Sahara

By J. Rocha

[The following article appeared in the June 12 issue of *Combate*, the monthly publication of the Spanish Liga Comunista (Communist League, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International). The translation and footnotes are by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Thousands of Saharans staged a demonstration demanding their independence during the recent visit of a United Nations mission¹ to Sahara. This action marked a decisive leap forward in the fight of the Saharan people against Spanish colonialism.

This step forward in the struggle of the Saharan people against weak Spanish colonial rule has had a big impact. The maneuvers the Franco dictatorship engaged in to assure its domination rapidly lost effectiveness. The plan to establish a puppet government to uphold Spanish imperialist interests—via the Asamblea General del Sahara,² a body handpicked by the dictatorship, and the PUNS,³ which was created and financed by Madrid—has suddenly collapsed. The mobilization of the masses exposed Franco's plans as frauds. The PUNS melted in the heat of Rabat's gold.⁴ The Saharan masses have made clear before the eyes of world public opinion what they want—immediate, unconditional independence.

The upsurge of the Saharans, along with the pressure from the neocolonial regimes of the Maghreb,⁵ the imperialists, and the Kremlin bureaucrats, is deepening the crisis of the dictatorship, which is already racked by the repercussions of the world economic

crisis and the advance of the proletariat and other oppressed layers toward a general strike in the metropolitan center. Each day of rule over Sahara, of confrontations with the Saharan masses, and armed clashes—small though they may be—heightens the tension within the army and adds fresh fuel to the struggle of workers and youth in the metropolitan center, deepening the crisis of a dictatorship that is steadily growing weaker.

The recent statements by the cabinet⁶ show its inability to continue bearing the costs of colonial rule. These include the growing struggle of the Saharan masses, the increase in anticolonialist guerrilla actions, and a possible armed confrontation with Morocco—all of which would inevitably hasten the collapse of the dictatorship.

The government's fear of a step-up of mass struggle in the metropolitan center reflects the attitude of big business as a whole in face of the growing discontent within the army. Massive desertions of Saharans, which are undermining certain colonial units (the territorial police);⁷ guerrilla assaults and the kidnapping of officers; general discontent among the troops—all these are crystallizing into unrest and a loss of cohesion in the officer caste. This phenomenon is still in an early stage. It takes different forms, especially rightist forms, such as demands for more repression and less wavering by the government. However, it is creating divisions among the commanders—not only in the African corps but throughout the army—a development that favors the emergence of views like those held by Busquets and Julve.⁸

The central force behind these divisions is the rise in mass struggles in Spain. In this difficult period, the dictatorship needs more than ever a tightly knit army without divisions. Its latest maneuvers are thus aimed at preventing a continuation of this process.

The dictatorship has had to give up on its most fraudulent plans. This demonstration of its weakness and lack of power has enabled the Saharan people to win an important victory. But at the same time the dictatorship has increased its maneuvers to pressure the governments of the area, the imperialists, the Kremlin bureaucrats, and even the Frente Polisario⁹ to guarantee what is fundamental to Spanish imperialism in the Sahara—FOSBUCRAA¹⁰ and its enormous sources of income, which are constantly increasing. Spanish troops and Francoism are still there with all the aggression and threat this implies.

That is why the struggle of the Saharan people is entering a decisive phase of once and for all throwing out the Spanish troops and ending imperialist plunder. At the same time the threat of open war with Morocco continues to hang over the heads of the Spanish, Moroccan, and Saharan masses because of the continued Spanish presence in North Africa.

Morocco, Mauritania, and Algeria Also Want a Slice of the Saharan Pie

In 1969 when Spanish capitalists formed FOSBUCRAA, King Hassan changed his position with regard to Sahara. He shifted from defending its independence to demanding its annexation. The shift came because of the decisive importance of the phosphate deposits to the Moroccan bourgeoisie; by seizing the phosphate beds, they

1. In mid-May a United Nations fact-finding mission visited Sahara to poll the population on what status it desired once Spain relinquished the colony.

2. General Assembly of Sahara.

3. Partido de la Unión Nacional Saharaui (Party of Saharan National Union), formed in February 1975 as the only legal political party of Sahara.

4. PUNS General Secretary Jalihena Rachid quietly left El Aaiún May 15 with the party's strongbox containing 6 million pesetas (1 peseta=US\$0.02). He fled to Morocco, where he offered his services to King Hassan.

5. The Arabic name for the region including northwestern Africa.

6. After a meeting of Franco and the Spanish cabinet May 23, an official announcement stated, "Spain will not try in any way to prolong its presence in the Sahara, and never intended to take any advantage, political or material." The Franco regime, the announcement stated, was ready "to transfer sovereignty of the Saharan territory in the shortest period possible."

7. One such instance was reported in May by the Logos news agency. A fourteen-member territorial police unit at a post bordering Mauritania was reported to have deserted to join the independence forces.

8. Maj. Julio Busquets and Capt. José Julve were arrested February 18 and charged with "military indiscipline" after they circulated a manifesto asking for reforms in the military and politics.

9. Frente Popular para la Liberación del Sahara y Río de Oro (People's Front for the Liberation of Sahara and Río de Oro), founded in 1970. The Frente Polisario appears to be the political group with the largest following in Sahara. In May 1973 it began armed action against the Spanish troops stationed there. It has stated it will oppose the Moroccan march on El Aaiún with force.

10. FOSBUCRAA is the mine with the largest known phosphate reserves in the world, estimated at 1.7 billion tons. The 750,000 tons of phosphate extracted at Bu Craa in 1973 sold for \$30 to \$35 a ton; by 1974 the price had risen to \$68.

would become the world's leading producer of this mineral. But also involved is an effort by the Muslim monarchy to use the confrontation with Franco to distract the attention of the Moroccan working people and oppressed layers from the real problems they face under the feudalistic-capitalist regime.

Whipping up a wave of chauvinism to accompany its demand for annexation, the Moroccan monarchy is seeking to solve its extremely serious internal problems and to strengthen its authority with the masses. It won the support of the majority of the opposition in that undertaking, including the Communist party.

At present Morocco has not gone beyond pressure tactics in its drive for annexation, fearing a military defeat that would mean the end of the Muslim monarchy. It has combined maneuvers in the United Nations—trying to get support from the other Arab governments, the imperialists, and the Kremlin bureaucracy—and the resurgence of guerrilla actions by the FLU,¹¹ an organization linked to the Moroccan army.

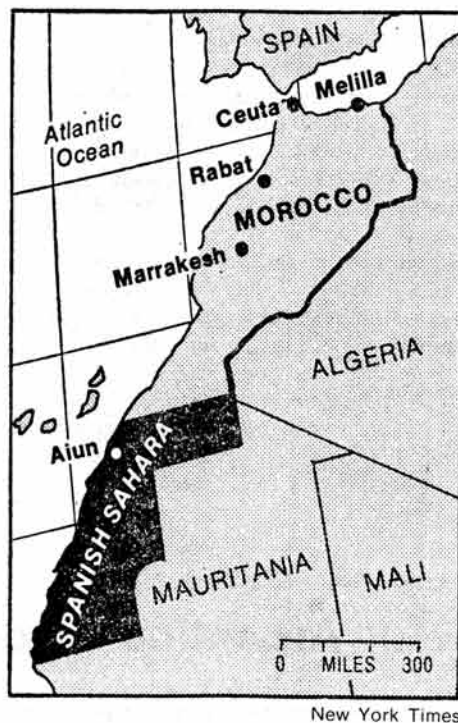
The continuation of such efforts, the momentum of the annexation campaign, and the continued presence of Spanish imperialism in Sahara add up to the risk of an armed confrontation. The determination shown by the Saharan masses to move toward independence is a blow not only to Madrid but also to Hassan. Moreover, as the dénouement approaches and the situation becomes more unstable, the risks of war become increasingly serious.

For reasons similar to Hassan's, the ruling class of Mauritania also has annexationist aspirations. They hope to extinguish the flames of discontent among the masses of their own country with a strong dose of chauvinism.

For its part, the Algerian government would like to prevent Morocco, its principal rival in the Maghreb, from growing any stronger, while at the same time assuring its own bourgeoisie the privileges of control over Sahara. Its aim is to install a government under its influence, one that would give the country formal independence but keep it under the rule of the sheikhs, the bourgeoisie, and the imperialists. To assure that, it is currently backing the Frente Polisario.

In following such a course, Algeria is forced to take objectively positive steps—such as materially supporting the Frente Polisario and promoting formal independence for Sahara—despite the fact that its aspiration is merely to place new chains on the Saharan people.

11. Frente de Liberación y Unidad (Front for the Liberation and Unity of Sahara), a 1973 creation of King Hassan promoting annexation of Sahara to Morocco.



For an Anti-Imperialist United Front

During centuries of Spanish colonial domination of Sahara, the imperialists have plundered its national wealth. They have maintained feudal relations, personified in the sheikhs, which preserve the backwardness and most extreme exploitation of the country. Deprived of independence and freedom, the Saharan people suffer to an extreme degree from illiteracy, starvation, and misery. The endemic diseases of underdevelopment, infant mortality, housing that amounts to little more than hovels, slavery, and the selling of women are the legacy of Christian, "civilized" Spain.

To find the route to sovereignty and real independence, the Saharan masses must overcome formidable obstacles, including violent plunder by the imperialists, the designs of the national bourgeoisies of the Maghreb, and those of the Kremlin bureaucracy, which is plotting in the background the best way to guarantee its interests in the region.

The sheikhs and notables are, of course, willing to sell themselves to anyone—Madrid, Rabat, Algiers—to maintain their rule. This means that the only road to liberation is a struggle against imperialism in which the workers, peasants, youth, and women of Sahara are allied with the workers and peasants of Morocco, Algeria, and Mauritania, and the proletariat of the metropolitan center.

Such a course will make it possible to secure the withdrawal of Spanish troops, the nationalization of FOSBUCRAA and all other mineral and energy resources, all democratic rights, and the establishment of

a democratically elected Constituent Assembly to decide the form of government the Saharan people want. It will definitively sweep away feudalism, the slave trade, and the selling of women. Full assurance of national independence requires the general arming of the people and the establishment of workers control over imperialist firms and businesses.

All this can only be assured by a *workers and peasants government* without a single representative of the sheikhs, the national bourgeoisie, or the imperialists—a government emerging from the alliance of the oppressed Saharans led by the proletariat.

We Trotskyists unconditionally support the struggle of the Saharan people for their independence. We pledge to mobilize support for it at all levels of struggle, to the full extent of our forces.

Today the Frente Polisario is leading the Saharan liberation movement. The Frente Polisario is a petty-bourgeois nationalist organization that maintains close ties with the Algerian bourgeoisie and government. It is willing to guarantee them substantial privileges in Sahara if they support its struggle. In addition, the Frente Polisario's program for the liberation struggle does not fundamentally combat the privileges of the sheikhs and leaves the door open for a liquidationist agreement with Madrid. For these reasons, the Frente Polisario is incapable of waging a consistent fight for the liberation of its people. Its whole orientation is an obstacle to the independence of the Saharan people.

We Trotskyists will denounce and fight this. But at the same time we will continue to support the steps, no matter how small they may be, that the Frente Polisario takes in the struggle against Spanish imperialism; we will also continue to defend it against all attacks by the Franco dictatorship.

Solidarity With the Saharan People

Independence for the Saharan people must be a demand of the proletariat and oppressed masses of the Spanish state. The costs of colonial rule are borne by them.

The tremendous investments in the state enterprise FOSBUCRAA come from the money that big business, through the dictatorship and Social Security, swindle from the workers.

The costly army, defender of the phosphate mines, is maintained at the expense of the workers and oppressed.

A large part of our youth must waste a year and a half performing military service in those territories, risking their lives for interests that not only are not theirs but also oppress them both in the army and in their work or studies.

The colonial army, built and maintained through the exploitation of the workers, is a weapon in the hands of the bourgeoisie and

its dictatorship, which is preparing to confront the struggles of the workers and all the oppressed.

Moreover, the unleashing of an imperialist war, which is constantly threatened, would impose new attacks, suffering, and misery on the working masses and their allies, since the burden of such a war would fall on them.

Once again Marx and Lenin's historical statement takes on life: "No nation that oppresses another can be free." Oppression and freedom cannot go hand in hand.

Proletarian internationalism—solidarity with the just struggle of the Saharan people—is essential for the development of the fight against the dictatorship. The example of the decisive role played by the struggle of Portugal's African colonies in the fall of the

Salazarist dictatorship shows how the advance of the anticolonialist struggle in Sahara and the advance toward a general strike of the workers and oppressed in Spain are closely linked in their outcome. The recent cabinet statements reflect awareness of this link and were made with the specter of a general strike in mind.

That is why the proletariat, the youth, and all the oppressed of the Spanish state must unite in struggle against all attacks of the government in the fight for:

Immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all troops from North Africa. Not a man, not a gun, not a cent, for the imperialist war!

Solidarity with the struggle of the Saharan people!

Total and immediate independence for Sahara!

*Return Ceuta and Melilla to Morocco!*¹²

Dissolve the special army corps and the colonial reserve corps!

The workers commissions, university organizations of the vanguard youth, and other layers must organize and press this fight. The parties and organizations that claim to represent the working class must unite their efforts and reach the broadest possible agreement to build mobilizations in solidarity with the Saharan people. There is no excuse for not taking steps in this direction.

June 3, 1975

12. Ceuta and Melilla are two Spanish enclaves on the Mediterranean coast of Morocco.

The Two-Faced Policy of Argentina's Bourgeois Opposition

[The following article appeared in the October 18 issue of *Avanzada Socialista*, the weekly newspaper of the Argentine Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers party). The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

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As if he were seeking to place himself in the forefront of the bourgeois reaction against the workers movement, Dr. Ricardo Balbín¹ has launched a campaign against the workers' demands and job actions, describing them as "industrial guerrilla warfare" and "subversive" acts. At the same time he resorts to the old false argument of the bourgeoisie that workers who engage in struggle do so as the result of threats and physical pressure from trade-union activists.

