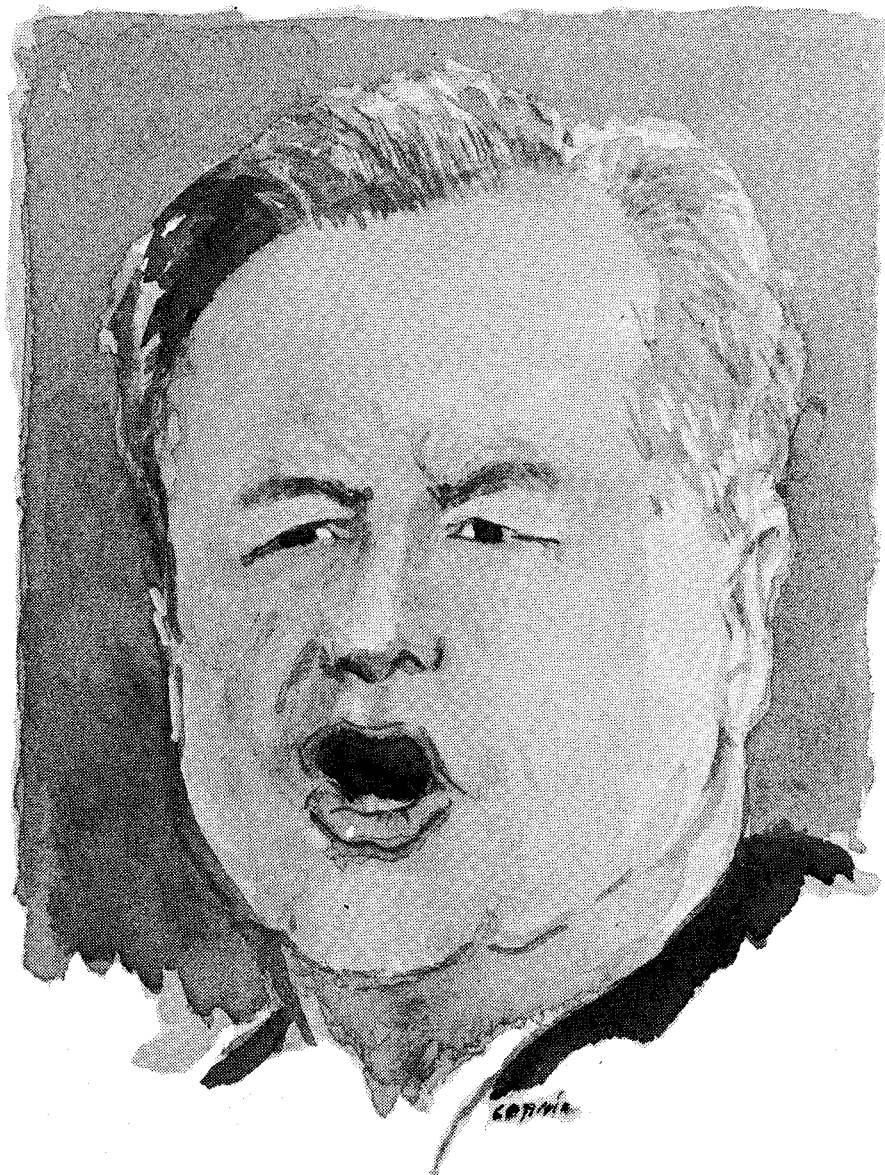


The Truth About Attica



ROCKEFELLER: It's the American way of life. Shoot first, explain later.

Hugo Blanco Deported From Peru

20,000 Strike in Madrid

Nearly 20,000 construction workers, responding to a call from several underground trade-union organizations, went on strike in Madrid on September 13.

According to the September 15 *Le Monde*, the strike began in the morning and at that time involved about 12,000. During the afternoon, when it became known that the cops had killed a thirty-three-year-old worker who was distributing strike leaflets in the suburbs south of Madrid, the number of strikers swelled to 20,000.

The victim, Pedro Patino, was the second militant to be shot by police in a one-week period.

On September 8, an eighteen-year-old youth was shot in the leg while distributing leaflets calling on workers to strike for a daily wage of 400 pesetas [70 pesetas equals US\$1], a forty-five-hour workweek, and one-month vacations. Some of the leaflets were signed by the underground workers' committees, and others by the Socialist-led General Union of Workers.

The construction workers' strike came just after a nationwide sit-in by doctors had been settled. Nearly 2,000 physicians participated in the action, which began on August 26 in support of psychiatrists at Madrid's Francisco Franco Medical Center. Seven psychiatrists had been fired for sitting-in to protest a reduction in the number of hospital beds for mental patients. On September 12, according to the *New York Times* of September 14, the government agreed to cancel the planned reduction and rehire the dismissed staff members. The doctors then ended their sit-in. □

Say Bolivian Guerrillas Slain

The Banzer regime in Bolivia claims to be carrying out "mopping up" operations against armed groups in the eastern part of the country.

The September 12-13 *Le Monde*, citing a "well-informed military source" in La Paz, reported that seven guerrillas had been killed in a September 7 clash with the army.

The same source identified the targets of the government repression as members of the National Liberation Movement and the Peasant Union. □

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Published in New York each Monday except last in December and first in January; not published in August.

Intercontinental Press specializes in political analysis and interpretation of events of particular interest to the labor, socialist, colonial independence, Black, and women's liberation movements.

Signed articles represent the views of the authors, which may not necessarily coincide with those of Intercontinental Press. Insofar as it reflects editorial opinion, unsigned material expresses the standpoint of revolutionary Marxism.

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Subscription correspondence should be addressed to Intercontinental Press, P.O. Box 116, Village Post Office Station, New York, N.Y. 10014. Because of the continuing deterioration of the U.S. postal system please allow five weeks for change of address. Include your old address as well as your new address, and, if possible, an address label from a recent issue. Copyright © 1971 by Intercontinental Press.

The Truth About the Attica Massacre

By Allen Myers

"We feel that Carl was killed not by the prisoners but by a bullet that had the name Rockefeller written on it," a relative of one of the hostages killed at the Attica, New York, maximum security prison told reporters September 14. His comment came in the wake of disclosures proving that the nine hostages slain when state police invaded the prison the preceding day had been killed by police bullets.

Forty-three persons are now known to have died during the four-day rebellion in Attica. Forty-two of them—thirty-three prisoners and nine hostages—were killed by wounds received when New York Governor Nelson Rockefeller ordered the revolt crushed by police weapons.

The moment that "order" had been restored in Attica, state officials were quick to proclaim that the throats of the nine dead hostages had been slashed by the prison inmates. As justification for the murderous police assault, it was claimed that two of the hostages had been murdered on September 12, while negotiations between the rebels and the prison administration were still going on. Fred Ferretti reported in the September 14 *New York Times*:

"Late today [September 13] a deputy director of correction, Walter Dunbar, said that two of the hostages had been killed 'before today' and that one had been stabbed and emasculated."

This atrocity story was repeated by New York State Correction Commissioner Russell Oswald, and by one of his aides, Gerald Houlihan.

But the very next day, the Monroe County medical examiner, Dr. John F. Edland, performed autopsies on eight of the bodies and announced:

"All eight cases died of gunshot wounds. There was no evidence of slashed throats."

In a September 15 dispatch to the *Times*, Ferretti added further information about Edland's examination of the bodies:

". . . Today Dr. Edland said he had color photographs of the heads and necks of each of the eight hostages on whom he had performed post-mortems.

"I invite any officials of the State

Correction Department who still believe throats were slashed to come to my office to view them," he said.

"Dr. Edland added, 'It doesn't take a medical degree to tell if someone's genitals are lacerated.'

"He said that there were 'no genital wounds' on any of the hostages."

Doctors at the hospital where a ninth hostage died reported that he too had been killed by gunfire.

The thirty-one prisoners and nine hostages had all been shot down by the unrestrained gunfire of the invading police, who behaved like soldiers facing an opposing army. A doctor on the scene in fact described the inside of the prison as "like a war zone."

The slain hostages, who had been dressed in prison clothes, were presumably mistaken for prisoners by the trigger-happy cops. Since the hostages would hardly have offered resistance to their rescuers, their death shows that the cops must have fired on prisoners indiscriminately, without regard for whether they were fighting back or attempting to surrender.

A member of the national guard who was at the scene has testified in court that cops severely beat prisoners even after the rebellion had been crushed. James P. Watson told a federal court in Buffalo, New York, September 16 that he had seen prisoners kicked, beaten with clubs, and forced to run a gantlet of cops armed with clubs.

Moreover, on September 18 state legislators and clergymen who interviewed prisoners reported that the latter told them many prisoners had been shot in the back as they lay on the ground with their hands over their heads.

Even before this disclosure had been made, *New York Post* columnist James A. Wechsler suggested September 15 that the behavior of state officials following the attack showed that they were attempting to conceal further information:

"Questions that seemed likely to fade quickly are suddenly reopened. Thus the reluctance of the prison authorities to permit more than a handful of the

many wounded to be transferred to Buffalo hospitals—despite a doctor's prediction that 'many' may die—becomes more than an issue of procedural inhumanity; it has overtones of mystery. So does the exclusion of attorneys seeking to talk with the inmates."

The number of wounded prisoners, it should be noted, has been reported to be as high as 300.

Even the autopsies that exploded the official version of the hostages' deaths came almost as an accident. Prison officials did their best to keep the medical examination of the victims under their own control. In the September 15 *Times*, Ferretti described how this was done:

"The coroner's physician in Attica, Dr. Merlin Bissell, did not make the examinations.

"Coroner Paul Slusarczyk of nearby Perry said he had been informed by prison officials yesterday [September 13] that Dr. Bissell was not available and that, as a result, the prison's physician, Dr. Paul Sternberg, had been appointed acting coroner to make the initial check of the causes of death.

"The inmate's list of grievances expressed during the uprising had included complaints about Dr. Sternberg's care.

"Dr. Bissell indicated he had been available for the job."

The series of lies told by prison officials almost obscured another lie, one that was crucial in the outcome of the rebellion.

The single demand of the prisoners that prevented agreement to end the rebellion was the demand for amnesty from any criminal charges. Rockefeller and Oswald declared this "nonnegotiable," allegedly because of the death September 12 of hostage William Quinn. Quinn was voluntarily released by the rebels and died later in a hospital of head injuries. Prison officials said the injuries had been suffered when Quinn was thrown from a second-floor window by the prisoners.

Ferretti, however, reported in the September 19 *New York Times*:

"Other explanations have been advanced—for example, that he might have been injured during the initial takeover of the corridors and cell-blocks. Many observers who went into the prison yard testified to the care being given hostages—they had beds while inmates slept on the ground; they were given water and food when some inmates went without. The hos-

tages were the only aces in an otherwise untenable hand and so it was, in the view of some prisoners, vital that they be well cared for. If Mr. Quinn's death was actually accidental and not a deliberate homicide, then the question of granting amnesty might indeed have been negotiable."

Ferretti overlooked the most important point, which proves that the prison administration is lying about Quinn's death: *Maximum security prisons have barred windows.* The rebels could not have thrown Quinn from a window even if they had wanted to.

The official version of Quinn's death thus appears to be a deliberate invention designed to convince the public that the rebels were bloodthirsty murderers and to justify Rockefeller's refusal to grant amnesty.

Some of the rebels knew the importance of this demand from personal experience. Herbert Blyden X, who was described by the press as one of the leaders of the revolt, was a prisoner in the Men's House of Detention in New York City during a rebellion there in October 1970. He was subsequently indicted on *seventy-two* counts.

Without amnesty, any concessions the prisoners had won would be worthless.

Rockefeller, it was revealed later, was willing to see all thirty-eight hostages killed rather than yield on this point. In the September 14 *New York Times*, William E. Farrell reported Rockefeller's reaction to the invasion of the prison, as it was described by the governor's press secretary:

"Mr. Rockefeller was given an eyewitness description over the telephone of some of what was happening. . . .

"When the first of the hostages were freed, the Governor exclaimed: 'My God!'

"There was definite relief on his face *that even one hostage came out,*' the press secretary said." (Emphasis added.)

At a September 15 press conference, Rockefeller confirmed that he had expected even more deaths from the police invasion. Asked if the assault had "come out better than you thought it might have," Rockefeller replied: "Frankly, yes."

He was considerably less frank in attempting to justify his refusal to grant the prisoners' most important

demand. Farrell reported in the September 16 *Times*:

"The inescapable conclusion, he [Rockefeller] said, was that the prisoners' demands transcended prison reform and 'had political implications beyond the reform of the prison, which it was not possible for us to conform to and at the same time preserve a free society in which people could have any sense of security.'"

Translated from Rockefeller's hypocritical language, what this meant was that even though the rebels' demands were completely justified, the prisoners could not be excused for attempting to force the government to carry out reforms that everyone agreed were long overdue. Rockefeller was saying, in effect, that freedom of religion, wages for work performed, decent food and shelter, the right to bathe oftener than once a week, etc., are not rights belonging to human beings in prison but boons that he and his prison officials can grant or not grant, as they see fit. In defense of this "principle," Rockefeller ordered the murder of forty-two persons.

The state government's real attitude toward improvement of conditions in the prisons was revealed by the disclosure that in July prisoners at Attica submitted a list of proposed reforms on which Oswald never acted.

"At least 13 points in the original manifesto," Michael T. Kaufman reported in the September 19 *New York Times*, "were similar to those Commissioner Oswald said he was willing to accept last Sunday [September 12].

These included extension of minimum wage coverage to work done by inmates, greater freedom for political and religious activity by prisoners and an end to the censorship of magazines and newspapers inmates are permitted to receive.

"Also, a reduction in the amount of pork served,* improved medical treatment, freer access to legal assistance, an accounting of inmate funds, and changes in parole procedures."

It appears that mere possession of a copy of these demands by a prisoner was sufficient to bring on reprisals by the administration. In the September 15 *New York Times*, Robert E. Tomasson described a letter written by an Attica prisoner to his

* Prisoners who are Black Muslims are forbidden pork by their religion.

attorney nine days before the rebellion began:

"I was down to the disciplinary court two weeks ago,' the letter said, 'and there were more than 70 men waiting for a hearing,' which he said, invariably led to being placed in solitary.

"Another prisoner, a hard worker in D Block . . . just got a 60-day box bit [a more severe form of solitary in small, sparsely furnished cells] for having the manifesto,' a series of prisoner demands that were sent to the Warden last June [sic]."