By putting the demands of the workers on the same plane as guerrilla warfare, he is proposing that they be repressed in the same way. At the same time, he exhorts the trade-union leaders to control their ranks more effectively and prevent mobilizations. To enable readers to judge for themselves, we provide two quotes from the Radical leader himself.

Balbín stated on television:

"We have guerrilla warfare in a factory where 3,000 workers want to work because they are thinking of their families. They have children in school and they want to continue working to pay for their studies. A man comes up behind them and says, 'Slow down or a piece of iron is going to fall on your head' or 'Slow down or we are going to

kill one of your kids. Here is his photograph.' At such a time this man is helpless. He is alone. He does not know who is defending him but he does know who is attacking. We must fight against this. I am committed to oppose it." (*El Cronista Comercial*, September 3, 1975.)

"Subversion is all around us . . . the guerrillas in the mountains and those here in the factories. Their aim is power for power's sake and I have no doubt that they are working for foreign interests and are very well paid. . . . It is the duty of all Argentines to face this problem responsibly. It must also be taken up by the trade-union leadership in regard to the unfortunate situations in the plants." (*El Cronista Comercial*, October 8, 1975.)

The policy of the UCR is two-faced. One face requests reports in Congress, denounces attacks against constitutional rights, opposes José López Rega,² and provides UCR headquarters for assemblies of struggling students or workers, with Balbín himself condemning the government-protected fascist gangs. In short, an effort to make Radicalism and, logically, its most representative leader—Dr. Balbín—appear as the strongest defender of civil liberties.

However, there is another face. Unlike the previous one, it is hated by the workers. It is the face of the UCR that votes in Congress for the Social Pact;³ the face that accepts the existence of the state of siege, that monstrosity in whose name all the outrages against democratic rights are committed; a face that recently—through the statements

of Balbín—has joined the chorus of the entire bourgeoisie against a wage increase. It is also the face that launched the infamous slander of "industrial guerrilla warfare" against the workers and that calls the workers' demands subversive.

What is the reason for this shifting attitude? Which is the real face of Radicalism? What characterizes its current actions? That is what we propose to deal with.

We believe that to understand UCR policy and its current trend—Balbinism—we must go back at least five years.

In November 1970 the agreement called *La Hora del Pueblo*⁴ was signed between the Radicals, the Peronists, and other bourgeois currents that opposed the military dictatorship. It was looked upon favorably by the church and by the majority of the armed forces, which six months later would take charge of the federal government via Gen. Alejandro Lanusse.

This pact was the main pillar of the so-called *Gran Acuerdo Nacional*⁵ concluded among almost all sectors of the bourgeoisie. It provided for the return to the institutions of bourgeois democracy and to a relatively democratic regime so as to channel and detour the workers and people's struggles that had reached the point of endangering the stability of the bourgeois state itself.

Along with this "decompression" to avoid new explosions like the Cordobazo,⁶ the agreement involved economic measures to guarantee the earnings of the entire bourgeoisie—the Social Pact, for example, which froze wages for two years.

1. Head of the Unión Cívica Radical (Radical Civic Union), the main bourgeois opposition party.

2. Former rightist strongman and minister of social welfare of the Peronist regime.

3. The former wage-freeze policy of the regime.

4. The People's Hour.

5. Great National Agreement.

6. The 1969 semi-insurrection in Córdoba.

If we start by considering the UCR as an integral part of the Gran Acuerdo Nacional, one of its fundamental pillars and guarantors along with the armed forces and the Peronists, it becomes easier to understand its policy. In the assignment of roles, the UCR drew that of "constructive opposition," as Dr. Balbín likes to say.

The UCR subordinates the defense of democratic rights to its policy—in this case the strengthening of the Gran Acuerdo Nacional—so as to demobilize the workers movement and force it to retreat. That explains why it accepted with silence the imposition of the state of siege, a measure that cut back civil liberties in one sweeping blow.

This profoundly reactionary and antidemocratic policy does not stop the UCR from denouncing the most brutal forms of repression. This is what it did in the case of the AAA,⁷ taking advantage of the situation to confront López Regaism. In his attempt to dominate the government, Rega endangered the equilibrium painfully reached through the Gran Acuerdo Nacional.

However, since López Rega and his followers disappeared from the top levels of the government, the entire furor of denunciations and demands for an investigation have been relegated to oblivion. When the moment arrived to prove his accusations in the courts, Dr. Balbín himself took a step backward, denying that he had any proof. This retreat is of such magnitude that Radical Deputy Massolo complained bitterly that not a single one of the requests for parliamentary reports had been met.

But not even this timid defense of civil liberties was pursued to its final conclusions. The Radicals drafted statements, attended meetings and interviews, and presented motions. They did everything except one thing: mobilize the masses. From the meetings of the "Nine"⁸ to the fall of López Rega, the leadership of the UCR consistently refused to do the only thing that, as events have since shown, could brake the fascistlike right wing—mobilize the masses. In this it showed itself faithful to the reactionary spirit of the Gran Acuerdo Nacional—to brake and block the

mobilization of the people.

The mobilization that the UCR did not want to initiate took place anyway. The July general strike toppled López Rega and his followers. This made the possibility more remote that the Gran Acuerdo Nacional would be superseded by an openly counterrevolutionary regime in the Pinochet style. Fascist terrorists, although they continue to function, are not at present playing the role of spearhead that the supporters of López Rega envisioned in their plan for seizing power.

The UCR, as the "constructive opposition," has supported all the anti-working-

class measures of the government from the Social Pact on. The fact is that the policy of superexploitation of the workers movement and maintenance of the level of bourgeois profits are also part of the agreement.

The campaign against López Rega might have concealed this anti-working-class role of the UCR. But today the UCR's attempt to compare workers' struggles with guerrilla warfare has made everything crystal clear. This slanderous campaign would make it appear that the old Radical leader wants to move into the front lines of bourgeois reaction in face of the new labor struggles.

Peru: Behind the Morales Coup

[The following article appeared in the October 1 issue of *Palabra Socialista*, newspaper of the Peruvian Trotskyists of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers party).

[In a letter to readers in the same issue the editor explained why the newspaper had not come out for the past three months: On June 13 the paper's offices were raided by the police; the editor, along with five other staff members, was arrested. They were held incommunicado for three months until they were provisionally released without ever having come to trial.

[On the same day, June 13, forty-six other members of the PST were also arrested and all the party's printing materials seized. The materials were never returned.

["The repression against our newspaper had a very concrete aim," the letter to readers said. "It was to prevent *Palabra Socialista* from becoming a tool of enlightenment and struggle for the workers and students, which would permit the building of an alternative leadership for the worker and student vanguard."

[The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

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The abrupt political shift that occurred in the country with the Morales Bermúdez coup—the restructuring of the entire military cabinet along with the suspension of deportations and closures of magazines—has posed for the left as a whole the need to discuss and pinpoint what is really happening in the country, the character of the August 29 coup, and the impact of the new political situation on the development of workers and people's struggles.

With this article we want to contribute to this discussion, while also posing the tasks that in our view the whole of the Peruvian left and the student and working masses must face in the new stage opened in our country.

A Coup by Sectors in the Government to Strengthen the Bonapartist Regime

The removal of Velasco from power and his replacement by Morales Bermúdez, along with the removal of some ministers and chiefs of state with marked rightist positions (Ritcher, Tantaleán, and Sala Orozco, among others)—all of whom have been replaced by other generals whose politics are still not at all known—had as its aim the establishment of a new equilibrium within military and police ranks.

In *Palabra Socialista* we continually warned of the existence of different currents within the armed forces, whose differences had been increasing since the events of February 5.¹ We warned of the growing predominance of a rightist sector, which had been capturing decisive controlling and governmental posts.

In the months preceding the coup, the strengthening of this rightist sector set the tone of the government's conduct. It was reflected in a more repressive stance toward workers struggles and left organizations, in support to the MLR,² in the removal of the populist currents from the regime, and in the elaboration of a clearly conciliatory policy toward the APRA.³

The predominance of the right wing, in turn, caused a greater polarization of the tendencies inside the armed forces (fights between the MLR and the JRP,⁴ between

7. Alianza Anticomunista Argentina (Argentine Anticomunist Alliance), the rightist terrorist organization responsible for hundreds of assassinations in the last two years. López Rega was closely linked to the AAA.

8. The legal political parties in Argentina.

Documents discussed at 1974 Tenth World Congress of Fourth International. 128 pages, 8½ x 11, \$2.50

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1. On February 5 Peruvian troops stormed one of the main police headquarters in Lima to crush a police strike. The assault set off a mass explosion marked by looting and burning directed against symbols of bourgeois rule.—IP

2. Movimiento Laboral Revolucionario—Revolutionary Labor Movement, a body created by one sector of the government to mount physical attacks against opposition groupings in the trade unions.—IP

3. Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana—People's Revolutionary American Alliance.

Expreso and *Ultima Hora*, and so on), which placed in danger the unity of the already deteriorating armed forces and the nationalist orientation of the current administration.

This situation merely reflected the severe economic crisis undermining the stability of the ruling military junta; the workers and people's struggles; and the pressures from the ultraright and imperialists.

In this crisis, Morales Bermúdez came forth as the official arbiter, in view of Velasco's incapacity to continue keeping the regime's internal tensions in a state of equilibrium. Morales Bermúdez is following a different policy—one of democratic concessions and reorganization of the forces inside the government to permit it to establish a new equilibrium within the military ranks and the country. That is why we say it is a coup by sectors within the government to strengthen the bonapartist regime.

This explains the restructuring of the cabinet and military command and the subsequent steps decreed in the first session of the new council of ministers. Thus it is that although Ritcher Prada, Tantaleán, and Sala Orozco were removed as cabinet ministers, the reactionary wing as a whole has not been removed from the government. On the contrary it has been integrated into new ministries and sectors. For example, Ritcher has been designated general commander of the Third Military Region; the Fishing Ministry has passed into the hands of the navy; and so on. It is also symptomatic that on the day following the coup the armed forces and police unanimously indicated their support to the new president.

On the other hand, Morales Bermúdez has sought to regain the support of the populist military men by promoting some of their generals (Fernández Maldonado, Leonidas Rodríguez), permitting the return of the editors of *Marka*, and so forth, in order to integrate all these sectors in a readjustment of forces and thus to reestablish equilibrium among the ranks of the military.

A 'Democratic Springtime' to Achieve 'National Unity'

This bonapartist orientation is also being applied to the bourgeoisie as a whole. In his first message to the country, the new president stated that the lifting of the deportations and closures of publications had been directed toward starting this "second phase of the Revolution" with "a clean slate" "so that all Peruvians have the opportunity to unite" "although we may have differences."

Morales Bermúdez's message is clear. With the latest concessions, he seeks to create political conditions that will permit him to reach an agreement with all sectors of the bourgeoisie—what the government calls "National Unity." In our view it is a bonapartist attempt by the regime to also adjust relations among the bourgeoisie as a whole, neutralizing its pressures, and inveigling it into taking some steps that will permit a united solution to the current economic crisis and a guarantee of political stability for the country.

That explains, for example, the fact that the ministers of industry and commerce immediately held discussions with representatives of the Sociedad de Industrias and CONACO respectively.

Nonetheless, this new "democratic springtime" does not necessarily mean a turn toward elections. We feel that for the moment the government, insofar as it seeks to lessen tensions and reach an agreement with all the bourgeois groups, will limit itself to "consolidating" reforms already made without "deepening the process" or carrying out new radical measures. Elections will be postponed to some future date so long as the continuity of the process is not guaranteed if the government cedes power or "transfers" it.

At most, Morales Bermúdez is trying with his variant of "local governments" and inclusion of civilians in the council of ministers to keep up the hopes of the ultraright.

Of course, the changes introduced by the new president have won the sympathy of the Peruvian right, like the APRA. The APRA has publicly shown its support to the new government and its agreement with the calls for "National Unity," although naturally it has made it clear that "respect for Popular Sovereignty"—that is, elections—is indispensable to reach such a goal.

Even the *New York Times* has said that if Morales Bermúdez "turns to the United States for help he should meet with a prompt and positive response."⁵

In this way both the right wing and the imperialists are trying to take advantage of the current "democratic springtime" to pressure the government to orient toward a policy favorable to agreements and commitments with the United States at the same time that they offer their support on the condition that "power is returned to civilians."

Quite a Delicate Equilibrium

The pressures on the new Peruvian government make the political stability quite fragile. How long will Morales Bermúdez be able to maneuver to maintain an

equilibrium within the armed forces and with the Peruvian bourgeoisie as a whole? How long will he be able to maintain this stage of piecemeal democratic concessions?

Everything will depend on the correlation of forces inside and outside the government, on how the economic crisis develops, and on how the workers and people's movement challenges this entire conciliatory policy with its struggles and mobilizations.

We see several dangers on the horizon. Insofar as the crisis emerges sharply again because of the incapacity of bourgeois nationalism to fundamentally resolve it, the right wing will undoubtedly pressure the government to put into effect a more repressive policy against the left and the mass movement, or it will directly promote a coup or a coup within the government by the most reactionary sector of the armed forces to impose elections and end the seven-year experiment with a bourgeois-nationalist government.

The Workers and the Left Must Join Forces in Defense of Democratic Rights and Wages

The country's current political situation has opened up the possibility that the Peruvian right may use all channels and means at its disposal to press for its electoralist and reactionary solutions. More than ever, then, the Peruvian left should counterpose unity in action in defense of the most basic rights of the working masses to the current rightist resurgence.

The cost of living continues to rise without a glimpse in sight of a solution by the new government, which sees no other possibility but to call for an increase in production.

Democratic rights remain curtailed, as in the case of the political prisoners and the trials pending for hundreds of political and trade-union activists. While the rightist parties are legally permitted to carry out their reactionary activities, left organizations continue doomed to function clandestinely or semilegally.