Denied treatment as human beings, the prisoners of Attica responded in the only way left open to them. When they did so, Rockefeller ordered them shot down like animals.

Typically, Richard Nixon was quick to approve the murders. The assault had scarcely ended when Nixon telephoned Rockefeller to commend his handling of the situation—especially the refusal to grant amnesty. He reiterated his support at a press conference September 16:

"I believe people in public positions, heads of government or Prime Ministers, or maybe even Presidents, cannot give in to demands for ransom, as was the demand made in this instance."

Thus Rockefeller's murder of prisoners and hostages at Attica received the blessing of the same man who approved the slaughter at Mylai. Nixon's consistent defense of the criminals against their victims can be taken for granted.

But there is also a growing awareness, which the official lies about Attica have not been able to stem, that columnist Pete Hamill described in the September 15 *New York Post*:

"The General Motors people who sold defective cars and helped kill people on American roads; the guys who built the M-16s that jammed; the people who make diseased soup; the people who run the rotten housing; the people who sent 53,000 Americans to their deaths in Asia and killed 500,000 Asians while they were at it; the businessmen who fix prices; the sharpshooters on Wall Street; the union leaders who condone segregated unions: none of them are in jail. War resisters are in jail; draft card burners are in jail; priests are in jail. A lot of blacks and Puerto Ricans, which is to say a lot of the poor, are in jail. The sleek, the fat, the comfortable, the protected, the

propertied are walking around free.

"The jails have become politicized and it will be a long time before they can ever be what they once were. You insure a docile prison population if you enforce the notion of guilt; most people I know who have been in jail

have a sense of elemental justice that is more profound than that of some lawyers I know. But more and more, the guys inside . . . are beginning to understand that a lot of the wrong people are behind bars. San Quentin and Attica are only a beginning." □

Peru

Blanco, Union Leaders Deported as Government Breaks Strike

By Gerry Foley

In mid-September the Peruvian junta of General Juan Velasco Alvarado crushed a two-week-long teachers' strike, after arresting hundreds of strikers and exiling five of their leaders. At the same time that it was using brutal measures to suppress demands for higher wages, the government took advantage of the atmosphere of crisis engendered by its own actions to expel from the country student leader Rolando Rubén Peña Pantoja, as well as its most prominent opponent on the left, Hugo Blanco Galdos, leader of the 1962-63 peasant union struggles in the valley of La Convención.

The teachers-union leaders deported included the general secretary of FENEP [Federación Nacional de Educadores del Perú—National Federation of Peruvian Teachers], Julio Pedro Armacanqui Flores, and four stewards—Arturo Sánchez, Arnaldo Paredes, Ulises Riva, and Hugo Lipa Quina.

All seven deportees were expelled from their native country September 13, according to a United Press International dispatch in the September 17 issue of the New York Spanish-language daily *El Diario*. One week later only the most well known of them, Hugo Blanco, had been heard from. The parents and relatives of the other six have heard nothing since the arrests, according to the United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA), an international civil-liberties organization based in New York.

The repressive moves of the Peruvian junta seemed all the more sinister because of evidence of internation-

al collusion in the ouster of Hugo Blanco from his homeland. Furthermore, there has been an almost total blackout of news about the deportations and the events leading up to them.

The first account of the case outside Peru came in a brief UPI dispatch dated September 15, which reported the Lima government's official announcement of the expulsions. Although this report was picked up by the New York *El Diario* September 17, it has not appeared in the *New York Times*. According to *Le Monde's* American correspondent Jacques Amalric, the first news of the repression to appear in the usually well-informed Paris daily was published in the issue dated September 18. USLA press releases sent to all the media in the United States have been ignored, representatives of the committee report.

The USLA was able to contact Hugo Blanco in Mexico City on September 18 and sent its representative Judy White to talk to him. The Peruvian revolutionist reported that he had been arrested at 8:00 p.m. in Lima September 13, held overnight and through the following day. At 10:00 p.m. September 14 he was put on a plane for an unknown destination. He landed in Panama, where he was held ten hours and then put on another flight, which took him to Mexico City.

Blanco was shown valid travel papers supposedly issued to him by the Mexican embassy in Lima. He was granted the status of "visitante" (visitor) and given a work permit enabling him to stay in Mexico indefinitely

without conditions. On September 18 he was released by Mexican authorities.

According to a UPI dispatch published in the September 16 issue of the Bogotá daily *El Tiempo*, the other deportees were sent to Panama. But officials in the U. S.-dominated Central American republic have refused to confirm this report.

The arbitrary deportations followed a series of police attacks on striking teachers in the latest and most extensive wave of labor unrest in Peru. The most violent assault came on September 10, when the repressive forces crushed a demonstration in Lima, arresting between 200 and 300 persons.

"The crowd-control cars fired streams of water at the people, while police used their clubs," the Lima daily *La Prensa* reported September 11. "Gas grenades exploded, making a din."

Bystanders were driven into the center of the city by the gas and the attacking police. Traffic was halted because of the congestion.

Teachers demonstrated the same day, September 10, in two other cities. In Chiclayo, a march was broken up by the police. Two cops were hospitalized, thirteen civilians were injured, and another nineteen civilians arrested.

"The incidents developed when the police moved in to prevent the demonstration," *La Prensa* reported September 11. "The shops closed their doors at 5:00 p.m. [several hours early for Peru] and clashes continued on a small scale until 10:00 p.m. at various points in the city, especially in Pedro Ruiz and Siete de Enero streets."

Another demonstration in Trujillo passed without violence when the police refrained from attacking the crowd.

An all-out teachers' strike had begun September 1 only after the government failed to respond to a long campaign of protests against the low wages of classroom workers. On August 12 teachers in the GUE [Gran Unidad Escolar—Consolidated School] and the Colegio Nacional José Olaya in Callo staged a limited work stoppage in response to a call issued by the Comité Magisterial de Unificación y Lucha [Teachers' Committee for Unity and Struggle].

On the same day, a group of teachers belonging to the Sindicato Regional de Profesores de Educación Secun-

daria II [Regional Council of Secondary Teachers] held a demonstration which was broken up by the police.

Both actions were staged in support of a hunger strike by five teachers, one of whom had already been hospitalized in a coma because of malnutrition.

Also on August 12, some 1,200 teachers in the province of El Santa held a one-day work stoppage in solidarity with the striking workers of the steel plant in Chimbote.

One week later, on August 19, the leaders of the teachers' unions declared their determination to call an all-out strike on September 1 if the government failed to meet their minimum demands. In an official statement they said:

"I. Despite all our efforts to get a hearing from the educational authorities, the just demands of the Peruvian teachers thus far have gone unheeded. This fact clearly shows the indifference and insensitivity of the government to the question of solving the various problems confronting teachers in Peru.

"II. Commissions were established to solve the economic problems of teachers. But when the sixty-day period set by the government itself had elapsed, these commissions failed to present their reports, offering feeble excuses.

"III. It has been repeatedly stressed that a new education law would be promulgated, introducing changes in our educational system. But the fact has been forgotten that while teachers are overwhelmed by poverty, no educational reform can be put into practice, no matter how positive. We believe that the primary measures of any real educational reform must be to raise the status of teachers and assert their rights.

"IV. Teachers cannot be kept in an economic, social, and professional status lagging behind the development of the society when reforms are being carried out that are changing the old social and economic system. Likewise, the deplorable situation of the teachers does not accord with the stated 'humanism' of the present process. It is lamentable that the leaders and representatives of the current regime have failed to note this sad reality.

"V. Feeling that we have exhausted all legal remedies in our struggle to win improvement in our situation, and in accordance with the agreements

reached at the Primera Convención Nacional de Dirigentes Regionales [First National Convention of Regional Leaders], FENEP has decided to implement the final stage of the Plan de Lucha [Plan of Campaign].

"1. All teachers-union delegates are ordered to withdraw from the various commissions set up by the Ministry of Education.

"2. Our participation in the operations of the Educational Reform plan is to cease.

"3. We give the government twelve days from this date to settle the problems of the teachers.

"4. When this period has elapsed . . . on September 1 the teachers will begin



HUGO BLANCO

an unlimited national strike and adopt other methods of struggle according to the instructions of our national leadership."

The teachers asked for a minimum monthly salary of 10,200 soles [43 soles equal US\$1], plus the construction of cheap housing and health facilities for classroom workers. A list of demands published August 28 noted that educational personnel paid 2.5 percent of their base pay for social security without receiving adequate health care. Other points in the list were the reinstatement of the dues check-off system and reinstatement of workers unjustly fired.

In enumerating their demands, the

teachers noted that since 1967 the state had failed to meet requests for cost-of-living increases and that inflation had cut deeply into their buying power. They pointed out that the largest group of teachers—30,446 in a total of 120,000—received a monthly wage of 3,600 soles. The next largest group, numbering 19,664, got exactly 3,000 soles. And another group of 15,052 got no more than 4,200 soles. According to the general secretary of FENEP, Armacanqui, who was later deported, the maximum salary for classroom teachers was 6,600 soles per month.

A leaflet issued apparently by a teacher or group of teachers, although unsigned and undated, estimated the following minimum daily budget for a family of three:

	<u>Soles</u>
1 liter of milk	6.00
Bread	2.00
Meat	40.00
1 kilo of rice	8.80
1 kilo of beans	14.00
Sugar	1.40
Oil, tomato, onion	2.00
Coffee, kerosene, salt	<u>1.80</u>
Total	76.00

Multiplied by thirty, these daily expenses total 2,280 soles a month. Added to 1,320 soles for rental of a two-room apartment, they equal 3,600 soles, the exact monthly wage of the largest group of teachers, leaving nothing for clothing, cultural expenses, or recreation, let alone other family needs.

On August 25, General Velasco raised witch-hunt charges against the teachers' union. *La Prensa* reported August 26: "The president stated that in the case of the teachers, as in that of the miners, small groups of extremist agitators, both of the far left and right, were manipulating honest people who really wanted to work."

However, on August 26, the government made a small concession, granting raises of 300 to 600 soles per month to teachers earning a monthly salary of less than 9,900 soles. These increases, moreover, were not to be considered part of the base pay for determining pensions.

Armacanqui denounced the government's offer as "insignificant in comparison with the cost of living" and "laughable." He noted also that the authorities had made no attempt to meet the union's other demands.

On August 27 several teachers'

demonstrations took place. In Chiclayo, according to *La Prensa* of August 28, "a demonstration of at least 100 teachers was dispersed by police using tear gas. Two cars were turned over and a young boy was injured. Two leaders of the teachers were arrested."

In Iquitos about a thousand teachers, *La Prensa* reported, marched in a silent demonstration. A silent procession also took place in Cuzco.

On August 29, the union issued its final warning. The statement specified: "Our struggle is a purely economic one and the result of a deterioration in our position. Therefore, we energetically reject any claim linking the teachers' struggle with the views of any party."

When the strike began on September 1, even the progovernment papers *Expreso* and *Crónica* admitted that it had the overwhelming support of teachers throughout the country. From the first, however, the regime made it clear that it would not grant normal strike rights.

"In Lima," *El Comercio* reported September 2, "the mobilization of strike pickets in the early morning hours led to several clashes with the police and the arrest of a number of teachers."

La Prensa wrote the same day: "A march through the streets of Piura by groups of striking teachers was broken up by club-wielding police, who arrested three teachers and two students from the Universidad Nacional Técnica de Piura [Technical University of Piura]."

Seventeen students and a teacher from the Universidad Nacional de Educación [National Teachers University] were arrested when they tried to march in support of the strike.

Despite this repression, however, forty-five teachers' colleges joined in the action.

When the breadth and determination of the campaign had become evident, the progovernment paper *Expreso* launched a witch-hunt against the teachers. In its September 3 issue it wrote: "At the meetings held by the section committees on the second day of the strike, a group of agitators linked to APRA [Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana — American People's Revolutionary Alliance, an old anti-imperialist party turned reactionary] and to the ultraleft incited those present to march to the Plaza

San Martín this afternoon in order to create the conditions for a clash with the police.

"The members of the *Expreso* staff present in these assemblies learned that the plan proposed by the agitators included seizing the offices of FENEP. They intended to barricade themselves in and provoke a reaction from the forces of order."

Also in its September 3 issue, the other main progovernment paper, *Crónica*, accused the teachers of serving as "cannon fodder for foreign imperialism and native reaction."

Simultaneously with the attacks by the progovernment press, General Velasco made a new offer to the union. He agreed to "restudy the economic situation" of the teachers. However, in return for this vague promise and a few minor concessions, he demanded that the strikers return to work by Monday September 6. "If classes are not restored to normal Monday," the general declared, "the teachers will be responsible for this revolution not being a peaceful one and taking another direction, a direction we do not want."

There was no letup in police repression of the strikers' demonstrations.

"Thirty-two teachers were arrested in Lima last night for participating in various lightning demonstrations dispersed by club-wielding police," *La Prensa* reported September 4. In Ica, the article continued, "Police used their clubs to disperse striking teachers who were preparing to hold public demonstrations in several parks in the city. One teacher suffered serious head wounds and was taken to the clinic of the Hospital Regional [Regional Hospital]."

Using the pretext that some FENEP leaders did not sign a communiqué September 5 rejecting Velasco's ultimatum, the progovernment press began speculating that the strike leadership was divided. These rumors were denied in a press conference September 7 where some of the nonsigners reiterated their support for the union's position. Armacanqui pointed out that the strike now had the backing of 95 percent of the teachers.

When the deadline set by Velasco passed without the strike being ended, the opportunist and disoriented left auxiliaries of the "revolutionary" regime increased their pressure against the embattled teachers' union.

On September 7, the Stalinist-dom-

inated CGTP [Confederación General de Trabajadores del Perú—General Confederation of Peruvian Workers] issued a communiqué "supporting" the teachers, which echoed the government's witch-hunt charges. Among other things, the statement said: "3. It is no secret for anyone now that the eminently economic struggle of the teachers is suffering from the influence of some antiteacher and counterrevolutionary sectors who are trying to lead it into a blind alley and prolong it indefinitely. What these sectors are trying to do is create conspiratorial conditions that will enable them to carry out plans similar to those that brought down the government of General Torres in Bolivia. . . ."

"No less dangerous—as is clearly shown by the Bolivian experience—is the activity of those groups that are raising unachievable demands, slandering and intimidating everyone who argues in favor of solving the conflict, the groups that are trying to aggravate it rather than solve it."

"5. It is not by chance that recently we have been virtually flooded by tendentious and baseless rumors such as those alleging the killing of two teachers in Chiclayo and another in Ica, as well as massive jailings of teachers and mistreatment of strike leaders. By means of thousands of anonymous leaflets, an attempt is being made to create a climate of distrust in order to obstruct any solution to the conflict with the teachers and to facilitate the counterrevolutionary work of imperialism."

The same day the CGTP issued this statement, the police broke up a teachers' demonstration in Lima, estimated by the daily *Correo* at 3,000 persons.

On September 8, the government granted new wage concessions, giving increases of 350 to 1,000 soles. But the strike movement seems to have continued to escalate. On September 9, 5,000 teachers from the provinces of Lampa, Azángardo, and Huacane marched on the regional center of Puno, according to *La Prensa*. The September 10 issue of *El Comercio* carried a *La Prensa* dispatch reporting a march of 4,000 strikers in Chimbote the same day as the demonstration in Puno.

This buildup of the strike movement may explain why the government moved so brutally against the September 10 demonstration in Lima, and why it resorted to the unheard-

of measure of arbitrarily deporting seven Peruvian citizens for "subversion."

However, despite the fact that the teachers' strike assumed a massive and militant character and tended to link up with economic struggles in other sectors, it is not yet clear whether such bread-and-butter agitation constitutes a serious threat to the Peruvian regime. It is clear, of course, that the junta has never felt secure enough to allow Hugo Blanco to return to the countryside. From the time he was released at the beginning of this year until he was deported, the revolutionary leader has been confined to Lima. On March 9 he was arrested, questioned about his political and trade-union activities, and released after spending twenty-four hours in jail.

In particular, Blanco's support of an appeal in early September for the release of the remaining political prisoners must have embarrassed the regime. Despite a decree of general amnesty December 21, 1970, only the most well known prisoners, such as Blanco, were released. Many others are still being held in every large prison in the country.

It is possible, moreover, that the "revolutionary" officers fear that their demagogic promises are losing their appeal for the masses, that they may no longer be able to persuade the people to endure hardship in the name of a sham national liberation. If this is the case, popular movements could grow explosively among the deprived population, to whom the capitalist regime can offer little economic improvement.

With the rise of a new wave of radicalization, uncompromised trade-union and left leaders who have not succumbed to corruption or the false hopes aroused by the so-called anti-imperialist regime would become particularly dangerous.

Whatever the government's purpose in its latest repressive moves, there seems to be little doubt that it has irrevocably lost a good deal of its "revolutionary" camouflage. Those most immediately and acutely embarrassed by this, however, will probably be Velasco's admirers and apologists on the left.

Will even the Stalinist leaders of the CGTP dare justify the government's action against Hugo Blanco, who is

a great popular hero, especially to the peasants of southern Peru?

At a meeting in the Universidad Católica July 27, the former guerrilla leader Héctor Béjar attacked "dogmatists" who, he said, failed to recognize the revolutionary dynamic of the Velasco regime. He compared them to "Russian socialists" who did not understand the ideas of Lenin and "Chinese Communists" who failed to comprehend "Mao's line."

How will Béjar, who gave an honest appraisal of Blanco's revolutionary leadership in his book *Notes on a Guerrilla Experience*, explain this new victimization of a fighter who suffered seven years' imprisonment for defending the rights of the most oppressed peasants? It is not likely that Béjar can forget about the captured guerrillas who "disappeared" forever in 1963-64. Will he demand that the present regime reveal the whereabouts of the six missing deportees?

Moreover, the Lima government's turn to crude repression is apt to cause embarrassment beyond the frontiers of its own country. The Chilean popular-front president, Salvador Allende, was given a warm reception by Velasco September 3. The Chilean and Peruvian regimes are generally closely associated as representatives of the "new anti-imperialism" in Latin America. Is

this why there has been no mention of the deportations in the Chilean press?

The actions of the Lima government have caused problems even for the propagandists of the status quo. In Peru, the daily *El Comercio*, which represents the old oligarchy, denounced the strike leaders as "Communist agitators." The progovernment papers, since the Communist party was supporting the regime, charged them with being agents of APRA and the "ultraleft." The September 17 issue of the New York *El Diario* described the deported union leaders as "the Communist faction" in the organization. *El Tiempo* of Bogotá seems to have taken the easy way out in its September 16 issue, calling the deportees simply "subversives."

One thing, however, is completely clear in the Peruvian situation. The regime remains essentially repressive and the force of world public opinion is needed to defend socialist and popular fighters from victimization. Another international outcry, like the one that saved the life of Hugo Blanco in the mid-1960s, may now save the lives of the missing union leaders.

Telegrams and letters protesting the government's latest repression can be sent to: Presidente de la Republica del Perú, Gral. Juan Velasco Alvarado, Palacio Gobierno, Lima, Peru. □

Blanco Asks Aid to Deported Strikers

[The following appeal was made by Hugo Blanco in Mexico City September 19.]

* * *

At the beginning of this month, the Peruvian teaching profession, organized in the Federación Nacional de Educadores del Perú [National Federation of Educators], initiated a strike of national scope in answer to the refusal of the government to improve their precarious living conditions, conditions that contrast vividly with the opulence in which the military lives. In spite of the efforts of the reactionary forces and the government, the strike movement was growing stronger day by day, supported as it was by the students, their parents, and broad sectors of the population.

The military junta, frightened at the dimensions of the movement, opted for a repression and violently broke up the teachers' demonstrations, jailing hundreds of teachers, students, and workers. Finally, the junta announced that they had deported various persons, including student and faculty strike leaders and myself.

I have been deported to Mexico, where fortunately I have been given permission to reside as a "visitante" [visitor], but I am ignorant of the fate of the rest of my "deported" colleagues. The press remains silent. Could it be that the Peruvian government has killed them? Are they hesitating before carrying out the deed?

As a revolutionist and as a Peruvian, I am worried about the fate of my friends. I demand that the Peruvian government inform the world as

to what they have done with these students and strike leaders they say they have deported.

I appeal to the student and political organizations, the unions, and the intellectuals who have in the past been able to stay the murderous hand of

the military to mobilize once again in defense of Peruvians whose lives are in danger. This is a matter of the most extreme urgency. Immediate action is called for to achieve the liberation and the safety of these fighters. Their lives depend on us! □

Blanco was told to stay aboard until the plane took off thirty minutes later.

In Nicaragua, where another stop was made, he was again not permitted to disembark. At San Salvador, the next stop, Blanco was held in a room by the immigration authorities until the plane was ready to resume flight.

In Guatemala, he was again kept on board the plane. In this country, infamous for its repression and its torture, Blanco preferred to stay in the plane.

Blanco had only about 450 soles in his pocket—a little more than \$10. He told the stewardesses about his plight and one of them gave him twenty pesos to help out when he reached Mexico City.

When the plane landed late in the evening, immigration officials were waiting for him at the door of the plane as he stepped out. The captain handed the officials the papers.

Blanco was taken to a building in another part of the city, maintained for aliens of uncertain status. It was now two days since the police had seized him and Blanco still did not know whether Mexico City was his ultimate destination. He spent the night in a dormitory which had about ten double bunks. There were other aliens there, but no one from Peru.

The Mexican immigration officials seemed puzzled by his case. They said they had never seen anything like it. His passport, they told Blanco, was completely new; in fact his photograph showed he was still wearing the same clothes he had on when it was taken. He was dressed like he had just got off the job. His tourist card was likewise perfectly valid, having been issued by the Mexican embassy in Lima. But, strangely, his baggage consisted of two blankets. Strangest of all, he did not have any money; that is, the amount of money a tourist normally carries. There was nothing whatever, either in the passport or the Mexican tourist card, to confirm the story he told about having been deported from Peru.

While they carried out an investigation, the immigration authorities held him in their special building. They treated him with the utmost courtesy.

Yesterday, Blanco said, he was brought to the gobernación, the department exercising final authority on cases such as his. The Mexican government, the official in charge told

Interviewed in Mexico City

Hugo Blanco Describes His Expulsion From Peru

MEXICO CITY, September 19— In an interview here today, Hugo Blanco, the well-known Peruvian peasant leader, told how he was deported from Peru by the Velasco government.

He left the house Monday evening September 13 to buy a few items at the drugstore. The two policemen outside, posted to watch his comings and goings, told him he was wanted at headquarters to answer a few questions.

"But I have to get some medicine at the drugstore."

"Good. Let's go."

The police went with him to make the purchases and accompanied him back to the house.

There Hugo picked up a blanket.

"What do you want that for?" asked one of the cops.

"Just in case."

At the headquarters of the state security police in Lima, Blanco was questioned for some hours. It was a strange inquiry. The official in charge was interested only in Blanco's political position in relation to the Velasco government. Why did he remain in opposition?

Thus the conversation concerned the agrarian reform and its lack of thoroughness, the class nature of the Velasco regime, and so on.

Blanco thought that perhaps they would hold him for only twenty-four hours, the legal limit unless charges are filed. By then, his lawyer, Dr. Alfredo Battilana, would demand to know the charges, and the government would have difficulty in presenting any, since Blanco had violated no laws whatsoever since he was released from El Frontón last December.

The police were rather polite. They did not beat him, and they permitted

members of his family to bring him some food and another blanket.

During the day the police took photographs of him—the usual front and profile "mug" shot. Blanco did not pay much attention to this, as it was more or less normal.

By Tuesday evening, however, it was clear that something unusual was afoot. The police took him to the airport. The Trotskyist leader's first thought was that he was being exiled to the Selva (jungle). It is not always certain that a prisoner will return alive from a concentration camp in that region. However, Blanco changed his mind when he noted that he was being taken to "international departures."

The police put him aboard a Braniff plane about 10:00 p.m. They handed the captain of the plane some papers that evidently had to do with his case. Blanco did not have the slightest idea of the destination of the plane. Bolivia or some other country where the government might welcome the opportunity to shoot him?

"Where is the plane going?" Hugo asked one of the passengers.

"To Panama and the Canal Zone."

"I thought to myself," said Blanco, "'they're going to dump me in the canal.'"

The plane landed at Panama City at about 4:00 a.m. Wednesday. Blanco was evidently expected. The captain of the plane handed the papers to officials of the Panamanian government and they took Blanco to a barracks of the "pumas"—the national guard. There he was kept under surveillance until about 2:00 p.m. He was then placed on a Pan American plane bound for Mexico and the papers were handed to the captain.

The plane landed in Costa Rica.

him, had decided to grant him the status of a "visitante" (visitor).

The government had also decided to give him a work permit so that he could obtain a job. This is the equivalent of "resident" status in the United States. For an alien in Mexico, as elsewhere, this is a very favorable situation. Blanco is scheduled to receive the work permit tomorrow.

The authorities told Blanco that representatives of the United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners had come from New York and inquired about his situation the previous evening. This was the first that Blanco had any intimation of the concern felt by defenders of civil liberties in many countries when the news was received from several wire services that he had been deported to Panama.

A representative of the Mexican government then took Blanco in an automobile to a good hotel, paid for a room for him, and presented him with 800 pesos [\$64] for living expenses to help tide him over until he can get work.

When Blanco was told of the disposition of his case, the official in charge gave him his Peruvian passport. This turned out to be a curious document.

True, it was brand new. That was his picture, evidently a print of the front "mug" photograph taken by the police last Tuesday in Lima, but the fingerprint placed on the page for identification purposes was not his. And the signature was an absolutely illegible scrawl evidently made with a pen wielded at high speed.

A mystery thus remains. Whose fingerprint is it? General Velasco's? And the signature? Is that an effort by General Velasco to write the name "Hugo Blanco"? Perhaps some day, after the socialist revolution wins in Peru, these two mysteries will be cleared up. □

What About a Two-Taiwan Policy?

En route to the United Nations for the General Assembly session, Indonesian Foreign Minister Adam Malik took a moment to explain to reporters his government's straightforward position on the seating of the People's Republic of China.

Indonesia, he said, would support China's admission "in principle," and was opposed to a "two-China policy." At the same time, he did not want an "old member," the Chiang Kai-shek regime, to be expelled from the UN.

Many Held Despite Amnesty

Appeal for Peruvian Political Prisoners

[The following appeal from the Peruvian peasant leader Hugo Blanco was issued in August, before his deportation from Peru. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

TO OUR BROTHERS AND SISTERS AROUND THE WORLD WHO STAYED THE DEATH SENTENCE. TO OUR BROTHERS AND SISTERS AROUND THE WORLD WHO WON THE AMNESTY:

I am deeply grateful for your struggle to win the General Amnesty in our country. As the fruit of that effort and the efforts of many of our brothers and sisters in various countries, the government was forced last December to grant a decree of General Amnesty and Pardon to all political prisoners.

Unfortunately, only we who are the best known among the prisoners got out. There are many still in the jails, and a list is attached of those we know of to date.

We are confident of your help. We hope that you who have been capable of staying the death sentence, who have been capable of forcing through the amnesty law, will also be capable of winning its application to the freedom of *all* political prisoners in Peru.

The great majority of these brothers of ours are peasants whose "crime" was to fight for the land. Let's look at some examples:

In Echarate. Everyone has heard of the La Convención peasant movement through which the local peasantry initiated the Agrarian Reform with their own hands. Against this peasant determination, the political hacks and the authorities in their service used many methods to crush the peasants. These acts provoked some spilling of blood, such as when we stood up against the outrages of the Civil Militia, or when the unionized peasants did so in Echarate against an agent of the bosses who operated there and on other *haciendas*. The peasant masses stood up against this agent, and yet three peasants remain today in jail, where they have been since 1963: José Orue, Rosalio Ata-

paucar, and Ascensión Yarihuamán. There is no explanation why, after I was freed, these three peasants are being kept prisoner, since they were participants like myself in the La Convención peasant struggle.

In Caso Duque. The La Convención union movement emerged in response to the innumerable atrocities perpetrated by the political bosses of the area, who among other things seized the peasants' coffee plantations and other cultivated lands. They did this with the complicity of judges and other authorities. In despair at seeing their families in misery, the peasants' initial response was a direct confrontation with the landlord; the peasant-union movement represented a higher stage of development. Still in prison as victims of that first stage of struggle are comrades Victor Valencia, Eduardo Celis, Tomás Rojas, and Nazario Gamarra.