That is why the political shift in the country necessitates unity in action of the entire left and the trade-union and mass organizations to defend democratic rights and the workers' wage demands. In that way we will be posing a class alternative to the calls for "National Unity" and preparing ourselves for possible future repression or an outright coup attempt. □

A Matter of Priorities

The Pentagon employs a staff of 3,000 persons to promote worldwide sales of American munitions. The Arms Control and Disarmament Agency maintains a staff of twelve to monitor such sales.

4. Juventud Revolucionaria del Perú—Revolutionary Youth of Peru.

5. The quotation is from an editorial in the August 30 issue.

Appeal by Andrei Grigorenko for Soviet Political Prisoners

[We print below a statement in defense of Soviet political prisoners by Andrei Grigorenko, the thirty-year-old son of dissident Soviet communist Pyotr Grigorenko. Andrei Grigorenko was granted an exit visa by the Kremlin bureaucrats and emigrated from the Soviet Union in late September.

[Pyotr Grigorenko was released in June 1974 from a psychiatric hospital after being confined for five years for his activities in defense of the rights of minority nationalities, particularly the Crimean Tatar people.

[Andrei Grigorenko testified on the repression of the Crimean Tatars when he spoke at the International Sakharov Hearings held in Copenhagen October 17-19. The *New York Times* reported October 20 that he "told the panel that Soviet officials systematically persecuted Crimean Tatars, refusing to allow them to buy houses, to register at hotels, or to hold jobs." Among the eleven prisoners named in the appeal below is the Crimean Tatar Mustafa Dzhemilev, who was recently arrested for the fourth time.

[In the introduction to the appeal printed in the October 19 London *Observer*, Andrei Grigorenko was reported to have said that Pyotr Grigorenko "has abandoned all his campaigning since his release from hospital but the KGB [Soviet secret police] is still keeping an eye on him." It is known that Grigorenko has had a heart attack since his release, but he is believed to have recovered.

[The text of Andrei Grigorenko's appeal is taken from the *Observer*.]

* * *

First of all I should like to thank all those

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people in the West who have repeatedly spoken up in defence of independently thinking people in the USSR. It is thanks to this solidarity that in my Fatherland many have managed to get out of prisons, psychiatric hospitals and camps.

It is publicity alone which restrains the Soviet regime from physically exterminating all those who allow themselves the luxury of having their own opinion. Not even one's own opinion—the luxury of simply thinking and reading not what one is told to but material of one's own choice.

The Human Rights Movement in the USSR has challenged one of the contemporary totalitarian systems. But a successful confrontation with a State machine of unprecedented power is impossible in solitude and isolation from the rest of the world. Only the common efforts of men of goodwill shall avert the aggression of totalitarian psychology, under whatever guise it may hide and whatever slogan it may display on its facade.

I believe that humaneness and compassion for the pain of others will triumph in our cruel world. And for the sake of this humaneness I would like people to remember those who are crushed by the Soviet State machine. In the name of justice one must not forget about the occupation of the Baltic States, the annexation of East Prussia, the crushing of the Hungarian Revolution of 1956, the occupation of Czechoslovakia in 1968, mass shootings in Novocheerkassk, Tbilisi and other cities of the USSR in the early 1960s, and very many other things.

There, on the other side of the barbed wire which divides our world, engaged in a struggle for their national and cultural rights, are Armenians, Jews, Crimean Tartars, Lithuanians, Meskhetian Turks, Germans, Ukrainians, believers of various congregations and many others whose enumeration would take up more than one sheet of paper. Thousands of innocent people languish in Soviet prisons, psychiatric hospitals and camps. I shall permit myself to recall the names of some of them.

• *Mustafa Dzhemilev*, against whom a new charge is being fabricated. A man who is utterly committed to the fate of his people, the Crimean Tartars, but who does not for a moment forget the sufferings of other men and peoples, defending human rights, a member of the Action Group for the Defence of Human Rights in the USSR. For the freedom of other people Dzhemilev is paying with his own freedom—three terms of imprisonment. Today he awaits another one.

• *Leonid Plyushch*, incarcerated in the Dnepropetrovsk Psychiatric Prison Hospital. A member of the Action Group for the

Defence of Human Rights in the USSR, a man of enormous erudition and brilliant, subtle intellect whose brain they try to destroy by the injection needle in the hands of the criminals in white coats.

• *Yuriy Belov* and *George Paramonov*, thrown into the prison-type psychiatric hospitals of Sychevka and Chernyakhovsk for their convictions, without hope of ever being free again.

• *Vladimir Bukovsky*, who has unmasked the criminal practice of placing mentally healthy people in psychiatric hospitals.

• *Semyon Gluzman*, who revealed the falsehood of a knowingly-fabricated expert opinion (concerning General Grigorenko—translator's note) and paid for fulfilling his medical duty by many years of imprisonment in a concentration camp.

• *Ivan Svitlychny*, a Ukrainian patriot, a brilliant writer and humanist, a prisoner in political camps.

• *Alexander Feldman*, thrown behind bars on fabricated charges of hooliganism. His real "crime" is his desire to live in the land of his people—the State of Israel.

• *Andrei Tverdokhlebov* and *Sergey Kovalyov*, whose sole crime was a noble activity—aid to the prisoners of conscience.

• *Anatoly Marchenko*, in exile in the Chita Region, the author of the well-known book (*My Testimony*, Pall Mall Press, London) on contemporary Soviet concentration camps for political prisoners.

I address all those to whom common human values are dear. Only the unflinching attention of the world public can defend these people, help to save their lives and perhaps also gain their freedom. Granted that sometimes it seems that such pressure is not effective enough. It is very well felt in the Soviet Union. For the fact that many of us today have the possibility of speaking freely is also the result of the pressure of world public opinion.

Peace is indivisible and the struggle for freedom is also indivisible. □

Oops!

A nuclear warhead accidentally fell forty feet to the bottom of a shaft it was being lowered into at Washington's Nevada test site October 23. It didn't go off. Officials of the U.S. Energy Research and Development Administration said that no radiation leaked from the bomb, but eleven workers suffered minor injuries from the accident. In any case, it was a "small" bomb, with a designed yield of 20 kilotons (equivalent to the power of 20,000 tons of TNT). Officials were still debating whether to try to retrieve it or detonate another bomb nearby to destroy it.

In Defense of Mustafa Dzhemilev

[The following appeal was issued July 9 on behalf of imprisoned Crimean Tatar Mustafa Dzhemilev. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Mustafa Dzhemilev is an energetic fighter for the rights of the Crimean Tatar people to return to their native land. A member of the Initiative Group for the Defense of Human Rights in the USSR, he is now in prison and is conducting a hunger strike to protest the fabrication of new criminal charges against him.

Mustafa Dzhemilev was born in 1943 in the Crimean village of Boskoy. He was not yet one year old when all of the Crimean Tatar people were violently banished from their native soil. With no more than twenty minutes notice, they were driven away in locked freight cars without water, food, or air—the living and the dead together. About half the people perished during the long trip and in the first months of settlement in a barren and inhospitable place. Mustafa and his parents survived.

Since 1962 Mustafa Dzhemilev has been an activist in the peaceful movement of Crimean Tatars to return to their homeland in the Crimea.

Since that time he has been the victim of ongoing persecution and fabricated charges. These include:

One and a half years imprisonment in 1966-67 on the charge of "draft evasion," in fact for his desire to return with his people to the Crimea.

Three years imprisonment (1969-72) on the charge of "knowingly circulating false statements discrediting the Soviet government and social system," in fact for the continuous, persistent demand to return to the Crimean Tatar people their native land,

which has been taken away from them.

Several arrests for up to fifteen days on the charge of "hooliganism," in fact for attempts to obtain meetings with Soviet governmental institutions to deliver statements, petitions, and appeals for the return of the Crimean Tatars to the Crimea. The last arrest for "hooliganism," on May 13, 1974, was made after an unsuccessful attempt to provoke Mustafa into a fight and was a preventive measure on the thirtieth anniversary of the deportation of the Crimean Tatars.

In protest against this illegal arrest, Mustafa Dzhemilev went on a hunger strike until, on the ninth day, he was released.

On June 22, 1974, Mustafa Dzhemilev was arrested, despite the fact that he was ill, on the charge of "evading military duties," in fact for his obstinate desire to recover for himself and his people their homeland that has been taken away from them.

In July 1974 Mustafa Dzhemilev's elderly parents, in despair, appealed to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and also to "mothers, fathers, sisters, brothers, governments, and parliaments of all countries." They asked N.V. Podgorny to allow their son to emigrate from the USSR. They asked the governments of other countries to grant asylum to their son, who is being perpetually persecuted.

Mustafa himself protested the illegal charge (he had been released from military duty for health reasons) and announced a long-term hunger strike. Nevertheless, he was sentenced to one year imprisonment and sent to a camp in Omsk.

Soon, animated activity began around M. Dzhemilev on the part of the KGB [Soviet secret police] and the camp administration. Clearly, material was being prepared for new trumped-up charges.

It is well known that there have been quite a few cases in which Soviet investigatory bodies initiated "cases" and repeatedly convicted people not for crimes they have committed but for preventive purposes—you might say solely on the assumption that the person in question represented a potential danger to Soviet ideology.

In this way, for example, cases were fabricated against Anatoly Marchenko, Andrei Amalrik, Vladimir Dremlyuga, and Lev Ubozhko, cases based on the false testimony of witnesses—prisoners who were compelled to testify by threats and promises. Vladimir Dremlyuga, threatened with a third term, secured his freedom at the price of a pertinent article in the newspaper *Sovetskaya Yakutya*.

On June 19, 1975, three days before the end of his sentence, new charges were

brought against Mustafa Dzhemilev, again for "knowingly circulating false statements. . . ." He was placed in prison. Senior Omsk investigator, Prosecutor Gucelnikov, is in charge of his "case."

To establish the new "case," security agents tried, in particular, to involve one of Mustafa Dzhemilev's camp mates, Vladimir Dvoryansky. Dvoryansky did not wish to become a provocateur and traitor. He has recorded his conversations with representatives of the administration and has called this record "Testimony." This document has made its way beyond the barbed wire and it is attached to this statement.

Witnesses who lie, false indictments, prosecutors' speeches full of lies, sentences based on lies—this entire arsenal of falsehood is directed at forcing Mustafa Dzhemilev to be silent, at compelling all of us to forget the truth, the truth about the exile of an entire people, and consequently to annihilate the dream of this people to return to their native steppes, mountains, and coastal villages.

Mustafa Dzhemilev began a hunger strike to protest the fabricated charge.

It is impermissible for the suffering of an entire people to be consigned to oblivion. It is impermissible to accept lies. It is impermissible to let this man perish.

Therefore, protesting the fabricated charges against Mustafa Dzhemilev, we appeal to all who value civil rights and human freedom, all who can and will take action.

Speak out in defense of Mustafa Dzhemilev! Do not let this new illegality be committed!

T. Khodorovich, T. Velikanova, M. Landa, J. Orlov, G. Podyapolsky, Z. Grigorenko, A. Grigorenko, A. Lavut, I. Yakir, E. Kosterina, I. Kaplun, L. Alekseeva, K. Velikanova, N. Licovskaya, S. Khodorovich, L. Ternovskiy. □

Standards Smell Fishy

The Food and Drug Administration uses professional smellers in their random inspections of fish shipments. The smellers classify the fish into three categories: Class I for "good commercial" fish, Class II for "slightly decomposed," and Class III for "advanced decomposed." Shipments that contain no more than 20 percent Class II or 5 percent Class III fish are automatically approved, the *Wall Street Journal* reported October 7.

Albert Weber, an FDA fish smeller in New York, suspects that some companies add decomposed fish to good fish in "acceptable" proportions in order to get the higher prices available in the United States.

"Our policy," Weber said, "is that if you can't prove it's decomposed, the product gets the benefit of the doubt."

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Por un Curso Político Correcto en Portugal

Por Gerry Foley, Joseph Hansen y George Novack

El 'Corporativismo' en el Documento Guía

[Continúa de la semana pasada]

Los camaradas Frank, Maitan y Mandel han sin duda hecho extraordinariamente poco para desalentar las ilusiones en el ala izquierda del MFA y para advertir acerca de los peligros que acarrearán.

"Se puede predecir con absoluta confianza," nos aseguran, "que para que el 'corporativismo,' totalitarismo o fascismo vuelva a Portugal, todos los iniciadores de los actuales consejos obreros, y no pocos de los 'teóricos' del MFA que redactaron el decreto tan detestado por el camarada Foley [el Documento Guía del 8 de julio, cuya traducción en inglés fue publicada el 21 de julio en *Intercontinental Press*,—p. 1050], tendrían antes que ser fusilados. Ni el más mínimo rastro de cualquier 'consejo popular' sobreviviría bajo una dictadura reaccionaria victoriosa. Si las cosas llegaran a eso, el camarada Foley se vería en dificultades para explicar cómo se las arregló para confundir las víctimas con los victimarios."

Carvalho era uno de los que respaldaban el Documento Guía, de hecho uno de sus más prominentes defensores. Por lo tanto, ¿no tenemos que preocuparnos acerca de él? ¿El tendría que ser fusilado antes de que se pudiera establecer una dictadura derechista! Sería triste confundir las víctimas con el victimario, pero podría ser fatal confundir el victimario con las víctimas.

Los camaradas Frank, Maitan y Mandel denuncian a Foley de una manera bastante dura por comparar al Documento Guía con el "corporativismo." Dicen que él mismo dijo esto, "admitiendo que 'este esquema elaborado es improbable que sea alguna vez plenamente aplicado.'" Es cierto que Foley "admitió" eso. Sin embargo, esta frase por sí sola da una impresión más bien distorsionada de lo que trataba de decir. He aquí el contexto:

"Aunque es improbable que este esquema elaborado sea alguna vez plenamente aplicado, más de lo que lo fue el complicado gobierno dual delineado en el 'pacto-programa,' sí establece algunos principios y procedimientos de una manera bastante clara. Su significado fundamental es el mismo que el del anterior 'documento guía.' Los militares mandan. El nuevo documento simplemente lleva este principio más allá, estipulando que los militares son el árbitro

supremo y gobernarán a la sociedad directamente, extendiendo su dominio a nivel local, de fábrica y de barrio.