In Chala. Members of this community offered warm hospitality to a stranger, who began via legal maneuvering to usurp land and livestock from the community, with the support of the authorities—as is customary in our country. The peasants took action against the usurper in desperation at his seizures. Despite tortures, the mass of community members maintained that it was a collective act, and sixteen of them are now in custody.

In Shiñama. A group of peasants in Shiñama had their lands snatched away during a skirmish (which cost the life of a peasant woman) with a group of bosses who, to get rid of the peasants, accused them of being rustlers and agitators. They are still being held in the Chiclayo jail on this pretext.

In Chocco (Cuzco). The prisoners José Roque and Nicolás Sulca are not common criminals. They are members of the militant community of Chocco, which they defended by demanding the return of its lands usurped by the landlord Miguel Luna Oblitas. They have been accused unjustly of usurpation, when in fact they hold property titles dating from 1556, and the landlord is the true usurper.

They have also been accused of taking part in the killing of Luna Oblitas's agent, Roberto Huaman, while the latter and other employees of the landlord were carrying out a new usurpation of Chocco community lands. To defend and regain their lands is not a common crime, but a social struggle enjoying popular support.

Let us remember that in order to gain the release of Eduardo Creus, Héctor Chacón and other political prisoners, further campaigns were necessary following the issuance of the decree of General Amnesty and Pardon.

ONLY THROUGH MOBILIZATION OF THE MASSES WILL WE WREST FROM PRISON THOSE WHO FOUGHT FOR THE MASSES!

Lima, August 1971
Hugo Blanco Galdos

* * *

[Following is the list of Peruvian political prisoners mentioned in Hugo Blanco's appeal above.]

* * *

Concepción Jail in Junín; members of Chala community.—Pedro Castrillón, Edilberto Tacza, Demetrio Tacza, Hipólito Inga, Félix Reyes, José Marín, Alejandro Casas, Buenaventura Tacza, Julio Vilchez, Pedro Rojas, Alejandro Rojas, Victor Baquerizo, Ananías Garay, Miguel Inga, Damián Guerra, and Teófanés Tacza.

La Almudena Prison in Cuzco; Echarate Peasant Union members (La Convención), held since 1963.—Ascensión Yarihuamán, Rosalio Atapaucar, and José Orue.

Chocco community members.—José Roque and Nicolás Sullca.

San Juan de Quijaros community (Acomayo).—Juan de Dios Huaycho.

Ayacucho.—Ignacio Huallanca, Alberto Cacñahuaray, Máximo Tingo, Juan Condor, Alejandro Palomino, Epifanio Aguilar, Simón Borda, Jorge Cosme, Miguel Chipana, Manco Chipana, Victor Tineo, and Miguel Torres.

Pomacocha community members.—Ismael Palomino, Jerónimo Wilca, and Sánchez [forename not given].

La Mar province (Ayacucho).—Salvador Flores, Paulino Vargas, Julio Gavilán, Julio Flores, and Alejandro Valenzuela.

Ancash.—Germán Brito, Margarita Cadillo, Estanislao Brito, Agripina Suárez, and Juan Mendoza.

Sepa Prison, held since before 1959.—Victor Valencia, Nazario Gamarra, Eduardo Celis, and Tomás Rojas.

Lambayeque (peasants from Shiñama).—Luis de la Cruz, Teófilo Reyes, Calixto de la Cruz, Cirilo Martínez, and Santos Vilcabana.

Huancavelica.—Pedro Gala Contre-

ras.

Chopga community.—Seven peasants.

Lima (sixth district).—Pedro Durand (San Marcos state), Hugo Van Ordt, and Eduardo Ibarra.

Luriganchu.—Erasmus Reyes and Carlos Llontop.

Paramonga peasants.—Emilio La Rosa, Pedro Flores, Saturnino Herrera, and Domingo Socha. □

Puerto Rico

Massive Demonstration for Independence

By C. M. Tavaréz

[The following article is reprinted from the October 1 issue of the revolutionary-socialist weekly *The Militant*, published in New York.]

* * *

San Juan

The largest and most militant demonstration in the history of Puerto Rico's independence movement took place here Sunday, September 12, to protest the sixty-third annual U. S. governors' conference. The demonstration also commemorated the eightieth anniversary of the birth of Don Pedro Albizú Campos, leading Puerto Rican nationalist, who died in 1965 after spending most of his active life in prison for his activities in behalf of independence.

Called and organized by the Movimiento Pro Independencia [MPI—Movement for Independence] and the Partido Independentista Puertorriqueño [PIP—Puerto Rican Independence party], the march was so well organized that even the capitalist press recognized its importance. For example, the Puerto Rican daily *El Imparcial* calculated that between 50,000 and 60,000 participated in the march and rally. *El Mundo*, another capitalist daily, put the number at 40,000 to 50,000.

In their speeches at the rally, MPI and PIP leaders estimated that 80,000 to 100,000 participated in the demonstration and that many thousands more were unable to attend because of lack of transportation, although everything possible had been done to

bring people to the march from the farthest places on the island. The MPI and PIP tried to provide free transportation for people who could not afford to pay, but the organizations' resources were very limited compared to those of the government.

The Ferré government, for example, rented 100 limousines in the U. S. at a cost of hundreds of thousands of dollars for the use of the governors and special conference guests. Shipping the limousines from New York cost the government \$20,013.11, according to a bill of lading of Trans-American Trailer Transport, Inc.

For two weeks prior to the demonstration, the government had conducted a violent campaign of red-baiting against the MPI and PIP, trying to frighten the Puerto Rican people away from the demonstration. In addition to utilizing the press, radio, and television in its campaign of intimidation, one week before the demonstration the government arrested hundreds of *independentistas* for pasting up leaflets inviting people to the march.

When even this failed to stop the *independentistas*, the government organized brigades of government-party youth who, with police backing, covered the demonstration leaflets with paint and pasted up their own "Governors, Welcome to Puerto Rico" signs. This was done mostly around the campuses of the universities and in the commercial districts, where the tourists and guests of the governors might see them.

Support for the march was so widespread that Ferré himself, as a last

resort, pleaded with the leaders not to carry slogans or shout "Yanqui Go Home!" According to the governor, such behavior would injure the Puerto Rican tradition of hospitality.

To the surprise of no one, "Yanqui Go Home!" became the main theme of the demonstration. Other popular slogans were "Governors Go Home!" and "Jibaro [peasant] Si! Yanqui No!"

PIP President Rubén Berrios and MPI General Secretary Juan Mari Bras represented their respective organizations on the speakers' platform. Mari Bras pointed out that Puerto Rico was being used once more by the U.S. as the "showcase" of Latin America.

He said that the main reason for holding the governors' conference in Puerto Rico was to plan the optimum use of the island as a political, economic, and military base of counter-revolution in Latin America. As evidence of this, Mari Bras pointed to conference guests such as Galo Plaza, general secretary of the Organization of American States (OAS); Alberto Lleras Camargo, ex-president of Colombia; and Eduardo Frei, Christian-Democrat ex-president of Chile. Mari Bras went on to discuss the continuing battle waged by the MPI to have the United Nations take up the case of Puerto Rico, not because the United Nations is an organization to be trusted but because it could be used as a forum to expose U.S. colonialism in Puerto Rico. The MPI also tries to force countries represented at the United Nations to take a stand in favor of Puerto Rico's independence.

Mari Bras made very clear what he meant when he said, "Either they are with us or against us; this way we will know who are our friends and who are our enemies."

This MPI-PIP united-front demonstration was organized as a peaceful and orderly action, and the tremendous success it achieved showed how deep and widespread the proindependence movement is.

Among the supporters of the demonstration was a contingent of about 200 Dominicans whose message of solidarity said, in part: "We Dominicans living in Puerto Rico for many different reasons are with you today in your struggle for Puerto Rican independence. Puerto Rico's destiny is linked with ours, since we are oppressed by the same imperialist monster, the United States of America. . . .

Puerto Rico and Santo Domingo together will win!"

Support also came from a group of Cuban youth, Juventud Cubana Socialista [Cuban Socialist Youth], which put out a special bulletin for the march called "Manifiesto al Pueblo de Puerto Rico" [Manifesto to the People of Puerto Rico].

This group is composed of Cuban young people whose parents took them to the United States in the early 1960s. Today, as a result of their own experiences in the U.S. and Puerto Rico, and from seeing how the Cuban exiles behave—their racism, their desire to make Puerto Rico the Cuba of "old times," their "anticommunism"—these youth now identify with the Cuban revolution, the Latin American revolution, and with the Puerto Rican people in their struggle for self-determination.

"We are Cubans," the manifesto be-

gins, "and we completely reject the arrogant attitude of the Cuban exiles in Puerto Rico. . . . We are Cubans who believe that now, as ever, the destiny of Cuba and Puerto Rico is closely linked. We identify unconditionally with your struggle for national liberation of the Puerto Rican people. . . . We are not Cuban exiles; we are in Puerto Rico for reasons beyond our control. While we are here, we ask you not to consider us as exiles from Cuba, and we ask you to defend us against the attacks we expect from them."

The unity in action of the proindependence forces had a tremendous impact on the Puerto Rican population. This reporter talked to about 200 people after the march, all of whom were optimistic about the struggle for independence. As one said, "This is the best way for the Puerto Rican people to show its dignity." □

Thousands Protest Philippine Witch-Hunt

"About 15,000 demonstrators, including nuns, farmers, priests, students and workers, marched through Manila today to demand an end to sweeping security measures imposed by President Ferdinand E. Marcos," Reuters reported September 13.

The demonstration was organized by the Movement of Concerned Citizens for Civil Liberties, a united front of some seventy organizations formed to fight Marcos's attack on democratic rights. The organization called for immediate restoration of the right of habeas corpus and for the release of political prisoners.

The marchers held a rally in the Plaza Miranda, where grenades had been thrown at a Liberal party rally on August 21. (See *Intercontinental Press*, September 13, 1971, p. 772.)

The widespread opposition to Marcos's assault on democratic rights and the belief that his regime is implicated in the attack on the Liberal rally have led to rumblings in Marcos's own party.

Senator José Diokno, a former cabinet minister, resigned from the Nationalist party August 31.

Lorenzo Tananda, a Nationalist senator, warned that Marcos may be moving towards imposing martial law in the Philippines and that "it is easy

to create a situation for the imposition of martial law," reported Bernardino Ronquillo in the September 4 *Far Eastern Economic Review*. Ronquillo explained why Marcos might make such a move:

"If the terror bombing was intended to demoralise the opposition and scare its supporters, the outcome seems to be exactly the opposite. . . .

"There is a general feeling now that the Liberals could win the November elections—provided of course the elections are clean—and that the president does not use his emergency powers to suspend them. It is the prospect of the president going to the extent of using his emergency powers to suspend future elections that frightens the opposition and worries many of his own party leaders." □

No One Out of Work Except Unemployed

The Australian News and Information Bureau summarized as follows the content of a speech by Prime Minister William McMahon, discounting the possibility of widespread unemployment in Australia:

"In a country such as Australia with resilience and strength there was no reason other than for reasons beyond the Government's control why it should have difficulties."

'Progressive' Israelis Visit Soviet Union

By Jon Rothschild

In the wake of the most recent U. S. diplomatic moves to reestablish relations with Egypt, indications have appeared that the Soviet bureaucracy may be preparing the groundwork for resuming diplomatic ties with Israel.

The first hint of a change in the official Kremlin characterization of the Zionist state came on August 17, when the semiofficial Soviet Peace Committee revealed that it had invited six Israelis to visit the Soviet Union.

All of the invitees are supporters of Zionism but critical of some policies of the Golda Meir government. Five are members of an Israeli committee to improve relations with the USSR. One is a member of both this committee and the pro-Zionist Israeli Communist party (Maki).

The group toured the Soviet Union for three weeks, beginning August 23. It was the first visit of non-CP Israelis since the June 1967 war. More significant than the trip itself was the way the tourists were described in official TASS press releases.

On September 8, Soviet papers reported that "a group of progressive public [Israeli] figures" had been touring the country, and quoted one of them as saying that "the Israeli people are tired of war, of the country's unilateral orientation to imperialist American forces."

Dr. Dan Miron, professor of Hebrew literature at Tel Aviv University and spokesman for the tourists, reported upon their return to Israel that the Soviet government "earnestly desires" to improve its relations with Israel. The visit was widely covered in the Israeli press.

Another indication of a softening Soviet attitude was the appearance of a two-part series of articles by Victor Louis in the *New York Times* September 7-8. Louis is a Soviet "journalist" who has been known to undertake missions for the secret police.

Last June he went to Israel, because "was the best place to go for a cure for my lumbago." He reportedly held a meeting—presumably between treat-

ments—with a member of Meir's staff during his trip. Just as the Israeli visitors were returning home, Louis produced a little travelogue of his experiences.

Since the articles contained little that could conceivably be considered new information, it can be concluded that the purpose in writing them was to establish a certain friendly tone.

The depth of Louis's reportage can be seen in the following fragment from his first piece. After picking up some hitchhikers on the road between Tel Aviv and Jerusalem, Louis "could only laugh" at the "sharp reminder" of where he was: "when I meant to place my hand on the knee of the smiling girl beside me, I caressed the machine gun that lay in her lap."

Louis expressed "concern" about

whether Israel would be able to absorb its several thousand new Russian immigrants. He was assured by Israelis that the population of Jerusalem may increase by 200,000 over the next four years. He therefore "assumed that plenty of room for immigrants would be found." This is a reference to growing Jewish settlement of the city as a means of effecting a *de facto* annexation—something the Soviet government has hitherto officially opposed.

Most of the remainder of the series deals with the adjustment problems of Russian immigrants. It concludes with a sentimental observation on the future of Soviet-Israeli relations: ". . . the physical ties between Israel and the Soviet Union grow stronger with the passage of every single person who makes the journey, leaving friends and family behind with hopes to meet again. Similarly, the more Russian Jews settle in Israel, the more Israeli citizens there are who feel, however dear their new-found freedom, nevertheless obliged to Russia in all sorts of ways and certainly closer to her than to the United States." □

Reply to Solzhenitsyn's Letter

Soviet Cops Say They're Sorry— That They Were Caught

The Soviet political police, KGB, have replied to an August 13 letter from Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn in which the novelist protested the illegal confiscation of manuscripts and letters from his cottage and the beating administered to a friend, Aleksandr Gorlov, who accidentally interrupted the cops in their work. (See *Intercontinental Press*, September 13, p. 771.)

Bernard Gwertzman reported from Moscow in the September 10 *New York Times* that a colonel in the KGB had telephoned Solzhenitsyn with an apologetic explanation. The ten or more cops involved, it seems, were not KGB agents but local police:

"The colonel said, according to the novelist's friends, that the local police were staking out the dacha in the expectation that it would be burglarized and mistook Mr. Gorlov for a criminal."

One has to admire the tremendous

development of socialist culture revealed by the incident. The crime rate in the Soviet Union has now fallen, it appears, to the point where ten cops can be assigned to apprehend a single burglar.

It is to be regretted, of course, that the defenders of socialist law have not yet outgrown the tendency of their capitalist counterparts to administer summary punishment to offenders, but the behavior of the cops in this case promises hope for the future. In what other country do criminal detectives display such intellectual hunger as to peruse literary manuscripts and letters while they are on a stakeout?

Nor should the cops be judged too harshly for expressing their appreciation of Solzhenitsyn's work by stealing his manuscripts. That seems to be virtually the only way a Soviet citizen can read anything by the Nobel Prize-winning author. □

S. Ognev and the Brezhnev View of Trotskyism

By George Saunders

In assessing the state of the international pro-Moscow Communist movement, Leonid Brezhnev included a comment about Trotskyism in his report from the Central Committee to the March 1971 Twenty-fourth Congress of the Communist party of the Soviet Union (CPSU). It was his way of officially stressing the importance of the anti-Trotskyist campaign conducted in recent years by the Kremlin and its supporters. He spoke as follows:

"It was precisely in the period under review [since the 1966 Twenty-third Congress] that the attempts on various sides to attack Marxism-Leninism as the ideological-theoretical basis for the activity of the communist movement have been most acute. The Chinese leadership went over to the establishment in a number of countries of splinter groupings under the signboard of the so-called 'Marxist-Leninist parties,' and has clearly tried to unite them in some way as a counterweight to the international communist movement. *The Trotskyites have now and again formed blocs with these groupings.* Here and there tendencies towards nationalistic self-isolation have been stepped up, and both 'Left' and Right-wing opportunism have been revived." (Emphasis added—G. S.)

Further on, Brezhnev returned to the same theme, without specifically mentioning Trotskyism.

"However, comrades, another fact we cannot afford to lose sight of is that negative phenomena have not yet been overcome everywhere. The fight against Right and 'Left'-wing revisionism, against nationalism, continues to be urgent. It is precisely the nationalistic tendencies, especially those which assume the form of anti-Sovietism, that bourgeois ideologists and bourgeois propaganda have most willingly relied upon in their fight against socialism and the communist movement. . . . Examples of this are renegades of the type of Garaudy in France, Fischer in Austria, Petkov [sic] in Venezuela, and the 'Manifesto' group leaders in Italy. The fraternal

Parties regard the fight against such elements as an important condition for strengthening their ranks. Consequently, even these examples—and their number could be easily multiplied—testify that the struggle against revisionism and nationalism continues to be an important task of the Communist Parties."

Since Trotskyism received mention only once in General Secretary Brezhnev's speech, some Soviet propagandists might have misunderstood this to mean Trotskyism was not such a great danger. To counter any such misapprehension, it seems, a special article was prepared for the Soviet press expanding on the Brezhnev remarks and keeping the warning signals up high.

The press vehicle was the magazine *Agitator* ("Propagandist"), a bimonthly "of the CPSU Central Committee," which is aimed at the network of tens of thousands of party members and employees whose job it is—through lectures, displays, and agitational discussions—to explain and win support among the Soviet masses for the Kremlin's policies.

Whether this reinforcement of the conditioned response against the Trotskyist bugaboo was necessary is questionable. Articles and books have been pouring out regularly now for nearly a decade developing numerous, often complex and sometimes contradictory, explanations of what is hateful about Trotskyism.

For example, in 1970 two new books of substantial size were published on this theme. The dozen or so earlier books of similar size put out in recent years were apparently insufficient to exhaust the subject—though they may have exhausted the few readers who bothered to look at them. Or perhaps a yearly quota has been set by the bosses upstairs, requiring the printing industry to produce so many pounds of anti-Trotskyist final product per annum. If so, the following two heavy additions surely fulfilled the requirement for 1970:

(1) *The Struggle of V. I. Lenin and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union Against Trotskyism*, Moscow, 1970, 399 pp., published by Politizdat (Political Publishing House). Since no author was listed it is apparently a compilation of documents or articles.

(2) *Leninism and the Ideological-Political Defeat of Trotskyism*, by V. M. Ivanov and A. N. Shmelev, Leningrad, 1970, 503 pp., published by Lenizdat (Lenin Publishing House).

We have seen nothing about Lenin's alleged "struggle against Trotskyism" among the works published thus far by Samizdat (Self Publishing House, the ironic term used for unofficially circulating material in the USSR).

At any rate, from somewhere in the hierarchy the word obviously came down that an article was needed stressing the continuing, if not growing, danger of Trotskyism. It would need such key sentences as the following: "Compared to other splinter groups, the Trotskyist renegades are not the least dangerous, and in some places are the most dangerous, enemies of the Communists."

Such an article should also tie the Trotskyist menace in with the other heresies mentioned by Brezhnev—those of Fischer, Garaudy, Petkoff, and the II Manifesto group. These four recent split-offs from the pro-Moscow current (primarily over Czechoslovakia) may still have contacts or sympathizers within the Soviet Union. Thus to link them to the dread name of Trotskyism might help discourage continuation of any such contacts or inclinations.

The required article, entitled "What the Modern Trotskyists Are" and signed by one S. Ognev, appeared in issue No. 12 of *Agitator* for June 1971. It was necessary to disguise it a little by having it appear as a reply to a query from a reader, under the heading "Questions and Answers."

Preceding the article was the following boxed-in paragraph purporting to be a letter from a reader, S. Kovyzin of Novokuznetsk:

"In the report from the Central Committee of the CPSU to the Twenty-Fourth party Congress it is said that the Chinese leadership in recent years has intensified its efforts in a number of countries to unite splinter groups who are active against the Communist movement and that 'the Trotskyists have now and again formed blocs with these groupings.' I'd like to know how active the modern Trotskyists have become and what they represent today."

If there really is an S. Kovyrrzin (roughly translated, Mr. Putter-Around or Poke-Into), his inquisitive letter on this dangerous topic has surely aroused the special interest of the Novokuznetsk "organs of state security," especially since they may not be kept all that busy in their remote Siberian city. It isn't every day, after all, that a local resident starts poking into such dubious subjects.

It's always possible, of course, that S. Kovyrrzin is a Novokuznetsk KGB-man himself, bored with inactivity or seeking to impress his superiors by lending a hand in the important "ideological-theoretical" putterings-about of S. Ognev.

Steady readers of *Intercontinental Press*, or others familiar with the real ideas of Trotskyism, will have little difficulty in spotting and setting straight for themselves Ognev's innumerable lies, distortions, and misrepresentations of Trotskyist ideas and activities.

In particular it is interesting that Ognev does not mention the trial earlier this year of Trotskyists in Prague, to buttress his false charge that Trotskyists "conspired against" the Socialist Republic of Czechoslovakia. He avoids that, of course, because it would testify far more to the Stalinist method of witch-hunting revolutionary socialists than to any conspiracy against the Czechoslovak workers state.

Our translation of Ognev's article, printed in this issue, will be of interest to readers for a number of reasons. It shows how relatively recent activities of the Trotskyist movement in Europe are reported, distorted, and commented on by the official Soviet press.

It also shows the rather frantic and desperate methodology used to combat the ideas of Trotskyism—say everything bad about them that you can think of, short of the old spy-saboteur-

fascist agent concoction, even if none of it hangs together. But be sure to include a few serious arguments in favor of peaceful coexistence and against Lenin's understanding of our epoch—as one of wars, colonial uprisings, and proletarian revolutions.

As if Cuba, Indonesia, Vietnam, Palestine, France, Bangla Desh, Bolivia—just to mention a few countries within the past decade—had not been convulsed precisely by bloody wars or revolutionary crises. But to S. Ognev and the myopic office-holding parasites of the Kremlin bureaucracy for whom he speaks, such things are minor irritants in the overall grand scheme of peaceful competition with an imperial-

ism which they hope will benignly leave them in peace.

One final comment: it is interesting that Ognev refers to the "older generation" as being thoroughly familiar with the evils of Trotskyism. Soviet youth have not yet acquired the automatic fear-hate reaction to the word "Trotsky" that was implanted in many of their elders through the blood purges of 1936-38 and the grotesque cult of Stalin, the all-powerful General Secretary of the party. Unfortunately for Ognev and for the latter-day General Secretary, Brezhnev, this kind of article will hardly succeed in indoctrinating the youth as desired: to any inquiring mind, it simply raises more questions than it answers. □

Bandaranaike Requests Scabs From Abroad

Ceylon Oilworkers Defy Antistrike Law

The first strike in direct defiance of Ceylon's Essential Services Order began August 31, when operators at the Sapugaskande oil refinery walked out, completely shutting down the plant.

The strikers are members of the Operations Staff Union, whose secretary, K. Tiruchelvam, was fired July 9 for expressing opposition to anti-strike legislation.

In the wake of the job action, nearly all the technicians, clerks, and laborers, who are members of unions whose leadership supports the government coalition, resigned from their unions and requested membership in the Ceylon Mercantile Union (CMU), which has opposed the State of Emergency as well as the witch-hunt unleashed by the Bandaranaike regime in April.

The workers took this step in order to avoid being used as strikebreakers by their old leaderships.

With the refinery out of operation, Ceylonese press reports indicated that Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike had requested strikebreaking assistance from Egyptian President Anwar Sadat. Four Egyptian technicians traveled to Ceylon to investigate the situation, with the aim of determining whether Egypt could provide a sufficient number of scabs to get the factory running again.

On September 10 Bala Tampoe, general secretary of the CMU, sent a

letter to T. B. Subasinghe, minister of industries and scientific affairs, protesting both the firing of Tiruchelvam and the regime's plans to break the strike. That letter, a copy of which was also sent to the president of the Arab Petroleum Workers Federation in Cairo, said in part:

"The Executive Committee of our Union considers that the strike should be settled immediately by negotiation with the Operations Staff Union, and that any effort to break the strike, by importing refined oil, or by seeking to utilise the services of operators from abroad to work as blacklegs at the refinery, would be completely unjustified and would be directly adverse to the interests of the working class and to the rest of our people, who will have to pay for the costs of such strike-breaking efforts." □

30,000 in CIA's Lao Army

A transcript of secret Senate testimony released on September 13 revealed that the Central Intelligence Agency has trained and supported an "irregular" force of 30,000 troops who "have been the backbone of the military effort in Laos."

The information was given to the Senate Armed Services Committee in closed-door sessions by G. McMurtree Godley, U.S. ambassador to Laos.

He said that the mercenaries "are organized into S.G.U. [Special Guerrilla Unit] battalions and these battalions now comprise about 330 to 360 men each." □

Disaster in Bolivia for Healy-Lambert-Wohlforth

By Gerry Foley

An article entitled "Bitter Lessons of a Defeat" in the weekly paper of a small sectarian group in New York has provided a curious footnote to the tragedy of the right-wing take-over in Bolivia.

In the August 30 issue of the *Bulletin*, Tim Wohlforth, leader of the ultraleft Workers League, responded to the Bolivian events with a broad denunciation of one of the most prominent personalities in the Bolivian left:

"The key figure of Bolivian Trotskyism has been Guillermo Lora. Lora, who lost his own brother under Barrientos and whose whereabouts at this moment is not known, must share a responsibility in the recent rightist coup.

"Lora, in collaboration with the Bolivian Stalinists and with the agreement of the Bolivian and international Pabloites, failed to fight at any point for the overthrow of the Torres military regime. Thus he, along with the rest of the Popular Assembly, acted as a left cover for Torres while the right wing elements in Torres' own army prepared and finally executed their coup.

"In so doing Lora was carrying forward a political course begun over a decade ago, from which he has consistently refused to veer. At every point this course has received support within the Fourth International or [from?] forces claiming to represent the Fourth International. Though less known than the evolution of the LSSP [Lanka Sama Samaja party—the former Ceylonese section of the Fourth International, which was expelled in 1964 for entering a bourgeois cabinet] in Ceylon, the role of Lora and the POR [Partido Obrero Revolucionario—Revolutionary Workers party] has been no less treacherous and important."

The average reader of the *Bulletin* might not notice anything unusual about such instant analysis or about the condemnation of yet another "Pabloite renegade." The *Bulletin's* response to defeats of mass struggles has been, after all, rather standard. Its rule of thumb was set forth clearly in this same article: "In every country of Latin America it can be said that capitalism rules only because of the paralysis and confusion of those elements which call themselves Trotskyists."

It is to be hoped, however, that the name Guillermo Lora rang a bell in the minds of some *Bulletin* readers. Because there was something notable about this article. It was not, in fact, without a certain interest and instructiveness.

A minor but vivid lesson of the Bolivian defeat, it seems, is to be its illustration of the logic and rewards of unprincipled factionalism. Until sufficient information is available to make a judgment about the main questions involved in the rightist victory in Bolivia, it may be worth dwelling a bit on this lesson. It concerns some elementary rules of building a revolutionary movement nationally and internationally, about which a reminder is always useful.

This lesson is apt to be a bitter one for some small

groups. We can only hope that they will take it to heart. They were warned well in advance on where their course was leading them.

However, Wohlforth's article gives little grounds for optimism on this score. If he had learned anything from his Bolivian experience, he really should have admitted frankly that one of the groups "claiming to represent the Fourth International" that supported Lora was the combination to which the Workers League adheres, the so-called International Committee (IC). In fact, Wohlforth's failure to say this openly may lead some to believe that his article represented, among other things, a veiled attack on one or another of his remaining allies, either Gerry Healy in England or Pierre Lambert in France. In view of the speed and roughness with which Wohlforth dumped Lora, who is hardly in a position to defend himself, the rest of the "International Committee" might have reason to be concerned.

Wohlforth does note that Lora had a certain acquaintance with the "IC." He writes ". . . Lora established contact with the International Committee announcing his agreement with the IC's international perspectives, especially its position on the centrality of the struggles of the working class in all countries. But Lora never made any serious attempt to assess his own history and on this basis to make a fundamental development towards a break with his own past."