"Entre otras cosas, la adopción de este esquema muestra el carácter suicida de la política de colaboración de clases del PS, puesto que el plan no es solamente una extensión lógica del 'pacto-programa' que el PS firmó, sino también del 'Programa de Acción Política' del 21 de junio, el cual el PS proclamó como una afirmación de la democracia y el 'pluralismo.'

"Haciendo a un lado lo que el documento dice acerca de sus metas más distantes, las proposiciones inmediatas recuerdan el corporativismo, son similares al sistema imperante bajo Salazar pero de hecho más escrupulosas. No deja lugar ni siquiera para las elecciones nacionales formales que Salazar permitió después de la derrota de las potencias fascistas en la segunda guerra mundial. Después de todo, como Salazar y Caetano, el grupo militar dominante se quemó los dedos en unas elecciones a las que intentaba darles un carácter puramente formal.

"Las únicas 'asambleas populares' concebidas en este momento son locales. No se permitirá que las 'organizaciones populares de base' se unan en una federación hasta que los militares decidan que el momento es apropiado. Aún más, los militares serán quienes decidan el 'reconocimiento' de todas y cada una de tales organizaciones, y el reconocimiento dependerá de su evaluación de sus actividades.

"Aunque los militares prometen promover la formación de comités obreros y de inquilinos donde todavía no existan, estipulan también que los comités existentes deben ser 'ampliados' para llevar a cabo las tareas asignadas para tales organizaciones. Estas tareas incluyen 'el trabajo político por medio de la educación e información de sectores de trabajadores o de la población,' y 'el fortalecimiento de la alianza entre el pueblo y el MFA' como 'una actividad constante.' El MFA mismo será quien juzgue si estas tareas están siendo llevadas a cabo, y supuestamente esto determinará cuáles 'organizaciones populares de base' serán 'reconocidas' y cuáles no.

"Esto no sólo elimina la independencia de cualquier grupo que sea formado, sino que

también da al gobierno el poder para empezar a interferir inmediatamente en las embrionarias organizaciones de fábrica y barrio que ya existen. Cualquier organización que se desarrolle espontáneamente para llenar las necesidades de algún grupo de obreros o de las masas pobres está obligada, de acuerdo con el punto 3.1, a afiliarse a estructuras 'reconocidas' y a ajustar su composición y actividad para cumplir las 'tareas' y llenar las normas puestas por los militares.

"Esta cláusula extiende el ataque contra la libertad de asociación iniciado con la 'Ley de Unidad Sindical' hasta extremos totalitarios. Hasta las más elementales formas de organización de las masas pueden ser diluidas y su composición alterada para conformarlas a los objetivos del gobierno militar."

Los camaradas Frank, Maitan y Mandel confunden aquí dos cosas—el documento en sí y lo que piensan ellos que será su efecto objetivo. Ambos son importantes, pero se tiene que distinguir entre ellos. ¿Niegan que el documento tal como es es totalitario en sus objetivos? ¿Es el sistema delineado por el Documento Guía lo que los trotskistas consideran "soviets"?

Si lo es, todo "trabajador avanzado" cuerdo debería evitar a los trotskistas como a la plaga y luchar hasta la última gota de su sangre contra cualquier intento por parte de ellos de establecer su sociedad nueva. Este documento no deja el menor resquicio para la democracia genuina o para cualquier derecho democrático.

¿No hay ningún peligro de que este documento, tal como es, sea confundido con un verdadero plan de democracia obrera? El número del 19 de julio al 21 de agosto de *Tribune Socialiste*, el órgano del centrista PSU francés, con el cual los trotskistas franceses han formado un frente para "defender la revolución portuguesa," le dió importancia favorable al Documento Guía. El encabezado principal que cubría la pasta era "Ni Social Democracia ni Stalinismo—PODER POPULAR." No contenía ninguna crítica del documento, ninguna indicación de que no era una alternativa "soviética" democrática al stalinismo.

Una posición similar es sostenida por otro partido centrista, Förbundet Kommunist de Suecia. Este grupo ha llevado a cabo una campaña contra los trotskistas suecos, quienes según ellos han calumniado al

MFA. El número del 28 de agosto de *Internationalen*, el órgano de la sección sueca, explicaba el problema de la manera siguiente:

"Ambos Gunnar Wesslén en *Aftonbladet* [un diario social-demócrata] y *Förbundet Kommunist* en *Arbetarkamp* ven las posibilidades de poder obrero que pueden tomar forma por medio de la construcción de soviets, pero al mismo tiempo aclaman la propuesta del MFA y falsifican el documento del 8 de julio para que encaje en sus sueños color de rosa."

La prensa de las secciones italiana y sueca de la Cuarta Internacional ha sido en ocasiones notablemente más crítica hacia la "izquierda" del MFA y sus esquemas "soviéticos" que aquella de, por ejemplo, las secciones inglesa, belga, alemana y france-

sa. Esto es un indicio del hecho de que la Cuarta Internacional, aún donde la influencia de los camaradas Frank, Maitan y Mandel es más fuerte, todavía se eleva muy por encima de los grupos ultraizquierdistas y centristas en Europa que están escenificando un carnaval de oportunismo de "izquierda" en apoyo al ala izquierda del MFA y grupos anarquistas delirantes como el PRP-BR.

Sin embargo, las conclusiones extraídas por los camaradas Frank, Maitan y Mandel no ofrecen ayuda alguna a las secciones italiana y sueca en su polémica con organizaciones centristas bastante grandes. De hecho, acarrear el riesgo de conducirlos a una posición irremediabilmente contradictoria.

El Cretinismo Antiparlamentario y el Programa del Copcon

Además de sus objeciones al uso del término "corporativismo" por parte del camarada Foley al referirse al Documento Guía, los camaradas Frank, Maitan y Mandel protestan contra la manera en que aplica el término "cretinismo antiparlamentario." Escriben:

"Trotsky usó la expresión 'cretinismo antiparlamentario' para referirse a los anarquistas españoles, quienes, en un país en donde todavía había poderosas ilusiones electorales y democrático-burguesas, se rehusaban a participar en las elecciones parlamentarias bajo el pretexto de no querer reforzar esas ilusiones. Hasta donde recordamos, el PC portugués participó en las elecciones, así como los 'centristas' y muchos de los 'ultraizquierdistas' a los que se refiere el camarada Foley, incluyendo a los trotskistas de la LCI. Obviamente, entonces, el camarada Foley usa la expresión 'cretinismo antiparlamentario' en un sentido bastante diferente al de Trotsky."

Trotsky usó este término en una carta escrita el 28 de mayo de 1931, titulada "La Revolución Española y sus Peligros."⁶ Aparentemente estos camaradas están familiarizados con la carta. Parece haber sido la inspiración del título del artículo del camarada Mandel sobre el caso *República*, que recibió el título: "La Revolución Portuguesa y sus Peligros."

Hay una sección completa en la carta de Trotsky bajo el encabezado "El Cretinismo Parlamentario de los Reformistas y el Cretinismo Antiparlamentario de los Anarquistas." Es cierto que empieza con el cretinismo de la abstención de los anarquistas en las elecciones. Pero no termina ahí. Trotsky dice:

"En la agitación era necesario colocar desde el principio, en primer término, la

cuestión de los derechos electorales. Si; ¡la cuestión prosaica de los derechos electorales! Ni qué decir que la democracia soviética es incomparablemente superior a la burguesa. Pero los soviets no caen del cielo. Para construirlos es preciso trabajar.

"Hay gentes que se dicen marxistas, que manifiestan un desprecio arrogante por consignas tales como, por ejemplo, la del sufragio universal igual, directo y secreto para los hombres y las mujeres a partir de los dieciocho años. Sin embargo, si los comunistas españoles hubieran lanzado a su tiempo esa consigna, defendiéndola en discursos, artículos y manifiestos habrían adquirido una popularidad enorme."

Bajo este mismo encabezado, oponiéndose no sólo a los anarquistas sino también a los stalinistas ultraizquierdistas, Trotsky consideró una serie de cuestiones, como la importancia de la defensa de la autodeterminación nacional y la importancia de impulsar un programa sobre la cuestión agraria para los campesinos, a quienes los camaradas Frank, Maitan y Mandel hacen a un lado como irremediabilmente reaccionarios.

Trotsky también dice: "Al hablar *única*mente de la jornada de siete horas, de los comités de fábrica y del armamento de los obreros, ignorando la 'política,' sin mencionar ni una sola vez en sus artículos las elecciones a las Cortes, *Pravda* hace el juego al anarcosindicalismo, lo fomenta, lo encubre."

Trotsky también consideró la cuestión de una asamblea constituyente:

"Los comunistas necesitan la tribuna de las Cortes para mantener el contacto con las masas. Y por medio de este contacto se desarrollarán las acciones que desbordarán a las Cortes. Esta es la esencia de la dialéctica revolucionaria con respecto al parlamento.

"¿Cómo se explica, entonces, el hecho de que la dirección de la Internacional Comu-

nista guarde silencio sobre esta cuestión? Únicamente porque es prisionera de su propio pasado.

"Los stalinistas rechazaron demasiado ruidosamente la consigna de la Asamblea Constituyente para China. El VI Congreso estigmatizó oficialmente como 'oportunisto' las consignas de la democracia política para los países coloniales. El ejemplo de España, país incomparablemente más avanzado que China e India, pone al descubierto toda la inconsistencia de las decisiones del VI Congreso. Pero los stalinistas están atados de pies y manos. Como no se atreven a incitar al biocot del parlamento, sencillamente se callan. ¡Que perezca la revolución, pero que se salve la reputación de infalibilidad de los jefes!"

Es bastante claro, a pesar de la definición ofrecida por los camaradas Frank, Maitan y Mandel, que este término "cretinismo antiparlamentario" cubre muchos más otros defectos que la simple negativa a participar en las elecciones.

¿No es esta actitud que Trotsky describió bajo este encabezado un problema en Portugal actualmente o en otras partes de Europa donde los grupos tratan de comprender el proceso revolucionario en Portugal? Evidentemente que sí. En Suecia, por ejemplo, nuestros camaradas han tenido que polemizar con un grupo centrista bastante grande que difunde precisamente esas ilusiones.

Los camaradas suecos critican lo que es de hecho el "cretinismo antiparlamentario" del *Förbundet Kommunist* centrista, que en defensa del MFA ha estado atacando a los trotskistas suecos. Los sabios de *Förbundet Kommunist* habían escrito en un editorial de su periódico *Arbetarkamp*:

"La izquierda revolucionaria ha logrado una fuerza considerable en la lucha a nivel de base. Pero la campaña electoral de abril obsureció los intereses de clase en conflicto y transfirió la lucha al nivel de la política partidaria. Pero choques violentos entre los partidos políticos obstruyeron el movimiento de masas."

A esto, el camarada Göte Kildén respondió en *Internationalen*: "¡Qué espantoso! Es mejor trabajar localmente, ocuparse con el trabajo sectorial y confiar en el MFA en lo que concierne a las cuestiones políticas nacionales."

El camarada Kildén está en lo correcto. Esto es un buen ejemplo del "método marxista." Sin embargo, ¿no debería de hacer la misma crítica a los camaradas alemanes quienes también se alinean con los camaradas Frank, Maitan y Mandel?

Además, el camarada Kildén describió concretamente como trabaja el cretinismo antiparlamentario en Portugal y cuales son sus efectos.

La definición de "cretinismo antiparlamentario" hecha por los camaradas Frank, Maitan y Mandel es tan estrecha que es casi

6. Ver *The Spanish Revolution (1931-39)* [La Revolución Española (1931-39)] por León Trotsky. (New York, Pathfinder Press, 1973), p. 111.

inútil. Dicen que sólo se trata de hacer un principio de la abstención a las elecciones burguesas.

El reducir esta forma de ultraizquierdismo a sólo el no presentar candidatos en las elecciones burguesas, elimina el problema de todas las arenas menos la arena electoral. El PRP-BR se abstuvo de las elecciones a la Asamblea Constituyente, así que sufre de cretinismo antiparlamentario. El MES participó, así que probablemente no lo podemos acusar de ese defecto, aún si esta organización consideró a las elecciones como un paso hacia atrás y pensó que el MFA había errado al convocarlas.

Fueron estas ilusiones que condujeron al MES y al PRP-BR a tragarse el anzuelo del Documento Guía. Los camaradas Frank, Maitan y Mandel, aunque no se tragaron el anzuelo, tampoco lo rechazan. El Documento Guía en sí mismo no es de ningún interés para ellos, dicen. Lo que sí es importante son las consecuencias objetivas del documento. Estas, afirman, tienen poco que ver con las estipulaciones en sí.

Su argumento es el siguiente:

“En Portugal actualmente, el posible surgimiento de embrionicos consejos obreros ha sido expresado por el hecho de que las comisiones obreras han empezado a asumir tareas cuyo cumplimiento desborda el marco de las mismas fábricas. Si el ala ‘progresista’ del MFA inicia un patético intento de ‘coptar’ este desarrollo dentro de sus propios planes, esto de ninguna manera modifica los orígenes o la dirección del desarrollo de estos consejos. Su surgimiento gradual no ha sido el resultado de una derrota, sino de un ascenso tremendo de la actividad de la clase obrera.”

Pero los consejos obreros, tal como son, han existido desde abril de 1974. En ciertas maneras jugaron un papel más importante en el período inmediatamente después del derrocamiento, cuando una ola de huelgas desbordó las estructuras sindicales. Más tarde, algunos de estos comités se convirtieron claramente en comités de organización sindical. Durante un largo período los comités perdieron importancia con relación a los sindicatos.

Entonces, con la ola de nacionalizaciones, que involucraban un cierto grado de control obrero, los comités ganaron una nueva importancia como los órganos más apropiados para llevar a cabo estas tareas. En las movilizaciones del 11 de marzo, los comités obreros no jugaron ningún papel independiente, sino que simplemente ejecutaron las instrucciones de la Intersindical.

En algunos casos, los sindicatos han sido más militantes que los comités obreros; este es el caso, por ejemplo, en TAP [Transportes Aéreos Portugueses], la aerolínea nacional portuguesa, que ha sido un centro de conflicto de no poca importancia.

De ninguna manera han reaccionado todos los observadores capitalistas a los

comités obreros como el diablo supuestamente reacciona al agua bendita.

Por ejemplo, el *Economist* británico, cuya principal función es la de ofrecer consejos prácticos a una de las clases capitalistas con los más grandes intereses en Portugal, tuvo esto que decir en el número del 13-19 de septiembre acerca del tipo de control obrero y de consejos obreros que existen en Portugal:

“Aunque la ITT ha sido sólo una de media docena de grandes compañías internacionales que ha huído a la revolución, probablemente seguirán más.

“Pero sus razones para haber cerrado sus libros no pueden ser vistas sólo como un resultado de la tendencia hacia el control obrero o del caos gubernamental. La ley del gobierno de Gonçalves que pone en vigor el control obrero (casi su último acto), es de muchas maneras extremadamente conservadora, y aconseja a los obreros a que incrementen la productividad. La raíz de los problemas de la industria privada, ya sea portuguesa o extranjera, es el cambio abrupto del extremo capitalismo *laissez-faire* a un grado normal de preocupación para que los trabajadores reciban un salario justo, ganado bajo condiciones de trabajo aceptables, y que se beneficien de las contribuciones de los patrones al seguro social. . . .

“Los nuevos comités obreros han madurado desde que se iniciaron hace un año. El patrón de una compañía de productos eléctricos dice que los comités obreros son actualmente más cooperativos y concientes de los problemas de la compañía que los sindicatos—representan un sector más amplio de la opinión política, a menudo incluyen a los empleados de los departamentos de contabilidad, y su ‘control’ es frecuentemente más una cuestión de un cuidadoso examen y comprensión de la gerencia y de los libros de la compañía, que de la demanda por parte de los obreros de dirigir ellos mismos. En Plessey, por ejemplo, el comité obrero propuso la idea de empezar una nueva línea de montaje, la cual ya se ha iniciado.”

¿Por qué ofrecen tan pocos ejemplos los camaradas Frank, Maitan y Mandel de esta ola de auto-organización de la clase obrera tan poderosa que no hay ninguna necesidad de temer cualquier “intento patético” por parte de un ala del MFA de usarlo para sus “planes” (que, dicho sea de paso, nunca definen)? De hecho, el único ejemplo que dan es el de la ocupación de *República*, aunque ellos mismos dicen que hubo una provocación.

El misterio es fácilmente aclarado si nos referimos a los hechos. No hubo ningún ascenso de “auto-organización” en mayo o junio o julio que pusiera el “poder popular” en el orden del día, más de lo que lo hubo en cualquier mes desde el derrocamiento de abril de 1974. Los dos acontecimientos más

importantes fueron los siguientes:

1. A pesar de los intentos de retrasar las elecciones a la Asamblea Constituyente, a pesar de los intentos por parte de algunos sectores del MFA de calumniar al PS, acusándolo de ser pro-Spinolista, a pesar de los intentos por parte del ala “progresista” del MFA de incitar a la gente a votar en blanco, el PS ganó las elecciones abrumadoramente.

2. Las elecciones fueron seguidas, no por el surgimiento de “soviets” y de control obrero, sino por una ola de huelgas económicas.

De hecho, en su discurso del 1 de mayo, el Primer Ministro Gonçalves trató de usar el control obrero como argumento para convencer a los trabajadores a producir más y exigir menos en cuanto a salarios más elevados y mejores condiciones.

¿Qué, entonces, puso en la agenda el poder dual? ¿No fue el hecho de que el ala “progresista” del MFA, Carvalho y Coutinho—en quienes los ultraizquierdistas en Portugal depositaron grandes esperanzas—impulsó el esquema de la “democracia directa” codificado en el Documento Guía como una manera de resolver las “cuestiones políticas nacionales”? ¿No iba esto de acuerdo con sus posiciones previas?

¿Cuándo se convirtió el PS en la supuesta punta de lanza de una campaña burguesa para restaurar el orden público? ¿Fue antes o después de que Carvalho y Coutinho expresaron su desconfianza en la “democracia burguesa”?

Los camaradas Frank, Maitan y Mandel están seguros de que el MFA no puede usar el esquema “soviético” del Documento Guía para fines reaccionarios. Su confianza se basa en la siguiente cadena de razonamientos:

“El caso de los ‘comités populares’ provee un buen ejemplo de las diferencias entre los dos métodos [el suyo y el de Foley]. Si uno ve a un plan (en papel) llamando a la presencia de un comandante militar en cada consejo distrital, partiendo del punto arbitrario y mistificante de que estamos encarando a una poderosa junta militar que está completamente en control de la situación y resuelta a establecer un ‘estado corporativista,’ entonces tal plan se convierte en un ‘presagio siniestro.’ Si, por el otro lado, uno ve la realidad de un MFA dividido y crecientemente paralizado, tambaleándose de crisis en crisis, e incapaz de mantener cualquier posición independiente entre las cada vez más polarizadas fuerzas del capital y del trabajo, entonces uno ve el plan como un patético intento de un ala del MFA de coptar y manipular las iniciativas radicales de la clase obrera, iniciativas que han sido tomadas independientemente del MFA. Uno además ve que tales intentos de coptación están destinados al fracaso, mientras que el movimiento de masas se

mantenga en un alza. En vez de responder al decreto sobre 'poder popular' del MFA con el pregón increíblemente sectario y de tipo social-fascista de 'corporativismo,' uno debería en su lugar responder: Que ese 'comandante del ejército' no sea nominado sino que sea electo libremente por todos los soldados y oficiales del distrito, sobre la base de 'un hombre, un voto.' De hecho, esto es exactamente lo que sucedió en la primera asamblea popular local que se reunió en Portugal—el 13 de julio en el poblado de Pontinha."

Eso ocurrió en la "primera asamblea popular local." ¡Fantástico! ¿Cuántas más hay como esa? ¿Qué han hecho? ¿Qué estaba sucediendo en el resto del país mientras que se establecía en Pontinha una asamblea popular "pura"?

¿No estaba siendo profundamente dividida la clase obrera, ¿no se estaba centrando toda la vida política alrededor de un conflicto tenebroso entre camarillas militares? ¿No era esto, desde el punto de vista de los oficiales como Gomes, un resultado que justificaba entregarles "soviets" con que jugar a unos cuantos regimientos izquierdistas?

¿Representó el conflicto en agosto una clara polarización entre un ala del MFA que era atraída por los trabajadores radicalizados y otra ala que apoyaba la reacción capitalista con una victoria para la derecha y una derrota para la izquierda?

Pero el proceso fue mucho más complicado que eso. Los ultraizquierdistas primero cometieron el error de tener confianza en Carvalho y después de aliarse con Gonçalves, que tenía un proyecto básicamente tan conservador como el de Melo Antunes, aunque más demagógico.

Carvalho incluso trató, con algo de éxito, de formar un bloque con Antunes en base al llamado documento del Copcon,⁷ que en abstracto contenía algunas demandas revolucionarias correctas.

La LCI apoyó este programa tanto en la manifestación de los "comités obreros" del 20 de agosto como en la manifestación del Frente Unico Popular del 27 de agosto, en el cual este documento fue incorporado al programa que incluía la defensa de casi el récord completo del gobierno de Gonçalves. ¿quién fue engañado por un "plan sobre papel" en este caso?

Era un hecho que en la situación política concreta las promesas en el documento del Copcon fueron sólo adornos, hechas aún más efectivas porque las personas que lo redactaron querían subjetivamente una revolución socialista.

El programa del Copcon aceptaba el marco del MFA y el "patriotismo" portugués en el contexto de un país imperialista. Esa fue su esencia, y lo demás no tenía la

menor relevancia. Por eso durante un breve, pero crucial período, Carvalho pudo usar este documento para sus "planes."

Así que, ¿no son culpables los camaradas Frank, Maitan y Mandel de un error similar a aquél cometido por Förbundet Kommunist? En su rechazo de la democracia burguesa, ¿no se concentran tanto en la auto-organización de las masas como para abrirse a la acusación de dejar las "cuestiones políticas nacionales" al MFA?

En nuestra opinión, ese es un verdadero peligro. Además, no es un nuevo error en la historia del movimiento revolucionario. Su forma concreta es el cretinismo antiparlamentario, pero se podría categorizar más

Un Paso Hacia un Gobierno de Obreros y Campesinos a Través de la Asamblea Constituyente

Al otorgarle muy poca prioridad a la defensa de la democracia burguesa, los camaradas Frank, Maitan y Mandel son llevados a describir la posición de Foley sobre la Asamblea Constituyente como una desviación de los principios del trotskismo.

Como ya hemos explicado, lo que Foley señalaba fue la posibilidad de presionar a las direcciones de los partidos Comunista y Socialista para que usen el mandato expresado por el voto del pueblo, y establezcan un gobierno de obreros y campesinos en oposición al régimen militar no elegido.

Los camaradas Frank, Maitan y Mandel están de acuerdo en que el método de Lenin y Trotsky de exigir a los partidos obreros reformistas que tomen el poder es un truco propagandístico muy útil para educar a los trabajadores sobre la verdadera naturaleza de las direcciones que ellos están siguiendo.

Pero los trabajadores portugueses han rebasado esas ilusiones, insinúan los camaradas Frank, Maitan y Mandel; por lo tanto hay que darle prioridad a la "lucha encarnizada de defender todos los logros actuales de los trabajadores." Como lo describen ellos, los trabajadores "están ocupando fábricas, implementando el control obrero, y creando organismos de auto-defensa para defenderse de las amenazas del desempleo, la pobreza, y un sangriento golpe reaccionario."

Ante esta situación dramática, argumentan, Foley cae en el "cretinismo parlamentario." Foley les aconseja a los trabajadores que es "'suficiente' darle todo el poder a la Asamblea Constituyente para que estas cuestiones se arreglen en interés de los trabajadores, puesto que la mayoría de los puestos en la Asamblea Constituyente son ocupados por representantes del PS y el PC."

Por lo tanto, una consigna propagandística encaminada a exponer a las direcciones reformistas se ha convertido ya en "una ilusión entre los revolucionarios acerca de

ampliamente bajo los encabezados de anarquismo y ultraizquierdismo.

Estos errores han sido cometidos por toda una serie de grupos en Portugal, algunos de los cuales tienen historiales aventureristas, tal como el PRP-BR, que los camaradas Frank, Maitan y Mandel mencionan, y otros de los cuales tienen historiales centristas. Pero caen en el mismo patrón en cuanto a su postura hacia las cuestiones gubernamentales y políticas en Portugal. La posición de estos grupos es paralela a aquélla de grupos fuera de Portugal, como los grupos centristas ya mencionados en Francia, Suecia y Bélgica, así como *Lotta Continua* en Italia y los International Socialists en Gran Bretaña.

la disposición y habilidad de estos maldirigentes para llevar a cabo la revolución socialista."

Este "consejo" ofensivo del camarada Foley es tomado del número del 21 de julio de *Intercontinental Press*. Foley arguyó que la estrategia de los stalinistas era la de servir como el organizador de masas de una dictadura militar "progresista." Dijo que bajo este papel no podrían ganar el apoyo de las masas o mantener su control en los sindicatos por medios democráticos. Debido a su creciente impopularidad, habían sido conducidos en defensa propia, a atacar el principio mismo de la soberanía popular del gobierno de la mayoría, en nombre de la "revolución socialista." Los ultraizquierdistas quienes también ven sospechosamente a la democracia, han convergido con los stalinistas sobre esto. El párrafo entero dice:

"Si el PC hubiera tenido interés en establecer un gobierno que representara a los trabajadores, sólo tenía que basarse en la Asamblea Constituyente y pedirles a los delegados que actuaran de acuerdo con el claro mandato que les fue otorgado por los votantes. En lugar de seguir este curso revolucionario, los stalinistas prefirieron lamer las botas de los militares. Por este privilegio estaban dispuestos a desechar la Asamblea Constituyente, así como pisotear la soberanía popular y la voluntad expresada democráticamente de las masas."

Foley no les aconsejó a las masas que confiaran en la Asamblea Constituyente, se arrodillaran ante ella, o pararan sus luchas. Tampoco planteó la consigna "todo el poder a la Asamblea Constituyente."

Su posición fue que si los dirigentes del PC hubieran sido en realidad revolucionarios, no hubieran dejado las cuestiones políticas nacionales en manos del MFA, sino hubieran respetado el mandato claramente otorgado por los votantes en las elecciones del 25 de abril y hubieran

7. Para el texto completo, ver *Intercontinental Press*, 15 de septiembre de 1975, p. 1210.

presionado a los dirigentes del PS a unirse a ellos para establecer un gobierno de obreros y campesinos.

El no hacer caso a la voluntad de la gran mayoría y el contraponer organismos a la Asamblea Constituyente que no pudieran llamarse políticamente representativos de más de una pequeñísima fracción de los trabajadores portugueses, no avanzaría el desarrollo del poder dual en Portugal, afirmó Foley, sino que lo atrasaría. En lugar de avanzar la lucha independiente de la clase obrera, el rechazo de su voluntad tal como fue expresada en las elecciones, desorientaría a los trabajadores y llevaría a al menos una sección de ellos a depender del MFA o al menos un ala de él.

¿No es eso lo que pasó de hecho?

¿Por qué se han opuesto a esta posición, los camaradas Frank, Maitan y Mandel, cuyo conocimiento del marxismo no puede ser puesto en duda? ¿Por qué la distorción tan toscamente y obsurecen las cuestiones en discusión con citas que no se aplican o muy remotamente?

¿No es porque han caído víctimas a las ilusiones de tipo anarquista de las cuales Foley advirtió, y terminaron disolviendo las cuestiones políticas decisivas para la clase obrera en un concepto vago y eterno de "auto-organización"?

¿No los conduce de hecho a errores políticos, a desarrollar ilusiones políticas en el PC y un ala del MFA quienes, en un grado u otro, han apoyado el esquema del "poder popular" contra la Asamblea Constituyente?