What Wohlforth fails to mention is that the Lora group was recognized as the Bolivian section of the International Committee, in fact, was regarded as the key to the future in the colonial world. In issue No. 1 of *La Correspondance Internationale* (the issue was dated May 1971 and issue No. 2 does not yet seem to have appeared), an international bulletin published by the Lambertists, Marc-Etienne Laurent wrote:

"For the OCI [Organisation Communiste Internationaliste—Internationalist Communist Organization, the Lambertist group], it is a fact of the highest importance that—notably through the POR, which is a member of the IC; and through *Politica Obrera* [Workers Politics—an independent sectarian grouping in Argentina] which is working more and more closely with us—the International Committee is present in the revolutionary process under way in Bolivia and now starting in Argentina. No one in the ranks of the IC should fail to recognize the implications of this fact."

This last sentence raises the question whether the OCI's allies fully shared its enthusiasm about the IC's first serious contact in the colonial world since the Cuban revolution. In case anyone missed the point, Laurent stressed: "Conversely, the links that have begun to form [with the Lora POR] are of an extreme importance for the 'European' organizations of the IC. They will contribute strongly to the political progress of these organizations as such. At the same time every advance on the road marked out

must lead to a considerable reinforcement of the IC. Together with the work done in Eastern Europe and in Spain and the work done in building the IRJ [Revolutionary Youth International], such advances must make possible a qualitative leap forward in reconstructing the Fourth International."

In a letter to the Lora POR dated July 30, 1970, and published in the October issue of the Lambertist theoretical journal *La Vérité*, the OCI Political Committee wrote: "The first thing for us is that the Bolivian POR is the only organization in Latin America claiming to be loyal to the Transitional Program of the Fourth International that has real roots in the working class and the masses of its country. Thus, the POR is destined to be the organization around which the process of reconstructing the Fourth International in that part of the world will take place."

In view of the importance accorded the Lora group, by his French ally at least, it seems strange that Wohlforth condemned the Bolivian personality, now in the underground, so summarily. After all, Lora was associated with the IC, to all appearances, for more than a year, and one of the most critical years in the history of the Andean republic at that. Surely the *Bulletin's* readers would be interested in the record of the international discussions in which, we must assume, the fate of the Bolivian proletariat was decided.

One possible reason for Wohlforth's silence on this question is suggested by his statement that Lora "never made any serious attempt to assess his own history and on this basis to make a fundamental development towards a break with his own past." How then could Lora have become a member of the IC, an organization that supposedly demands rigorous public avowal of all past deviations? What, in view of this position, could be more embarrassing than having to admit that Lora was welcomed into the ranks of the Healy-Lambert-Wohlforth combination without any serious inquiry into his political past or even into his present political positions?

When the overwhelming majority of the world Trotskyist movement reunited in 1963, Healy and Lambert justified their refusal to accept the majority decision by claiming that the reunification was "unprincipled." Their argument was that the groups that had decided to work together on the basis of agreement on present tasks had not discussed and settled the question of their past differences. In fact, this justification was reiterated at the beginning of this year in "An Open Letter to Joseph Hansen in Six Parts," which filled long pages of the Healyite organ *Workers Press* and was given emphasis by many dramatic photographs. In part two of this series, Robert Black wrote:

"We never opposed unity with forces outside the IC [that is, one of the two main groupings that reunited in 1963].¹ We simply insisted:

"'Organizational unity must follow political clarification, and we insist on a thorough settlement of all revisionism whatever its source before any organizational fusions can take place.'

"That remains our position today." (*Workers Press*, January 19, 1971.)

In 1963 and since then, most Trotskyists have supposed that it was the dead-end factionalism and authoritarian internal regimes of the OCI and the Healyite Socialist Labour League (SLL) that made it impossible for them to participate in a democratic and vital world movement. Such suppositions could only be confirmed by evidence that the Lora group was accepted into the Healy-Lambert-Wohlforth combination without being subjected to the tests these groupings sought to impose on a large section of the world Trotskyist movement.

The next question logically is: On what basis did Healy and Lambert welcome Lora into their camp? I asked this question at the end of 1969 when the Lambert group first publicly associated itself with Lora.

"It is to be hoped that the nature of the relationship between the Lora group and the Lambertists will be clarified. Does this alliance rest on a principled agreement? Does Lora, like the Socialist Labour League and Lambert, believe that the Cuban revolution was not socialist, giving rise only to state capitalism? Does he hold with them that Fidel Castro is another 'Batista'? Does he approve of the slanders that appeared in the Socialist Labour League press (before it became known that Che Guevara was in Bolivia) that Castro had liquidated his comrade-in-arms?"²

These questions were repeated in the March 2, 1970, issue of *Intercontinental Press* by Joseph Hansen. Neither Healy, Lambert, or Wohlforth ever attempted to give an answer.

The question of the principled basis for Healy-Lambert-Wohlforth's support of Lora was posed very acutely by the way in which this bloc materialized. The first indication that the so-called IC grouping had any interest in Lora came when the Lambertist organ *Informations Ouvrières* published a communiqué from the Lora-POR in its November 19, 1969, issue. The statement entitled "Correction," was not on a very high political level. The "POR of Bolivia," it said, "found itself obliged to issue a warning about a fund-raising campaign that has just begun. This is an operation possessing all the characteristics of a swindle set up by a discredited political group headed by an individual named Hugo González [González] Moscoso, a person who represents nothing in Bolivia.

"This is not the first time that such a thing has happened. On several occasions in the past, these people have already represented themselves abroad—as they would not dare to do in Bolivia—as the inspirers of all the work accomplished by our party, as the authors of all its political documents and writings, as the leaders of its intervention in the class struggle. They have even gone so far as to try to appropriate our martyrs. And they have done this with the aim of collecting funds which only go to fatten the purse of Mr. González Moscoso.

"Let us point out, in fact, both to those who are unaware of it and those who pretend to be unaware of it, that this group has not published any material for many years and more than four years ago even ceased pub-

1. The Lambert and Healy groups formed a minority in the International Committee, whose name they appropriated after the majority of this formation participated in the reunification of the Fourth International in 1963.

2. See "Lambertists Knife Aid for Bolivian Victims," *Intercontinental Press*, December 15, 1969, p. 1119.

lishing its organ *Lucha Obrera*. This is the swindle we are exposing.

"Today it is the political activities and writings of Castroism that this group of profiteers is trying to cash in on so that it can carry on its crooked dealings with the help of the comrades' money.

"In view of the propaganda that the epigones of Pablo are disseminating abroad on behalf of this defunct group, we feel obligated to point out to the comrades some of the grossest misrepresentations contained in this material.

"1. The Bolivian POR [that is, the Lora group] is not an advocate of guerrilla warfare of the Castroist type. It considers this activity as an adventure typical of petty-bourgeois despair.

"2. The Bolivian Pabloites [i.e., the POR led by González] do not in any case have an organization because they dissolved it to enter the ELN [Ejército de Liberación Nacional—National Liberation Army, the guerrilla force led in 1967 by Che Guevara] as individuals. The ELN, moreover, has denounced some of them as informers and confidants working for the Ministry of the Interior. There are in fact serious suspicions today that Mr. González Moscoso in person is working on behalf of the Bolivian government.

"3. It is false to claim that any of these people are in any way leaders of the guerrilla struggle (to which, let us repeat, the POR is completely opposed). Because of their extreme numerical and political weakness they have offered it an entirely secondary sort of help. None of them has joined the guerrillas or fired one shot. The ELN has used them in its quartermaster department. In particular, they have spent their time making knapsacks.

"4. Elio Vásquez has never been a workers' leader in the mines and has never been involved with the mass struggles in which the workers have engaged. He was released a few days after being arrested, in return for revealing the plans of the ELN.

"5. Berta Porcel is a woman known for her left views who is not active in any party. She was arrested and held for a few hours (on the basis of informing by González's own followers) for buying a fund-raising bond with Che Guevara's picture on it.

"6. Gabriel Guzmán is not a railroad workers' leader. In fact, he has found himself far removed from all trade-union or political activity.

"7. F. Melgar has never left the PRIN [Partido Revolucionario de la Izquierda Nacionalista—Revolutionary party of the Nationalist Left] and has never had anything to do with the POR.

"We could continue indefinitely listing similar errors."

The statement was signed by Alberto Saenz, as "press secretary of the POR." It was dated La Paz, November 8, 1969.

In the December 10-17, 1969, issue of *Informations Ouvrières*, Lora personally endorsed these charges. He wrote:

"1. I solidarize completely with the communiqué that was written by my party in order to unmask the adventurers who have turned revolutionary involvement into a business proposition designed to satisfy their personal needs."

These attacks were made in response to a campaign by the European sections of the Fourth International on behalf of the Bolivian revolutionary movement, which

was hard hit by police raids in July 1969. Many revolutionists and their sympathizers were arrested, some were killed. The organizations involved suffered heavy material losses.

In the September 22, 1969, issue of *Intercontinental Press* ("Guerrilla Fighters Seized in Nationwide Raids," p. 820) we listed the following POR members as having been arrested: "Tomás Chambi, an Aymara peasant leader from Camacho province; Anselmo Herrera López, a Huainuni youth leader; Gabriel Guzmán Illanes, a leader of the railway workers, whose health is very poor; Cecilio Alcón and Víctor Alcón, students who are charged with setting up a 'special laboratory' for preparing time bombs, fire bombs, and other explosives."

The same article described the response in Bolivia and internationally to these raids: "The student federations in La Paz, Oruro, and Cochabamba have condemned the tortures inflicted on the persons arrested and have demanded their release. They have also demanded that any trials be conducted in the regular courts. The same position has been taken by the Committee for the Defense of Human Rights, which seeks to organize a worldwide campaign.

"The ELN and the POR have made no official statement on the arrests. According to very widespread reports, the Trotskyists of the POR have begun to reorganize among the workers, peasants, and students, above all with the aim of starting up a campaign of solidarity with those imprisoned. Given the party's international connections, this campaign should acquire the scope of the campaigns on behalf of Hugo Blanco and Régis Debray."

Thus, if the Lambertists had taken a principled attitude, they would have asked themselves a few questions right away. Why did Lora challenge only a few names on this list? Did he accept the fact that the others were members of the POR led by González? What was his attitude to the antiguerrilla and anti-Cuban witch-hunt and the persecution of these revolutionists by the military dictatorship?

In particular, what about the Aymara leader Tomás Chambi? This question takes on a new importance now. Chambi died in La Paz fighting the Banzer coup. Was he a "swindler"? Were those who sought to build a campaign in his defense in 1969 "swindlers"? What do Lambert-Healy-Wohlforth think about such charges today?

Then, the question arises, why were the publications of this sectarian combination so quick to pick up and spread such poisonous charges against revolutionists in a remote country isolated from the world by geography and by a ferocious repression? What attempts did they make to verify these accusations? It seems strange that they did not wonder about Lora's charge that the POR led by González was not publishing anything. Were they so ignorant of the real conditions in Bolivia that they did not know about the severity of the repression? During the Torres period, when the repression was relaxed, the POR did not fail to publish substantial material. Some of it has been translated and reprinted in *Intercontinental Press*. Did this inspire any doubts in Lambert-Healy-Wohlforth about the truthfulness of their Bolivian ally?

In fact, the resemblance of Lora's charges to Stalinist-type slanders seems to have embarrassed at least the Healyites. When the Fourth Internationalists in Britain challenged the SLL to defend these charges, especially the claim that González was a police agent, the response

was not very reassuring. In the January 17, 1970, issue of *Workers Press*, "Assistant National Secretary" of the SLL Mike Banda argued that it was all a matter of mis-translation. The passage in question, he claimed, should read: "Today it is seriously suspected that Mr. Gonzales [sic] himself would work on behalf of the Bolivian government" [Banda's emphasis].

This was not the first time, of course, that an SLL "theoretician" sought a way out of his difficulties by resorting to gibberish. In fact, this approach is rather typical of the Healyites' much celebrated "method." But in this case the transparency of the tactic—to say nothing of the illiterate disregarding of the idiomatic use of the French conditional mood—seemed to indicate more than usual discomfort.

That the Healyites did not expect much more from the Lora affair than a chance to fling a few wild charges against the Fourth International was indicated by the subsequent scarcity of references in their press to their new-found Latin American ally. In the world of the British far left—which has been rather isolated from the international revolutionary movement and severely afflicted by sectarianism—Healy could hope to raise some doubts and reinforce some suspicions about the Trotskyist movement in the rest of the world. In this way, he could divert attention from the national narrowness of his own organization. Thus, presumably, from Healy's standpoint, Lora had only limited uses.

Under the pressure of a much better informed and much more internationally oriented left, Healy's French allies seem to have placed a much greater value on their Bolivian contact. In addition to the article in *La Correspondance Internationale* quoted above, many reports on the positions of the Lora group appeared in *Informations Ouvrières*. A good number of articles from Lora's paper *Masas* were translated and reprinted. The July 9, 1971, issue of *Jeune Révolutionnaire*, the organ of the Lambertist AJS [Alliance des Jeunes pour le Socialisme—Alliance of Youth for Socialism] carried an interview with the Lora group's youth leader Victor Sossa. In its July 7, 1971, issue, *Informations Ouvrières* printed another interview with him.

Although the Lambertists seem to have had no second thoughts about supporting Lora's slanders of imprisoned Bolivian fighters, they apparently quickly became alarmed by what they viewed as a dangerous sloppiness in programmatic formulations. This concern developed to the point that the OCI began a public polemic with Lora. In the October 1970 issue of its theoretical journal *La Vérité*, it published the letter, already mentioned, to the Lora group dated July 30, 1970, and signed by its Political Committee.

What upset the OCI leadership were several imprecise or incomplete formulations, as well as the absence of some important theoretical points from the *Teses* of the COB [Central Obrera Boliviana—Bolivian Workers' Federation], a contradictory document reflecting the pressures of the various tendencies in the labor movement.

The OCI granted that some bad passages might be owing to Stalinist influences but blamed the Lora group for voting for the document as a whole. The argument was long and complex but the main criticism seemed to be that the document was not sufficiently internationalist.

The OCI letter noted: "In the theses of the COB, we read:

'History teaches us that in the present stage, which is marked by the disintegration of imperialism, the backward countries will achieve their goal of civilization—complete and harmonious development of their economies—only by the road of socialism.'