En realidad, las manifestaciones de los "comités obreros" lograron un tamaño considerable sólo cuando fueron apoyadas por el PC, como el 20 y el 27 de agosto en Lisboa. Y sirvieron claramente un propósito político que no era de ninguna manera revolucionario.

¿No es uno de los peligros de este error de la tradición anarquista el que se empiece a considerar que el MFA está del lado correcto de la línea de clase y el PS del lado equivocado—como un partido burgués, si no abiertamente reaccionario?

Los camaradas Frank, Maitan y Mandel sí tratan, es cierto, de presentar una posición más completa por medio de la cual se pueda acoplar el programa trotskista con el aprovechar las aperturas provistas por el proyecto del "poder popular" del MFA y el entusiasmo que despertó entre los grupos ultraizquierdistas y centristas debido a que encajaba con sus ilusiones espontaneístas.

Llaman atención al hecho de que ellos advirtieron contra el peligro de una división en la clase obrera, que surgiría del "aferramiento" del PS "a la democracia burguesa" y la insistencia de los stalinistas en "los esquemas unipartidistas." Sin embargo, dicen, la única manera de impulsar la revolución y mantener la base para la unidad de la clase obrera es a través de "la

defensa de las ideas gemelas de *democracia obrera y consejos obreros.*" (Énfasis en el original.)

Los camaradas Frank, Maitan y Mandel se oponen a la consigna de "Todo el poder a la Asamblea Constituyente" y de la misma manera se oponen a "Disolución de la Asamblea Constituyente." Pero, argumentan, debemos estar preparados para construir consejos obreros conjuntamente con aquéllos que sostienen ambos puntos de vista.

El frente único que se ha propuesto debe de incluir a los grupos ultraizquierdistas y centristas.

Esta posición es muy equilibrada. Desafortunadamente, su equilibrio existe en el campo de las abstracciones y no está basado en la realidad. En primer lugar, en la situación real ninguna fuerza considerable llama a dar "Todo el poder a la Asamblea Constituyente." El PS no lo hace.

Además, en la situación concreta, un ala del MFA y el PC han estado contraponiendo un poder obrero que no existe a la soberanía popular representada por la Asamblea Constituyente y haciéndolo por razones antidemocráticas. Parecería difícil reconciliar esa campaña con la unidad de la clase obrera.

Toda la lógica de la campaña del MFA-PC fue la de incrementar el ataque al PS, cuyo carácter reaccionario era supuestamente demostrado por su apoyo a la "democracia burguesa"—en Portugal, donde la democracia burguesa fue suprimida por casi medio siglo. El carácter reaccionario del PS también fue probado (según ellos) por su supuesta oposición al programa del

Cómo la Bandera de la Democracia les fue Robada a los Revolucionarios Portugueses

Un cambio extraordinario ha ocurrido en la arena política en Portugal, un cambio que ha dañado profundamente la defensa internacional de la revolución.

Después de casi medio siglo de gobierno totalitario, la burguesía portuguesa, uno pensaría, estaría tan desprestigiada como para ser totalmente incapaz de recuperarse políticamente, particularmente sobre la cuestión de la democracia. Se puede decir lo mismo de todas las fuerzas burguesas en otros países que apoyaron a Salazar y lo mantuvieron a flote. Parecería ser cierto especialmente de Wall Street y algunas de sus instituciones, como el *New York Times*.

Sin embargo, estas fuerzas reaccionarias han recuperado suficiente fuerza como para tomar la iniciativa de hacerse pasar por defensores de la democracia en la lucha de clases en Portugal.

Los ultrareaccionarios en el Norte quienes se aprovecharon de las divisiones en la clase obrera y efectuaron sangrientos ataques a varios locales del Partido Comu-

"frente de liberación nacional" del MFA—jen un país imperialista!

La contribución de los grupos ultraizquierdistas y centristas fue la de hacer aún más agresiva y sectaria esta campaña. No vacilaron en exigir que el MFA aplastara completamente al PS.

Pero los camaradas Frank, Maitan y Mandel quedaron tan deslumbrados por la posibilidad de que los "comités obreros" se transformaran en soviets, que no vieron esta realidad. Aquéllos que tal vez se atreven a sostener que estos comités obreros todavía no constituyen una alternativa gubernamental, y que hay algo sospechoso en que el MFA los contraponga a la Asamblea Constituyente, son puestos a un lado como "sofistas particularmente listos." ¿Qué debemos hacer?, preguntan entonces, ¿aceptar la "limitación" de estos comités? ¿"Preferir que sean suprimidos por orden de una 'Asamblea Constituyente soberana'?"

No, nosotros los "sofistas particularmente listos" nos basamos en la realidad y sostenemos que la clave para llegar al poder obrero es política. Señalamos que al no ver las cuestiones políticas, los camaradas Frank, Maitan y Mandel no han podido ver que en la situación concreta, el MFA ha invocado al poder obrero sólo para transformarlo en su contrario—la preservación de su propio gobierno. La ficción de las cuidadosamente equilibradas abstracciones sólo puede ser perjudicial.

Lo que se requiere es un línea política clara basada en los principios del trotskismo y destinada a encontrar puntos de apoyo en la verdadera lucha de clases a medida que se desenvuelva.

nista, lo hicieron en nombre de la "democracia." Se dieron cuenta de que era el problema más popular y que el desafío a su fraudulento uso de ella sería tan débil que podría ser descartado.

La burguesía a través de Europa, que trata de reforzar la estructura capitalista que sobrevivió el ascenso de masas después del golpe del 25 de abril de 1974, también lo hace bajo la robada bandera de la defensa de la democracia.

El *New York Times*, que imprime todas las noticias dignas de ser impresas hasta que necesita mentir, ha podido hacerse pasar de una forma creíble por un gran campeón de la democracia en Portugal.

Las cosas han llegado a tal punto que la Casa Blanca decidió que podría usar la cuestión de la democracia en Portugal como un buen pretexto para mandar abiertamente a la Agencia Central de Inteligencia a trabajar ahí. Ford obviamente lo consideró como algo que ayudaría sus posibilidades de ser elegido en 1976.

El estratagema de Ford sobre la CIA es bastante instructivo. Los crímenes de la CIA han sido expuestos a tal grado que han causado un clamor en los Estados Unidos para limitar a la agencia e inclusive eliminarla. En respuesta a esta presión, Ford, Kissinger y otros voceros de la administración, han decidido que pueden contrarrestarla efectivamente haciendo aparecer a la CIA como el instrumento necesario para salvar a la democracia portuguesa.

En nombre de una causa tan de acuerdo con los ideales del "mundo libre," ¿no es obvio por qué la CIA necesita continuar sus operaciones encubiertas? ¿No explica la necesidad de cientos de millones, aún de billones de dólares, por los cuales sería criminal pedir cuentas? ¿No explica por qué la CIA necesita desarrollar y acumular armas tan peligrosas?

He aquí un verdadero misterio. ¿Cómo pudieron estas totalmente desacreditadas fuerzas reaccionarias robar la bandera de la democracia a los revolucionarios portugueses, quienes están realmente dedicados a lograr un mundo en el cual toda la humanidad pueda vivir en la libertad?

Fue principalmente las prácticas del Partido Comunista Portugués y su campaña descarada *contra* la democracia burguesa lo que abrió el camino a la reacción portuguesa y sus partidarios internacionales para que tomaran la cuestión y la hicieran suya.

Los especialistas políticos pagados por la Casa Blanca comprendieron perfectamente lo que sucedía, y aprovecharon plenamente la apertura.

Los centristas y ultraizquierdistas se agruparon tras los stalinistas en sus clamores contra la democracia burguesa, proveyendo un coro idiota de gente gritando consignas, quienes no podían haber actuado mejor aún si hubieran sido pagados por la CIA para ofrecer una evidencia dramática de que el socialismo significa la muerte de la democracia.

Y ¿dónde estaban los camaradas quienes siguen la dirección política de los camaradas Frank, Maitan y Mandel? Ellos se arrastraban detrás de los ultraizquierdistas, exclamando, aunque débilmente, "¡Nosotros, también!"

Es cierto que nunca señalaron a la Unión Soviética y los Estados obreros deformados de Europa Oriental como modelos de la democracia proletaria, como lo hicieron los stalinistas pro-Moscú.

Y no siguieron a los stalinistas pro-Pekín en señalar a China o Albania como ejemplos de lo que se debe de esperar en cuanto a la libertad de pensamiento cuando el proletariado logra la victoria.

Como se puede ver en la contribución de los camaradas Frank, Maitan y Mandel, ellos se vieron limitados a señalar el programa de nuestro movimiento, o sea, lo

que se hace posible si nuestras fuerzas logran ganar la dirección de la revolución.

El camarada Mandel en particular ha ofrecido un detallado plan de lo que se debería de hacer y lo que se podría hacer en los casos como la toma de *República* si las instituciones de la democracia proletaria fueran avanzadas más aún y se adherieran a las normas programáticas del trotskismo.

Este método puramente propagandístico de abordar los problemas (los camaradas Frank, Maitan y Mandel tal vez lo llamarían jugar "un juego de propaganda") no fue efectivo, debido a que el número de países que pueden ser señalados como sostenedores de la democracia proletaria es cero.

Para evitar aparecer como esquematistas utópicos, era necesario que nuestros camaradas demostraran en la acción su capacidad de defender cualquier democracia que existiera, aún si estuviera en la forma de limitados, estrechos derechos democrático-burgueses.

Vale la pena considerar el método de Trotsky para abordar esta cuestión. En su artículo, "La Libertad de Prensa y la Clase Obrera," asestó un ataque demoledor contra los stalinistas que presionaban al gobierno

mexicano para que impusiera restricciones sobre la prensa reaccionaria. Trotsky defendió la libertad de prensa contra los ataques stalinistas de la forma más enérgica.

La posición de Trotsky estaba destinada a hacerlo lo más difícil posible para la burguesía el restringir el ejercicio de la libertad de prensa por los trabajadores revolucionarios. Pero esta misma línea tuvo también el efecto de minar cualquier maniobra por parte de la burguesía para hacerse pasar con mojigatería como defensores de la democracia ante el hecho real de que sus objetivos políticos son todo lo contrario.

Si la bien planeada política de Trotsky hubiera sido avanzada vigorosamente por una tendencia revolucionaria en Portugal, lo hubiera hecho un poco más difícil para los stalinistas y los que cerraban la marcha gritar, "¡Adiós, gracias!" y entregar la cuestión de la democracia a la contrarrevolución en Portugal y sus partidarios reaccionarios en el extranjero.

De la misma manera, la defensa de la revolución portuguesa en otros países pudiera haber sido facilitada y fortalecida en gran medida, especialmente en los bastiones de la reacción imperialistas que afirman ser vitrinas de la democracia.

Comienzan a Cosecharse los Frutos

Los camaradas de la Liga Comunista Internacionalista quienes están directamente involucrados en esta situación y quienes intentan seriamente aplicar la orientación que los camaradas Frank, Maitan y Mandel han ayudado a darles, tuvieron que tomar difíciles decisiones—continuar el desarrollo lógico de la línea o tratar algo nuevo. Escogieron mantener la línea.

Como resultado, acabaron haciendo seguidismo a los grupos ultraizquierdistas y centristas. Estos grupos a la vez han estado haciendo seguidismo al Partido Comunista Portugués. El resultado representa un lamentable retroceso político para la LCI y también para la Cuarta Internacional.

De hecho, los errores recientes de la LCI recuerdan tristemente aquéllos del POUM en España cuando la mayoría de las fuerzas trotskistas fueron perdidas por la Cuarta Internacional y su programa.

El POUM empezó capitulando a los anarquistas y acabó de hecho capitulando a los stalinistas cuando los anarquistas, debido a su confusión política, fueron atraídos hacia el Partido Comunista.

El hecho de que la LCI pudiera terminar, inclusive por un par de días, en un bolche como el Frente de Unidad Popular del 25 de agosto, y que permanece en el Frente de Unidad Revolucionaria, como se le rebautizó a esta coalición después del retiro del PC, debería de ser tomada como una aguda advertencia a aquéllos que esperaban resultados más positivos de la orientación

proyectada por los camaradas Frank, Maitan y Mandel.

En junio de 1975, el PRT también fue envuelto por la euforia de los ultraizquierdistas sobre la formación de "soviets" por el MFA. El PRT hizo lo que llamó una "rectificación necesaria" de su clara caracterización de clase del MFA y comenzó a desplazarse hacia el bloque de los ultraizquierdistas y el PC.

El PRT adoptó la concepción de que el MFA debería ser caracterizado como un movimiento pequeño burgués cuyas contradicciones pueden ser explotadas en interés de la revolución socialista. Esta caracterización incorrecta les condujo a una posición donde, junto con los demás que fueron arrastrados a apoyar el plan de "poder popular," podía ser manipulado por los oficiales militares demagogos.

Bajo el efecto de estas ilusiones, el PRT participó en la manifestación del 16 de julio de los "comités obreros," que fue convertida en una marcha que exigía la disolución de la Asamblea Constituyente.

Sin embargo, el PRT ha retrocedido de este curso. No se unió al Frente de Unidad Popular ni al Frente de Unidad Revolucionaria. Denunció públicamente esta combinación estilo POUM y llamó a la LCI a abandonarlo y a unirse a ellos para construir un partido trotskista en Portugal. (El texto completo de la declaración del PRT y la respuesta de la LCI fueron publicados en

el número del 6 de octubre de *Intercontinental Press*.)

Volvamos de nuevo al artículo "En Defensa de la Revolución Portuguesa," en el cual los camaradas Frank, Maitan y Mandel presentan una "fuerte protesta" contra la manera en que nosotros hemos informado sobre y analizado los eventos en Portugal. Una de las cuestiones que ellos enfatizaron mucho en su crítica fue su acuerdo unánime con la LCI.

La fecha de su artículo fue el 10 de agosto. Tan sólo dos semanas después, la LCI entró en un bloque político sin principios que incluía a los stalinistas portugueses.