"That is an incomplete formulation, which, if taken further, would become a false position. Not just the backward countries but also the advanced ones cannot achieve complete and harmonious development of their economies except by socialism. And in the case of both, experience has shown that it is impossible to envisage this goal as achievable by any country acting in isolation."

The same issue of *La Vérité* printed an article listed as taken from the August 25, 1970, issue of *Masas*, which replied to the OCI criticisms. It said, among other things:

"The comrades will understand very well that a trade-union document is one thing and a party document another.

"It is clear that the most revolutionary union has many limitations by comparison with a revolutionary party. It is sufficient, in this regard, to note that a union has the character of a united front of various tendencies operating and living in the working class.

"We believe that we are correct when we describe as ultimatists those who try to impose—by reprehensible methods totally alien to the revolutionary arsenal—the totality of their party program on trade-union organizations. In Bolivia we have had a long experience in this regard. When the so-called Pulacayo theses were adopted by the miners, we saw a proliferation of critics—including many people who called themselves Trotskyists and ended up later by capitulating to nationalist and even imperialist tendencies—who were astonished that in this document we had not raised all the questions that arise in a revolutionary party (the nature of the vanguard, of the future government, etc.). It is true that there were also in this document confused passages and many gaps on important questions. At the time an underestimation or ignorance of the international question could already have been noted.

"Still the facts later demonstrated that this document, which was indisputably limited and imperfect in many points, served as the axis for one of the most powerful revolutionary mobilizations ever known in this country. This was possible because on the crucial aspects of the Bolivian political situation the document contained clear answers."

In defense of the COB document, *Masas* wrote: "The most vital political problem at present is to give a clear answer to the nationalist, that is capitalist, reforms the military chiefs now in power are trying to carry out.

"The Trotskyists have given an answer by restating the central thesis of the theory of permanent revolution in the best possible form. The attempt of the bourgeois nationalists to carry through the democratic tasks is condemned to failure. This objective can only be achieved if the proletariat can assume the leadership in the process and take power in order to achieve the democratic tasks fully and transform them into socialist ones.

"The theses of the COB open the perspective of a struggle for socialism not in a distant and vague future but at present, as the result of the political process that we are experiencing. This idea constitutes the backbone of the entire document. And this is the way in which all our

enemies have understood it. That is why the government, as well as the industrialists and a whole gamut of imperialist agents, have roused themselves for a furious battle against the document adopted by the workers' congresses."

It would be encouraging if Lora succeeded in convincing the OCI leaders to be less formal in their approach. Despite the poor basis on which they came together, this would be a good result of their bloc. Unfortunately, we know nothing about their further discussions.

Criticism also came from Lora's British ally. But not until after the coup, when Lora was, at least temporarily, *hors de combat*. But if the Healyites waited a bit long before voicing their objections to the course Lora was following, they did not let any time pass after this decisive event.

The attack came in the August 24 issue of *Workers Press* [WP] in an article entitled "Laying blame for defeat in Bolivia." It could not, thus, have been written later than one day after the coup was completed. In fact, since it is signed by a "Workers Press correspondent," should we assume that it was written the day of the take-over itself?

There is a certain vagueness in the analysis, which does not, however, seem to be a result of haste. "Responsibility for this defeat rests squarely at the door of Castroism and Stalinism," the "correspondent" wrote. But there are at least two Stalinist parties in Bolivia and a number of groupings influenced by the Cuban revolution. Who were the specific culprits? The "correspondent" gives us a discreet hint:

"'Granma', indeed, said that there might be a coup—but then again there might not! In the words of Filemon Escobar:

"'If there isn't any coup, we will work for political objectives that help radicalize the present process—for example, worker-participation in COMIBOL (Bolivian Mining Corporation). These measures haven't been put into effect as yet (!) but they . . . are all demands of the Assembly.'

"The main task, then, was not to arm the workers militarily and politically to defeat counter-revolution and carry through a revolution, but—again in the words of Escobar—'that the people at the grassroots level be made aware of the resolutions of the assembly in order to continue making progress along the road to revolution.'

"In this way, by sowing illusions in powerless Assemblies and 'worker-participation' instead of arming the masses; by unswerving support for 'left' military regimes; Stalinism and Castroism prepares [sic] the way for ever more defeats in Latin America."

But the "Workers Press correspondent" does not tell us specifically just what organization this reprehensible Escobar spoke for. He does say that Escobar was one of a "Bolivian delegation to the celebrations of the 18th anniversary of the Cuban Revolution." Was he condemned implicitly as a "Castroist" just for attending the celebration of the anniversary of revolution? Or was it because he was one of the signers of the statement of this delegation which said the following?

"We would like to inform the revolutionary people of Cuba and their Revolutionary Government about one of the most important agreements made by the Bolivian workers' power.

"The People's Assembly has decided to launch an all-out struggle to obtain immediate diplomatic, commercial and cultural relations with our brothers in Cuba, Chile and the People's Republic of China.

"With this declaration, the People's Assembly pays tribute to Ernesto Che Guevara, Major of the Americas, who died fighting for the revolutionary unity of Latin America. In this way we express our concept of proletarian internationalism in an objectively revolutionary manner."

Was it because of this statement that the *Workers Press* "correspondent" failed to note that Escobar is a leading member of the Lora group? In any case, we seem, finally, to have an answer to the question of whether Lora shared the Healy-Lambert position that Cuba is a capitalist state. How could you "express proletarian internationalism" by paying tribute to the representative of a bourgeois regime or at best a petty-bourgeois adventurer?

This statement must have been especially jarring to the Healyites, since early this year *Workers Press* ran a multiple-part series on Cuba, calling, among other things, for a revolution against Fidel Castro. Under the sub-heading "Overthrow," another WP correspondent with the colorful name of "Rumi Yajuar" ["Rock Blood" in Quechua] wrote:

"The realization of a workers' state in Cuba implies necessarily the revolutionary overthrow of Fidel Castro, its [sic] petty-bourgeois entourage and its Stalinist stooges.

"This task can only be realized by the working class. The emancipation of the working class can be realized by the working class itself and only under the leadership of its own conscious advanced guard: the revolutionary Marxist party.

"This is true in Cuba, in Syria, in England or anywhere else in this planet. As revolutionary Marxists, as Bolsheviks, as Leninists, as Trotskyists, this is our task!

"Long live the forces of the International Committee of the Fourth International!" [*Workers Press*, June 22, 1971.]

It is understandable, thus, that the Healyites would be reluctant to admit that the forces of the IC in Bolivia may not have shared their position on the Cuban regime.

Such an admission could be expected to be all the more embarrassing since in the six-part letter to Joseph Hansen, already cited, Robert Black singled out the support given by the American Trotskyists to the Cuban revolution as proof of their incorrigible revisionism. The series ended, in fact, on this stirring note: "The time has now come to make a political, theoretical and historical accounting of ten years of Castroism.

"As its main publicist within the SWP [Socialist Workers party], you have acted as a conduit for relaying petty-bourgeois ideology into your own party.

"Castro's individualism found a ready response in your own native American pragmatism, against which Trotsky warned so many times in his period of political collaboration with the SWP.

"You have betrayed the heritage of Trotskyism, and served as the mouthpiece for the enemies of the Latin American socialist revolution.

"Not only the Socialist Labour League, but the entire international movement will indict you for this treachery." [*Workers Press*, February 2, 1971.]

Another reason the WP correspondent may have failed to note that Escobar was a representative of the Lora

group, and thus, theoretically, of the same organization to which he himself belongs, the IC, was that the Healyites did not make the same assessment of Lora's role in the upsurge in the period preceding the rightist coup as their French allies did.

In his article in the August 24 issue of *WP*, "correspondent" wrote:

"According to 'Granma', the goals of the revolutionary masses in Bolivia were being reflected through the People's Assembly.

"As we pointed out in yesterday's *Workers Press*, this was granted by Torres only as an advisory body, in order to syphon off the demands of the masses." [Emphasis in original.]

The role played by the People's Assembly in the Bolivian process was, in fact, a vital one. But on this crucial question the Lambertists held a position diametrically opposite to that of their British cothinkers.

In its June 30-July 7, 1971, issue, next to a long report on a lecture given to the AJS by "Comrade Gerry Healy," *Informations Ouvrières* wrote that "very tentatively" at least it was "possible to make the following assessment of the situation" in Bolivia.

"1. A new stage in the development of the revolutionary process has victoriously begun. The threat of a military coup by the right grouped around the officer corps has been crushed. The People's Assembly has met and deliberated under the protection of the armed workers' and peasants' militia.

"The reactionary forces have been unable to prevent the People's Assembly from meeting. Thus, they have suffered a defeat all the more important politically because they had announced previously their intention of overthrowing Torres and blocking the Assembly from meeting. Of the greatest political importance also is the fact that the workers, peasants, and students have risen up, arms in hand, to protect their delegates and assure that they could meet without obstacles being placed in their path.

"2. The meeting of the People's Assembly and the nature of the first decisions it has taken have laid the foundations of a situation of dual power. . . ."

As for Healy-Lambert-Wohlforth's cothinkers in Argentina, the *Politica Obrera* grouping, they described this [nefarious, according to Healy] assembly as virtually an invention of the Lora POR. In the August 24, 1971, issue of their publication, they wrote:

"In May and early July nobody outside of the POR thought that the People's Assembly would meet and function effectively. This attitude persisted even in July, that is, the doubt persisted that the masses would begin to mobilize through the opening provided by the People's Assembly."

Perhaps it was such basic differences over the question of the People's Assembly that led to the total confusion on this question in the September 8 issue of *Workers Press*, which reprinted Wohlforth's "Bitter Lessons" article in full. In an introductory note, the editors say: "In May he [Torres] set up the 'Peoples' [sic] Assembly' to act as a safety valve for the masses."

On the very same page as this editorial note and "Bitter Lessons," a dispatch allegedly written by "a Latin American correspondent J. Gomez" says:

"The People's Councils ('Assambleas [sic] Populares')

which appeared recently in Bolivia were a new working-class organization—new, that is, for Latin America.

"But for the weakness of working-class leadership, these councils could have acquired the characteristics of soviets, such as the ones that led to the conquest of political power by the working class in Russia in 1917.

"But even if they were not actual soviets, a dual power situation existed in Bolivia. The 'Assambleas [sic] Populares' had constituted themselves in a working body without permission from the bourgeois state.

"The working class, represented by all the trade unions and by the working-class parties, held by statutory decision at least 60 per cent of the votes.

"The 'Assambleas [sic] Populares' sat and worked in the former legislative palace and in the provinces in state-owned buildings without asking anyone's authorization.

"The decisions taken there did not only concern the policies of the working class, but also actual governmental decisions, disputing the prerogatives of the bourgeois state."

The comment by the editors in the September 8 *WP* ends on a high note: "Despite the treachery of the Stalinists and revisionists the Bolivian workers will succeed in assimilating the lessons of August and build a mass revolutionary leadership on Trotskyist foundations." Despite the pompous language in which it is expressed, this is a commendable sentiment.

But the entire history of the Wohlforth-Lambert-Healy combination's relationship with its Bolivian cothinkers indicates that this unprincipled sectarian bloc can make no contribution whatever to achieving such a result. Dead-end factionalism, which is such a striking feature of the combination, led them not only to become accomplices in crimes against the Bolivian revolutionary fighters, but ultimately to complete political incoherence. We can expect with some confidence that the Bolivian workers and revolutionists will learn the lessons of August. The outlook for the Wohlforth-Lambert-Healy group is more dubious. But we can only hope that their Bolivian experience has taught them something. □

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Canadian Conference Projects Campaigns

By Kate Alderdice

[The following article is reprinted from the September 13 issue of *Labor Challenge*, a revolutionary-socialist biweekly published in Toronto.]

* * *

Close to 450 people from across Canada participated in the first cross-country Socialist Educational Conference at the University of Waterloo, Ontario, August 20-25.

Sponsored by the League for Socialist Action and Young Socialists, the conference was the biggest gathering of its kind for many years. The daily *Kitchener-Waterloo Record* described it as "a conference aimed at analysing the fundamental problems of Canada and then deciding what to do about them."

Many of the conference participants were students who came to discuss the significance of last spring's upsurge in the student movement, to lay plans for fall campaigns on the campuses and in the high schools, and to discuss how socialists could lead these campaigns. Forty percent of the conference participants were women who came to talk about the source of their oppression, and how they could organize to end it. Leading activists from the antiwar movement, from the New Democratic party and trade unions, and from the independentist movement in Québec, took part.

Canadian cities from Victoria [British Columbia] to St. John's, Newfoundland, were represented, including many small towns. Representatives were there from the socialist movements in France, England, New Zealand, and the United States.

The 427 registered participants spent a total of some seventy-one hours listening to lectures and classes, participating in panels and workshop discussions! Besides that, of course, there were many hours of informal discussions. For five days, the University of Waterloo became a *real* center of learning. No dreary academic discussions there; no research to help

the Canadian ruling class wage war. It was transformed into an institution for social change, and for an end to poverty, exploitation, and oppression.

The conference was celebrating an important anniversary in Canadian history. Fifty years earlier, near the very site of the conference, the founding congress of the Communist party of Canada took place. Because of the harsh repression of the period, that congress had to be held secretly, in the loft of a barn on the outskirts of Guelph. There were probably fewer than thirty men and women present at that historic event. The newly founded party was illegal under Section 98, the predecessor of the War Measures Act enacted by Trudeau last fall.

Ross Dowson, executive secretary of the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière [LSA/LSO—the Canadian Trotskyist organization], described these founders of Canadian communism in his talk on fifty years of revolutionary socialism in Canada.

The conference was addressed by leaders of the socialist movements of Canada, the United States, and other countries. There were talks by Evelyn Reed, American anthropologist, on the topic "Have Women Always Been the Second Sex?"; by George Novack, American socialist scholar, on "The Meaning of Life"; by Richard Thompson, a leader of the Canadian student movement and former organizer for the Canadian Union of Students.

One of the highlights of the conference was a talk by Sean Kenny, a leader of the Irish republican movement, who had come from Ireland three weeks before the conference. Kenny, the North American representative of the IRA and joint General Secretary of Sinn Fein, told the conference, "The civil strife in Northern Ireland is not a religious war, but a class war." He attacked the extensive Canadian mining interests in Ireland, which rake in substantial profits at the expense of Irish working people.