Esa acción por parte de la LCI desacreditó tanto al trotskismo en los ojos de los trabajadores avanzados, no sólo en Portugal sino a través de Europa capitalista y el mundo entero, que los camaradas Frank, Maitan y Mandel consideraron absolutamente necesario deslindarse públicamente y sin dilación.

Cualquiera que fuese su desconcierto, fue imperativo, por supuesto, para los camaradas Frank, Maitan y Mandel desligarse de las acciones de la LCI. No los criticamos por eso. En este respecto su repudio fue recomendable. Para ver eso, basta considerar lo que significaba el unirse al bloque del 25 de agosto.

Al unirse a ese bloque, la dirección de la LCI aprobó el récord completo del gobierno burgués bajo la dirección de Gonçalves, un récord que incluía un código de inversión extranjera procapitalista, proposiciones para la censura, y otras leyes reaccionarias.

El aprobar la "Plataforma del 25 de Agosto"⁸ fue otro paso en el camino sobre el cual se habían embarcado al apoyar la proposición del Copcon en la manifestación del 20 de agosto en Lisboa.

El documento del Copcon, una declaración muy peligrosa porque incluye frases que podrían haber sido copiadas de un programa revolucionario para Portugal, aceptaba el marco del gobierno burgués del MFA. El verdadero efecto de estas proposiciones demagógicas fue, por lo tanto, el de seducir a los grupos ultraizquierdistas a darle apoyo político al gobierno burgués de "izquierda."

Cuando la LCI apoyó el documento del Copcon, los camaradas Frank, Maitan y Mandel parecieron incapaces de hacer una crítica consistente y comprensible del error. Y tal vez como resultado de esta ambigüedad, la LCI no corrigió su error sino que lo llevó más lejos.

Aunque elogiamos a los camaradas Frank, Maitan y Mandel por deslindarse públicamente de la violación por parte de la LCI de los principios trotskistas básicos,

consideramos que la manera en que lo hicieron no está en conformidad con la tradición del trotskismo. No sabemos de ninguna ocasión anterior en que una acción similar se haya tomado de una manera tan vergonzosa. Encubierto con un resumen emocionante de los desarrollos de la revolución portuguesa, hacen su deslinde de una manera tan indirecta como para asegurarse de que nadie pueda entender su significado excepto los iniciados.

Las críticas dirigidas contra la LCI por unirse al Frente de Unidad Popular fueron expresadas en una resolución adoptada por la mayoría del Secretariado Unificado de la Cuarta Internacional y en una declaración pública del camarada Mandel.⁹ *Rouge*, el semanario de la Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire, también hizo una declaración.¹⁰

En estas declaraciones, las críticas fueron mantenidas dentro del marco general de la noción de que el conseguir la formación de un frente único con el PC fue un importante logro, ¡aún cuando esto fue hecho *en base al apoyo del programa colaboracionista de clase y objetivos sectarios del PC!*

Observemos como procede el camarada Mandel en su deslinde.

Empieza afirmando la necesidad de un acuerdo entre las organizaciones obreras. Pocos estarían en desacuerdo con sus tres párrafos de observaciones sobre lo que los objetivos generales de tal acuerdo deberían incluir.

Enseguida considera los defectos del acuerdo de unidad del 25 de agosto.

No "menciona" ninguna "iniciativa concreta" que corresponda a los objetivos generales que deberían ser incluidos en el tipo de acuerdo que el camarada Mandel propugna.

La "ausencia total de iniciativas hacia el PS," por ejemplo, ". . . significa en la práctica el apoyo a la política sectaria del PCP. . . ."

El documento "implica" apoyo a las "acciones del quinto gobierno provisional. . . ."

Mientras que el MFA está "siendo hecho pedazos," el acuerdo unitario llama al MFA a unirse en la formación de un frente de las "comisiones obreras, comités de barrio, asambleas populares, etc." junto con los "partidos y organizaciones revolucionarios del movimiento obrero. . . ."

"Esto de nuevo únicamente puede ser

interpretado como apoyo al proyecto reformista del PCP de crear un 'frente popular, democrático y socialista.'"

Eso parecería ser bastante malo; pero hay aún peor: "Al apoyar el documento guía de la alianza pueblo-MFA, el acuerdo también coloca a las comisiones obreras, las comisiones de barrio y las asambleas populares dentro del marco de un proyecto de integración que se contrapone a la autonomía real del movimiento de masas con respecto a las instituciones del Estado burgués."

Ese párrafo merece ser releído. ¿No ha indicado exactamente el camarada Mandel el contenido *corporativista* del Documento-Guía del MFA sobre el "poder popular"? ¿No era éste uno de los puntos principales que los camaradas Frank, Maitan y Mandel encontraron especialmente irrisorio en el análisis de Foley? ¿No lo usaron como prueba contundente de que Foley había "completado el camino al método político de Healy-Lambert"? ¿Qué debemos pedirles ahora a Healy-Lambert-Foley que hagan? ¿Que hagan lugar para otro compañero de cama peculiar?

¿Qué lecciones extrae el camarada Mandel del abandono de los principios trotskistas por parte de la LCI? Ninguna. ¡Ni siquiera menciona a la LCI! Ni una sola palabra. ¿Cómo puede alguien aprender sobre el carácter del error de la LCI, particularmente su base en la línea sostenida por los camaradas Frank, Maitan y Mandel? ¿Qué causó el repentino colapso del acuerdo "unánime" con la LCI? ¿Qué esfuerzos fueron hechos, si acaso lo fueron, para convencer a los camaradas de la LCI de que estaban cometiendo un error que podría ser suicida?

El silencio sobre tales cuestiones no ayuda a formar cuadros; ayuda a destruirlos.

En el número del 29 de agosto de *Rouge*, en el cual fue publicado el nebuloso deslinde del camarada Mandel con la acción no principista de la LCI, un artículo no firmado (presuntamente de los editores) fue aún mas lejos en oscurecer el error cometido por la LCI. Esto fue hecho poniendo énfasis en los beneficios *prácticos* del acuerdo del 25 de agosto:

"Más allá de las críticas (publicadas en otra parte en este número) [se refiere al artículo del camarada Mandel—F., H., y N.,] al contenido del acuerdo común firmado entre el PCP y los grupos de extrema izquierda portugueses, el documento ha sido correctamente visto por muchos militantes en el movimiento obrero como un pequeño evento histórico. . . ."

"De hecho, es la primera vez en que un partido stalinista, confrontado con un creciente fermento revolucionario que radicaliza a cada vez más importantes capas de la vanguardia obrera a su izquierda, negoció y firmó un acuerdo a este nivel con varios grupos de la extrema izquierda,

8. Ver "Portugal: Text of the August 25 Unity Accord" [Portugal: Texto del Acuerdo Unitario del 25 de agosto], *Intercontinental Press*, 15 de septiembre de 1975, p. 1206.

9. Ver "United Secretariat Resolution on Portugal" [Resolución del Secretariado Unificado sobre Portugal] en *Intercontinental Press*, 15 de septiembre de 1975, p. 1218; y "Concerning the Unity Accord" [Acerca del Acuerdo Unitario], en el mismo número, p. 1207.

10. Ver "'Rouge' Statement on the Unity Accord" [Declaración de 'Rouge' sobre el Acuerdo Unitario] en *Intercontinental Press*, 15 de septiembre de 1975, p. 1207.

incluyendo una organización trotskista.

“La ruptura con su práctica anterior es bastante grande. ¿Será necesario revisar las fábulas policiacas de casi cincuenta años acerca del ‘trotskismo-hitlerista’?”

En breve, a pesar de algunos errores, ¡bien hecho, LCI! ¿En cuanto a los principios? ¡Puf! ¿Fue menos principista que la entrevista del camarada Krivine con el Almirante Coutinho?

¿Qué acerca del error de la LCI? ¿Se explica éste? ¿Se extraen algunas lecciones? ¡Ni siquiera se menciona a la LCI! Los redactores de *Rouge* evaden esto diciendo que el acuerdo fue firmado por “varios grupos de extrema izquierda, incluyendo una organización trotskista.”

¿Qué organización trotskista? ¿Qué recatados son los redactores de *Rouge*? Pero, pues, pueden señalar el ejemplo del camarada Mandel. El ni siquiera llegó al punto de admitir que una “organización trotskista” formó parte del bloque sin principios, como lo hicieron ellos.

Los redactores de *Rouge* dicen, “De ninguna manera apoyamos nosotros la base de este acuerdo.” ¿Qué base? ¿Por qué no debe ser apoyado? Los redactores guardan silencio.

Sin embargo estaban tan regocijados con el acuerdo que buscaban utilizarlo como un trampolín para una campaña común con “el Partido Comunista, el Partido Socialista y todas las organizaciones obreras . . . de apoyo a la revolución portuguesa. . . .”

¿En base a qué? ¿Un acuerdo como el que firmó la LCI? ¿O sólo están los redactores de *Rouge* embarcados en “algún juego de propaganda”?

Examinemos ahora la resolución sobre este asunto adoptada el 2 de septiembre por una mayoría del Secretariado Unificado de la Cuarta Internacional.

La primera parte de la resolución, cerca del 67 por ciento del documento, ofrece una ardiente evaluación general de la etapa actual de la revolución portuguesa. Aproximadamente el 25 por ciento trata del desafortunado acuerdo del 25 de agosto sobre el cual se basó el Frente de Unidad Popular. Un 8 por ciento final trata sobre la LCI.

He aquí las críticas hechas al acuerdo sin principios que reunió a los stalinistas portugueses y a la LCI en un “frente” común:

- “El acuerdo de hecho sancionaba la política del PC de apoyo al gobierno y de mantener la unidad del MFA. . . .”

- “El acuerdo no mencionaba ningún objetivo concreto que pudiera permitir la unificación de la clase obrera y el verdadero estímulo a la autodefensa y auto-organización obrera.”

- “. . . El Acuerdo sancionaba la división actual del movimiento obrero y no contribuía a superar este obstáculo funda-

mental para el desarrollo del proceso revolucionario.”

- “. . . el ‘acuerdo unitario’ preveía la formación de un ‘frente’ en el cual se incluiría al MFA con el mismo peso que los organismos autónomos, partidos y organizaciones revolucionarias del movimiento obrero. Esto no sólo aparecía como un sello de aprobación al proyecto del PC de crear un ‘frente popular democrático y socialista,’ sino que caía también dentro del marco de la perspectiva de integrar a los órganos autónomos en contraposición a su independencia real frente a las instituciones del Estado burgués.”

- “. . . el acuerdo podría servir fácilmente para los objetivos del PC (como ocurrió en la manifestación del 28 de agosto), de utilizar el peso de la vanguardia obrera para negociar compromisos a nivel del aparato de estado, el gobierno, el ejército, y el MFA bajo las mejores condiciones posibles.”

- “. . . la ausencia de objetivos concretos y las concesiones hechas a la orientación política del PC impidieron que las lecciones derivadas de la política de la dirección del PC y de la ruptura del ‘frente’ fueran claramente expuestas ante las masas.”

El abogado más hábil difícilmente podría haber dicho menos acerca de la traición a los principios revolucionarios que el “acuerdo unitario” del 25 de agosto del Frente de Unidad Popular representa. Sin embargo, cualquiera que hayan sido las consideraciones diplomáticas que llevaron a los camaradas Frank, Maitan y Mandel a tomar la decisión de redactar una declaración tan diluida, de seguro que nada les impedía resaltar claramente las lecciones de la participación de la LCI en este bloque colaboracionista de clase. De otra manera, ¿cómo podrían aprender algo de esta amarga experiencia los cuadros del movimiento trotskista mundial?

A cualquiera que esperaba una crítica a la LCI en la tradición del movimiento trotskista le espera una desilusión. La resolución no ofrece ni una sola palabra de crítica explícita. Para entender el significado de la resolución, se tiene que leer entre líneas. De hecho, el deslinde implícito con la desviación de la LCI está recubierto con elogios a la LCI y una afirmación de solidaridad general:

“En la contraofensiva obrera y popular basada en la dinámica real del movimiento de masas, los militantes trotskistas de la LCI estarán al frente de todas las iniciativas que estimulen la extensión, generalización y centralización de los organismos autónomos y la autodefensa de los obreros. . . .”

“La Cuarta Internacional y todas sus secciones y organizaciones simpatizantes apoyarán a los camaradas de la LCI con todos los medios a su disposición y presionarán por todo tipo de movilizaciones de

solidaridad con la lucha revolucionaria de los trabajadores portugueses.”

Por supuesto, nosotros pensamos que sería muy equivocado aislar a la LCI como chivo expiatorio. Todo lo que los dirigentes de la LCI hicieron fue extender en la práctica una orientación que otros como *Was Tun* extienden en palabras. Y la verdadera fuente de lo que dijo *Was Tun* y lo que hizo la LCI fue la línea planteada por los camaradas Frank, Maitan y Mandel.

Pero prosigamos; todavía hay más.

Resulta que el Frente de Unidad Popular formado por los stalinistas y “varios grupos de extrema izquierda, incluyendo una organización trotskista,” permaneció unido por sólo tres días. Una vez que los stalinistas obtuvieron una mejor posición para negociar, gracias a los buenos servicios de los ultraizquierdistas, hicieron un pase al Partido Socialista.

Debido a esto fueron “expulsados” por los grupos ultraizquierdistas por su postura blanda hacia la social democracia.

Los stalinistas, naturalmente, dieron una versión diferente. De acuerdo con el número del 3 de septiembre de *l'Humanité*, el periódico del Partido Comunista Francés, el PCP “dejó saber que se había retirado de este secretariado provisional, señalando la ‘incapacidad’ de ciertas organizaciones de llevar a cabo ‘aún la más mínima cantidad de trabajo unido.’”

Sin embargo, el grupo engendro del Partido Comunista, el Movimiento Democrático Portugués permaneció en el cascarón del frente, junto con la LCI y varios “grupos ultraizquierdistas y centristas,” incluyendo a los mencionados por los camaradas Frank, Maitan y Mandel, excepto a la UDP, el cual es probablemente el único de ellos que puede movilizar a fuerzas significativas.