Several major campaigns for the fall period were discussed at the conference. Among them was the campaign to repeal the abortion laws in Canada, which is getting off the ground with coordinated actions across Canada on November 20. Many of the women who are leading this campaign were at the conference, and there were discussions on how the conference participants could help to build the campaign. Also discussed at the conference were the important actions this fall against the war in Indochina culminating in an International Day of Protest on November 6.

A major subscription drive, one of the most ambitious in the history of the socialist movement, was launched by the conference. The drive aims for 4,000 subscriptions to *Labor Challenge*, the *Young Socialist*, as well as *Libération*, the voice of the revolutionary socialist wing of the Québec nationalist movement.

The plenary sessions of the conference also heard talks from: Andrew Pulley, a U.S. Black militant running for vice president of the U.S. on the Socialist Workers party ticket; Jacquie Henderson, editor of the *Young Socialist*, speaking on "Feminism and the Canadian Revolution"; and Phil Courneyeur, educational director of the LSA/LSO, on "How to Make a Revolution in Canada."

Most important, the conference launched a quarterly theoretical journal of revolutionary socialism in Canada, to appear this winter. In an enthusiastic rally Sunday evening, participants donated \$6,800, going well over the goal initially projected. The gain scored that evening characterized the whole conference—a big advance for the revolutionary socialist movement in Canada. □

Youth Set the Tone

Youth set the tone of the Waterloo Socialist Educational Conference, *Labor Challenge* reported. The average age of participants was twenty-five, and seventy-three of the nearly 450 who attended were under twenty years of age.

Sixty percent of those registered were workers, and thirty percent were students. Forty percent were women.

Conference participants came from forty different cities and towns. Provinces with the largest representation were Ontario (254) and Quebec (32). □

What the Modern Trotskyists Are

By S. Ognev

[The following article has been translated by *Intercontinental Press* from the June 1971 issue of *Agitator*, a journal published in Moscow. It represents the latest thinking of the Kremlin on the problem of Trotskyism, which the bureaucrats evidently still find to be troublesome.

[Elsewhere in this issue, George Saunders comments on the Ognev article and related material.]

* * *

It is true that in recent times in the capitalist world, Trotskyist elements have become noticeably more active. Taking advantage of the flare-up in ultraleft activities that has swept through many countries of Western Europe and other continents, and of the difficulties that have arisen within the international Communist movement as a result of the splitting activities of the Chinese leadership, they have not only broken to the surface out of the deep isolation in which they found themselves for a prolonged period, but they have also considerably strengthened their disruptive work among the toilers. They have directed their attention primarily toward organizing subversive activities against the Marxist-Leninist parties.

The older generation of Soviet people, especially the Communists, are thoroughly familiar with the sordid record of the Trotskyist outcasts. Trotskyism was and remains a vicious enemy of Marxism-Leninism, a petty-bourgeois, reactionary current, alien to the working class and all toiling people. It has no deep roots or influence among the masses and never had, nor any support in the labor, democratic, or national-liberation movements. Its distinctive feature is hatred for everything progressive or revolutionary and a hostile attitude toward the forces of Communism and the world socialist system. The ideology of Trotskyism has always served the interests of imperialist reaction, the interests of monopoly capital.

Compared to the other splinter groups, the Trotskyist renegades are not the least dangerous, and in some places are the most dangerous, enemies of the Communists. They have the most experience in subversive work and have at their disposal cadres who have become old hands at provocation directed against the workers movement. They have organizations and groups painstakingly built up along conspiratorial lines, which were put together in many countries of the West even before the war. The majority of them are headed by hardened renegades who have mastered well the style and methods of splitting activity. The Trotskyists have their own form of unified international organization—the so-called Fourth International founded in 1938. Of course there was never any unity in it, and even today it is split into three warring factions (the so-called "majority," the "minority," and the "Latin American Bureau"). But

this does not prevent it from acting in unison on the main question—that of struggle against the Communist movement.

In their tactics and methods of fighting the Marxist-Leninists, the modern Trotskyists differ very little from their predecessors. Their arsenal of weapons, as ever, includes lies, slander, political adventurism, lack of principle, double-dealing, and hypocrisy. Just as before, they disguise their propagation of anti-Marxist theories on key problems of world development and the workers movement with demagoguery and ultrarevolutionary phrases.

The theoretical conceptions of the modern Trotskyists are permeated with the spirit of anarchism, and subservience to the interests of world reaction. They deny the changes that have taken place in the world as a result of the formation of a world socialist system. From their arguments it would follow that even today our entire planet remains under the domination of the bourgeoisie, that there are no countries in the world that have put an end to that domination and are building the new society; the struggle for socialism, it would seem, is only now beginning.

The Fourth International characterizes our epoch just as it did many decades ago as the epoch of imperialism, wars, and proletarian revolutions, ignoring its fundamental feature—the struggle between opposing world social systems, the downfall of imperialism, and the passing of more and more new peoples over to socialism. In their declarations the assertion is made that the true character of our epoch is determined not by the relation of forces on the world arena, not by the struggle between socialism and capitalism, but above all by "revolutionary crises," "armed clashes," and so on.

The ideologists of Trotskyism have even worked out a kind of scheme for realizing "worldwide revolution." According to this scheme not only should the working class in the capitalist countries try to carry out the proletarian revolution but the workers of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries are called upon, too, to fight for a supposed new, "political," revolution having as its aim the liquidation of the state and social system existing in those countries. Moreover, the Trotskyist provocateurs emphasize that the realization of their "scheme" requires starting with an onslaught against the USSR and the other socialist countries, where, according to them, nothing socialist exists, and only after that, storming the positions of the imperialist powers.

It also follows from the propositions of the Trotskyists that the main role in the process of revolutionary transformation of the world should be played by the colonial revolution, which is to say, primarily a peasant revolution, to the success of which all other tasks of the working class and toiling people should be

subordinated. As far as the perspectives for revolution in the advanced capitalist countries go, in the opinion of the Trotskyist ideologists, they have become "more remote" than ever and therefore, supposedly, unrealizable. The Trotskyists, moreover, considering the working class to be passive and incapable of assuming hegemony over the revolutionary movement, advocate transferring the leadership role to the "left"-minded sector of the youth.

The Trotskyists also hold adventurist positions on problems of war and peace. They reject the conclusions of the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU and of the international conferences of Communist and workers parties to the effect that in our time the fatal inevitability of a new world war no longer exists. They display lack of confidence in the ability of the forces standing for peace to prevent such a war. As an alternative to thermonuclear war they put forward the thesis of "disarming imperialism by overthrowing it in its chief bastions," carrying out armed actions by the masses in all regions of the world. But the Trotskyist chiefs do not take into account whether the conditions in one or another country exist for bringing about such action; they do not think about the danger of inevitable defeat for such mass actions where they are not sufficiently prepared or are premature.

The Fourth International opposes the policy of peaceful coexistence between states with differing social systems, counterposing to it the concept of "promoting revolution" by means of war, conceiving of the socialist revolution only from the aspect of armed overthrow, and of the world revolutionary process as something similar to the marches and campaigns organized by Napoleon and similar conquerors in the past.

Characteristic of the Trotskyist renegades is their hostile attitude toward the CPSU and other Marxist-Leninist parties and toward the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. No matter what policies or measures these parties or states may develop in defense of the interests of the workers and popular masses, they are torn apart and condemned by the Trotskyists. In this connection the Trotskyists attack the entire general line of the Communist movement as a whole.

The ideologists of Trotskyism intentionally blur the concepts of the class nature and essence of the capitalist state as distinct from the socialist state. They regard the aggressive bloc of the Western powers, NATO, and the defensive alliance of the socialist states, the Warsaw Pact, as equivalent instruments of counterrevolution. They view the Common Market of the Western capitalist countries and the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance of the European socialist countries both as economic organs for the enslavement of nations, controlled on the one hand by the imperialist states and on the other by the Soviet Union.

Besides that, the Trotskyist outcasts try above all to discredit the socialist countries by spreading slanderous assertions that the state and social system of those countries allegedly "discourages the workers of the imperialist countries from coming out in defense of socialism." The Trotskyists active in West Germany call, for example, not so much for the liquidation of capitalism in the German Federal Republic as for the liquidation of socialism

in the German Democratic Republic. Their leader L. Boepple in an issue of their paper *Was Tun?* advised not long ago: "Organize the revolution against those who trample upon our principles of socialism." And he named several names, not those of opponents of socialism but of its most prominent defenders, political leaders in a number of socialist countries.

The resolutions of the 1969 international conference of Communist and workers parties, as well as those of earlier conferences, have been crudely distorted by the Trotskyist leaders, who portray them as documents directed supposedly, not against imperialism, but against the working class in general and the workers of the advanced capitalist countries in particular. Making use of demagogic slogans, including some having an anticapitalist content, these accomplices of reaction in fact bend every effort toward weakening and undermining any movement that represents a real threat to imperialism, to the domination of monopoly capital.

The Trotskyists work openly in the service of reaction. In the period of mass actions against monopoly capital on the part of the workers of Western Europe and other parts of the world in 1968-70, they carried out a number of brazen provocations which prevented the successful development of the class struggle and gave reaction the chance to bring down a hail of repression upon the progressive forces.

In France in May-June 1968 and afterwards, the Trotskyist renegades tried to counterpose the youth to the working class and to urge the masses down the road of anarchist actions, advocating the organization of a "guerrilla warfare offensive in the cities." Their so-called Communist League headed by A. Krivine published an "action program" which consisted of appeals to remove the French Communist party from the leadership of the class struggle of the workers, to develop a campaign against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and to resort immediately to violent methods to overthrow capitalist rule.

In Italy in November 1969, when general strikes were taking place, the Trotskyists openly provoked clashes between the masses and the police, proposing the anarchistic slogan of "immediate seizure of power" by the workers, despite the fact that the conditions for realizing such plans did not exist. In Japan they made possible the bloody actions undertaken by reaction during the mass demonstrations

of workers at Sindziuku (October 1968), Yokosuka (January 1969), and a number of other places.

In Belgium the local Trotskyists and their henchmen arriving from the U. S. A., France, West Germany, Denmark, and Holland organized an "international meeting against NATO" on March 8, 1969, transforming it into an anti-Communist parody. Instead of exposing the aggressive aims of the imperialists, they directed their fire against the activity of the Communist parties and democratic organizations defending the ideas of peace and socialism.

The provocations organized by the Trotskyists are usually worked out beforehand by the leaders of the Fourth International. At a conference of leaders of the European sections of this International held January 27-28, 1968, in Brussels (Belgium), for example, a plan was worked out for actions to be taken by the Trotskyist elements in Western Europe, about which we have spoken above. At an "international" conference of Trotskyists held in Copenhagen (Denmark) on June 4-5, 1968, it was decided that since an allegedly "revolutionary situation" had arisen in Western Europe it was necessary to take "decisive actions"—to urge the masses onto the road of armed struggle against imperialism.

The Trotskyists carry out their subversive aims in the labor movement by collaborating with other splinter elements. In a number of countries, particularly France, West Germany, Italy, Holland, and Japan, they have now and again formed blocs with the groupings established by the Chinese leadership.

As facts testify, the Fourth International also had a direct connection with the intrigues of world reaction in Czechoslovakia. The Trotskyists not only joined in with the frenzied ranting of the imperialists, but participated directly themselves in organizing various kinds of provocations against the Czechoslovak Communist party, the Soviet Union, and other socialist states. P. Frank, the secretary of the Fourth International, made a special trip to Prague in March 1968 and afterwards organized, along with another Trotskyist leader, E. Mandel, the business of sending special emissaries into Czechoslovakia in order to create an underground network of conspirators there and to carry out diversionary actions.

Similar intrigues were undertaken in Poland during the March excesses of 1968, committed by "left" elements from the youth milieu.

Recently we have observed a rapprochement between the Trotskyists and the "newfound" right-opportunist ideologists R. Garaudy and E. Fischer and with the anti-Marxist, anti-Soviet groupings of "Il Manifesto" (Italy) and T. Petkoff's "Movement for Socialism" (Venezuela). At the end of November last year, Garaudy participated in an anti-Communist meeting of the Trotskyists, organized in Paris, and in January this year in a rally arranged by these same Trotskyists against the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. At rallies of the Manifesto group of splitters in May 1970 and January 1971, where ways of combating the Italian Communist party were discussed, E. Pellegrini and other Trotskyist chiefs were in attendance as representatives of the Fourth International.

The Trotskyists carry out subversive work against the Communist parties and the forces for peace, democracy, and socialism, enjoying practical support from the imperialist ideological machine. The bourgeois press frequently creates a sensational atmosphere around them and encourages their provocative ventures, because these do not threaten the capitalist system but merely do harm to the cause of peace, freedom, and social progress, making Trotskyism a weapon of anti-Communism and anti-Sovietism fanned by international reaction.

The Twenty-fourth Congress of the CPSU, having made a profound analysis of the course of the ideological struggle between the forces of progress and those of reaction, reminded the Communists and workers of all countries of the necessity for all-round strengthening of vigilance against the intrigues of the class enemy. In the resolution on the report from the CPSU Central Committee it is emphasized that "the fight against anti-Communism and anti-Sovietism, as well as against Right and 'Left'-wing revisionism, and nationalism, remains as before an important and urgent task."

This admonition by the Twenty-fourth Congress of the CPSU unquestionably applies as well to the fight against Trotskyism.

French Protest Morocco Trial

Protest against the Marrakesh witch-hunt trial has begun to develop in France. The Paris daily *Le Monde* reported September 11 that a broad meeting to discuss the initiation of action in support of the defendants took place in Paris on September 7.

Included at the meeting were representatives of the Confédération Générale du Travail [General Confederation of Labor], the Confédération Française et Démocratique du Travail [French Democratic Confederation of Labor], the National Education Federation, the Socialist party, the Communist party, the United Socialist party, the Radical party, the French Association of Democratic Jurists, and the Jeune République.

The groups agreed to act in common to organize defense activities, especially mass demonstrations.

The International Organization of Journalists sent a telegram to King Hassan on September 8 expressing great concern about the death penalty that has been demanded for Habib el-Forkani, a poet-journalist and one of the major defendants. The telegram asked that the king intervene to "safeguard respect for freedom of thought."

In another message to the Moroccan king, Jacques Madaule, president of the National Writers Committee, requested "life and liberty" for Forkani.

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