El 10 de septiembre, este frente, rebautizado con el nombre de Frente de Unidad Revolucionaria, hizo público su programa.¹¹ Incluye una denuncia de las elecciones a la Asamblea Constituyente como parte de una “ofensiva burguesa reaccionaria,” y exige la disolución de la Asamblea Constituyente y la exposición de su carácter burgués.” “Señala el camino para una ofensiva masiva para derrotar a la social democracia y aplastar al fascismo. . . . y para la independencia nacional con respecto al imperialismo.”

El programa iguala a la social democracia y el fascismo en varias ocasiones y llama a purgar “a todos los putschistas fascistas y social-demócratas de las fuerzas armadas.” Defiende a la Quinta División del Estado Mayor General, que ha usado propaganda stalinista para defender al régimen.

11. Ver “Manifesto of the Front for Revolutionary Unity” [Manifiesto del Frente de Unidad Revolucionaria], *Intercontinental Press*, 22 de septiembre de 1975, p. 1259.

Aún más, cuando este programa fue presentado al público por un grupo de representantes de todas las organizaciones que lo componen, los representantes del Movimiento Democrático Portugués dijeron que las medidas para "detener el abuso de la libertad de prensa" hubieran sido apropiadas y "aún patrióticas" bajo el gobierno de Gonçalves.

No se informó de ninguna protesta por parte de los representantes de los otros grupos.

El programa contiene puntos que pueden sonar bien en abstracto. Pero las posiciones políticas mencionadas arriba lo enmarcan en oposición directa a los principios fundamentales del trotskismo.

Un ejemplo notorio es el apoyo del Frente de Unidad Revolucionaria al nacionalismo reaccionario de un país imperialista. En su conjunto, representa exactamente las posiciones que Foley advirtió podían surgir lógicamente de hacer un fetiche de los "soviets" y el "control obrero."

Así, los grupos que en nombre de la revolución socialista apoyaron los ataques a los derechos democráticos burgueses que se iniciaron con el caso *República*, se basan ahora en un programa que es parecido al stalinismo ultraizquierdista del "tercer período." En efecto, este programa considera al Partido Socialista como "social fascista." Es un programa al servicio de un gobierno burgués.

El que la LCI pudiera unirse a un frente basado en semejante programa, fue el resultado de una lógica que fluye inexorablemente de una política de hacer concesiones al ultraizquierdismo.

¿Perciben los camaradas Frank, Maitan y Mandel la ironía de esto? Ellos afirmaban que al criticar el contenido del Documento Guía diciendo que "recuerda el corporativismo," Foley había caído en plantear una versión de "social fascismo." Pero fueron aquéllos que siguen su dirección los que terminaron apoyando un programa que *de hecho* adoptaba un concepto de "social fascismo."

El programa del Frente de Unidad Revolucionaria, el cual, repetimos, es apoyado por la LCI, recuerda la desviación centrista, anarquista, ultraizquierdista contra la que Trotsky luchó en el caso de España en los años treinta, en particular la política del POUM. Bajo el empuje de una lucha de masas, especialmente con repercusiones tan profundas como en el caso de Portugal, un error oportunista de "izquierda" puede rápidamente adquirir un impulso irresistible.

No dudamos que los camaradas Frank, Maitan y Mandel no estaban a favor de y les inquietó el resultado de su línea en Portugal del cual se sintieron obligados a deslindarse públicamente. Sin embargo, ellos tienen fundamentalmente la responsabilidad por lo que sucedió. Al minimizar la

importancia del análisis marxista de la política portuguesa, de caracterizar la naturaleza de clase del gobierno, etc., dejaron desarmados a sus seguidores en una jungla política en medio de una situación que cambiaba rápidamente.

Debemos señalar, por ejemplo, que en su largo artículo presentando su "fuerte protesta" contra nuestros informes sobre la revolución portuguesa, ellos no mencionan

Por una Resolución Correcta de las Diferencias

Como explicamos al principio de esta respuesta, existe acuerdo substancial en el análisis económico y sociológico de la situación portuguesa dentro del movimiento trotskista mundial. No obstante, dos líneas políticas han surgido. Precisamente debido a que la diferenciación ha tomado lugar principalmente a este nivel, el debate ha sido agudo.

Las diferencias a otros niveles—predicciones económicas, evaluaciones de la relación entre las clases, el papel de la lucha nacional, la definición de un estado poscapitalista, filosofía—pueden ser discutidas con mucho menos acaloramiento si existe acuerdo sobre las tareas políticas. (Por supuesto, implica algunas contradicciones en posiciones, puesto que la política está ligada estrechamente a cuestiones más profundas, incluyendo la filosofía.) Largos debates sobre estos temas han sido conducidos a través de los años dentro del movimiento trotskista y en ocasiones públicamente sin consecuencias indebidas. De hecho, han contribuido a mantener el alto nivel intelectual de la Cuarta Internacional.

Con diferencias políticas urgentes, es diferente. En cada país, los trotskistas constituyen una corriente política que no tiene más alternativa, si ha de sobrevivir y fortalecerse, que tomar una posición sobre los problemas concretos de la lucha de clases a medida que se presentan. Mientras más intensa la lucha de clases, más inmediatas y trascendentales son las consecuencias de las decisiones.

En Portugal, por ejemplo, un grupo podría encontrarse en las barricadas erigidas por el Partido Comunista para impedir una manifestación contra la toma de *República*, o podría encontrarse marchando con los trabajadores que pusieron este letrero: "Escuchen los de las barricadas, los pescadores de Matosinhos van a pasar a las 4:30 de la tarde camino a Antas."

En ese incidente particular, no hubo enfrentamientos violentos. Los de las barricadas cedieron ante la superioridad numérica y la evidente determinación de los pescadores. En semejantes situaciones, sin embargo, la aplicación de la fuerza es natural. Algunas cabezas pueden ser rotas. Aún peor, aquéllos que hagan una decisión equivocada pueden no poder recuperarse del

ni una sola vez demandas de transición, aunque definen al gobierno como extremadamente débil. Es precisamente en tales casos que el Programa de Transición tiene mayor importancia.

Esta omisión es atribuible políticamente a su adaptación a las ilusiones espontaneístas y centristas de jóvenes recién radicalizados. Los errores de aquéllos que siguen su dirección en Portugal indican a qué conduce este camino.

daño político que se inflijan.

Así, un pequeño núcleo revolucionario puede sufrir un retroceso desvastador si comete un error político serio. Por el otro lado, en una situación como la de Portugal, puede desarrollarse rápidamente si logra seguir un curso político correcto.

Es por lo tanto comprensible por qué los trotskistas a través del mundo están siguiendo los eventos en Portugal con un interés tan intenso. Quieren que sus camaradas en Portugal avancen y que la revolución triunfe.

Es asimismo comprensible por qué los sucesos en Portugal han profundizado la controversia que se ha desarrollado dentro de la Cuarta Internacional y las organizaciones que simpatizan con su causa. Como partidos políticos (en programa y objetivos, si no siempre en tamaño), los trotskistas no tienen otra alternativa más que el dar a conocer sus posiciones políticas a medida que luchan para impulsar la revolución mundial en sus diferentes países. Más aún, esto está ligado a su función de movilizar o ayudar a movilizar a fuerzas de la clase obrera y sus aliados en una dirección revolucionaria.

Por supuesto, la protesta presentada por los camaradas Frank, Maitan y Mandel es precisamente acerca de si son ellos o nosotros quienes tienen la razón sobre el curso político que debe ser seguido en Portugal. Esto puede ser determinado sólo en base al poder lógico de los argumentos en conflicto y a qué tan bien están basados en los hechos (los cuales están también en disputa, como es evidente). A fin de cuentas, la lección de los eventos determinará quien tiene la razón.

En base a ellos, creemos que ya se puede hacer un juicio. Un elemento importante en el veredicto consiste de lo que ha empezado a ocurrir a la LCI al aplicar el curso recomendado por los camaradas Frank, Maitan y Mandel.

Se puede argumentar, por supuesto, que los camaradas portugueses simplemente fueron ineptos o no observaron ciertas limitaciones. Un deslinde de ese tipo, sin embargo, sería una evasión de las responsabilidades de una dirección, una posición no digna de trotskistas.

Esperamos que los camaradas de la LCI

reconsideren su curso, particularmente en vista de su lógica evidente. Si están considerando el embarcarse en un nuevo curso en vez de continuar dentro de la lógica del curso que han venido siguiendo, esperamos que será en la dirección opuesta al que siguen ahora.

Y si a los camaradas Frank, Maitan y Mandel no les molesta que lo sugiéramos, esperamos que ellos, también, cambiarán, y pondrán el peso de su no insignificante influencia a favor de un curso que corresponda más fielmente a los principios fundamentales del trotskismo, sobre todo al método delineado en el Programa de Transición.

De cualquier manera pensamos que las diferencias pueden ser resueltas de una manera principista sólo a través de una discusión exhaustiva. Estamos, naturalmente, seguros de que tal discusión será conducida dentro de la Cuarta Internacional. Como es ahora claro, también será llevada a cabo públicamente. Aunque tal discusión puede no ser de interés para todos los lectores de la prensa trotskista, para quienes bastantes puntos y especialmente referencias parecerán inevitablemente obscuras, otros la encontrarán de interés especial, pensamos. Las cuestiones en disputa están siendo discutidas en varios y diversos círculos a través del mundo.

Una discusión pública, estamos seguros, no dañará a la Cuarta Internacional. En última instancia, la fortalecerá. El desborde de la discusión al público ofrecerá sin duda evidencia aplastante de la rica vida interna del movimiento trotskista mundial.

En contraste con la aridez intelectual de movimientos competidores, atribuible ya sea a la prohibición de la discusión interna, la proscripción de las tendencias y las facciones o la adherencia a estériles esquemas sectarios, la Cuarta Internacional probará de nuevo de esta manera su superioridad.

30 de septiembre de 1975

French Stalinists Agree to Lodge Protest in Moscow

4,000 Rally in Paris to Demand Freedom for Plyushch

Nearly 4,000 persons turned out to a protest rally in Paris October 23 to demand the release of Soviet dissident Leonid Plyushch. Plyushch is a founding member of the Initiative Group for the Defense of Human Rights in the USSR. He is currently being held in a Soviet psychiatric prison-hospital, where he is being administered large doses of debilitating drugs.

The Paris rally was organized by the International Committee of Mathematicians, headed by Laurent Schwartz. Held in the great hall of the Mutualité, it had very broad sponsorship, including most of the union movement and the organizations of the French left. Notable exceptions were the French Communist party and the CP-dominated General Confederation of Labor (CGT).

Among the sponsors were the League for the Rights of Man; the National Education Federation (FEN), France's largest teachers union; Amnesty International; the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation; the French Democratic Confederation of Labor; the labor federation Force Ouvrière; various union locals; and a number of prominent personalities.

The Socialist party and many other political groups, including the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (French section of the Fourth International), helped build the rally.

Some of the support from the union movement indicated that the CP had come under heavy pressure to speak out against the treatment of Plyushch. For example, the convention of the CP-led National Union of Secondary School Teachers unanimously passed a motion in support of Plyushch and the rally.

At the rally itself Louis Astre, secretary of

the FEN, drew attention to the "serious problem of the empty chairs" (referring to the absence of the CP and CGT). He also noted the "unfortunate luck" behind the CP scheduling of a demonstration in support of democratic rights in France on the same day as the Plyushch rally.

The French CP is currently involved in a campaign to "promote" democratic rights in France. This is designed to improve its image among French workers and recover ground it has been losing to the Socialist party.

The CP campaign has run into credibility problems in France because of a growing awareness of the harsh realities faced by dissidents in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

At the Plyushch rally Dominique Taddéi, a member of the national secretariat of the Socialist party, took a swipe at the CP, saying: "Those who are not here with us to defend Leonid Plyushch only undermine their own protest efforts in other cases."

Lombardo Radice, a mathematician and a member of the Central Committee of the Italian Communist party, sent greetings to the rally. A heart condition, he explained, prevented him from leaving Italy to attend the rally.

Tanya Zhitnikov, Plyushch's wife, also sent greetings. "By struggling on behalf of my husband," she said, "you are struggling for yourselves."

The rally had a big impact—forcing even the French CP to sound a qualified protest about the Plyushch case in the pages of *l'Humanité*, its daily newspaper.

René Andrieu was given the task of writing the editorial in the October 25 issue. He began by complaining that "no organizer of the meeting" sent the CP an "invitation." He continued:

Because we are not indifferent to the case of Leonid Plyushch, we have tried to obtain information about it for a long time. If it is true—and unfortunately up until now no proof to the contrary has been forthcoming—that this mathematician is interned in a psychiatric hospital solely because he has taken a position against certain aspects of Soviet policy or against the regime itself, we can only affirm in the most forthright manner our total disapproval and demand that he be freed as rapidly as possible. If abuses of power have been committed in this case, Soviet authorities will pride themselves on bringing them to an end. Without a doubt, not all the activists of the campaign for Leonid Plyushch are motivated by the purest of intentions. But we do not mix together those who are driven by humanitarian motives (and who are right) with those who are pushed solely by vicious anti-Sovietism.

The next day the International Committee of Mathematicians answered the CP statement in the pages of *Le Monde*. We "heartily congratulate René Andrieu on the position on Leonid Plyushch taken by *l'Humanité*," said Michel Broué, Laurent Schwartz, and Henri Cartan for the committee. "The meeting at the Mutualité, where the demand for unity for the freedom of Plyushch came up over and over again and that concluded with the singing of the 'Internationale,' has thus borne some fruit."

The three went on to reject the slur about rightist involvement in the rally. They also reminded the CP that no political parties were involved, as such, in the rally, although individuals from left parties including the CP were invited.

"We will be happy, next time, to invite René Andrieu to a meeting where we will lay his last doubts to rest. We look forward to continuing the struggle, together with all those committed to democratic freedom, to obtain freedom for Plyushch." □