

# Intercontinental Press

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## **Moscow, Peking Give Nixon Green Light to Crush Vietnam**

PODGORNY: "Peace mission" to Hanoi precluded presence of military officers or discussion of defense against U.S. bombing raids. See p. 755.

### ***Kremlin Orders Arrest of Pyotr Yakir***

### ***George Novack on Healy's 'Philosophy'***

### ***Provisionals Call Cease-Fire in N. Ireland***

## Begin Trials of JVP Rebels

The trial of Ceylonese rebels who took part in the abortive insurrection in April 1971 opened in Colombo on June 12. The trial is being heard by the Criminal Justice Commission, specially appointed because, according to the June 22 *Ceylon News*, "the practice and procedure of the ordinary courts were inadequate to administer justice in relation to those offences."

Outside the old Queens Club, where the commission is sitting, "soldiers with submachine guns stood on guard. Ten foot high barricades separated the area which is to house the suspects during the proceedings." The public was apparently discouraged from attending since many seats allotted to it were reported empty.

On June 13, Attorney General Victor Tennekoon named forty-one persons who are being accused in the trial of "conspiring to wage war against the Queen and of conspiring to overawe the lawfully constituted Government of the country." Among them is Rohana Wijeweera, leader of the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP), the youth organization that played a key role in the rebellion. The defendants also include S. D. Bandaranayake, a former member of parliament; Mahindapala Wijesekera, a student leader; and Susil Siriwardena, a former director of the Agrarian Research Institute of the Ministry of Lands.

The first witness called by the attorney general was the inspector general of police, Stanley Senanayake. He told the commission, according to *Ceylon News*, that most of those who took part in the insurrection were young people "between the ages of 17 and 25 who were unemployed, and poor but educated."

Senanayake cited a number of slogans inscribed by the insurrectionists on walls and posters during the rebellion. They included: "Born slaves, let us through revolution die free," "Liberate the motherland even at the cost of our lives," "No solution except through revolution," and "Let us die on our feet [rather] than live on our knees." □

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# Nixon Intensifies Campaign to Destroy Vietnam

By Allen Myers

"To speak plainly," wrote journalist I. F. Stone in the June 15 *New York Review of Books*, "the chief running dogs of US imperialism now seem to be Brezhnev and Chou En-lai. This is how it must look from Hanoi. Ignominious as Hitler's appeasers were in the Thirties, he was never dined as an honored guest in Paris, London, or Washington while he bombed Guernica and destroyed the Spanish Republic."

In two articles analyzing the Moscow summit and the response of the Soviet and Chinese bureaucracies to Nixon's escalation of the war, Stone pointed out clearly what is behind the summit meetings in Peking and Moscow:

"True, without Soviet and Chinese supplies, the North Vietnamese and the NLF would soon be forced back to low-level protracted warfare, as they may be in any case if the bombing and blockade continue long enough. But without the enormous resolution and courage of the Vietnamese, what would Moscow and Peking have to offer Nixon, *what would they have to sell?* Peking bought its admission to the United Nations, bought its way out of containment, with the blood of the Vietnamese people. The same commodity—in such plentiful supply—has brought Nixon to Moscow. All those bright hopes of expanded US trade and credits which Nixon's emissaries have been dangling before the Kremlin since Secretary of Commerce Stans went there last year rest on Nixon's desire to buy some Soviet 'restraint' on Hanoi. If it were not for Hanoi, Moscow too would have little to sell." (Emphasis in original.)

Predictably enough, Stone's frank description brought forth howls of outrage from the U. S. Communist party, the Kremlin bureaucracy's most slavish defenders. In the June 20 issue of the *Daily World*, reflecting the views of the U. S. CP, Erik Bert protested that "Stone's view is shared only by the wretched peddlers of Trotskyism in its varied assortment."

Bert attacked Stone for quoting Soviet dissident Andrei Sakharov, whom

he slandered as being connected with "the CIA's espionage activities in the Soviet Union." But in an earlier defense of the Moscow summit against Stone, the CP had been reduced to quoting with approval a much less savory character. In the June 8 *Daily World*, Conrad Komorowski wrote:

"At the conclusion of the Moscow talks, Nixon said, 'There are no losers here, only winners.' It is an accurate estimate. . . ."

It appears that "wretched peddlers of Trotskyism" have achieved such influence in North Vietnam that the Kremlin is forced to engage them in semipublic debate. Hedrick Smith reported from Moscow in the June 20 *New York Times*:

"On the day before President Nixon arrived in Moscow, the North Vietnamese Army newspaper accused the Kremlin of having showed weakness toward the American President and of having put its own 'national interests against the interests of world revolution.' The charges did not mention Moscow by name but it was clearly the target.

"Five days later, on May 26, *Novoye Vremya*, a Communist party weekly on international affairs, carried a sharply worded and unusually explicit rebuttal written by Vadim V. Zagladin, deputy chief of the Central Committee's department for relations with other Communist parties.

"The article denied that Moscow was shirking its socialist duty. It argued for proceeding with the summit meeting in the interest of major achievements, such as an agreement to limit arms, through the policy of peaceful coexistence. . . ."

The Soviet betrayal of the Vietnamese could not be clearer if it were publicly announced in Moscow. The

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\* Both Bert and Komorowski passed over in silence Stone's remarks about the Chinese bureaucracy. Does this mean that the U. S. CP accepts Stone's analysis as applied to Peking, but considers it a "slander" as applied to Moscow? It would be interesting to hear an explanation of the "difference" between the two summit meetings.

Kremlin bureaucrats have in fact come very close to such a declaration. Soviet President Nikolai Podgorny's June 15-18 visit to Hanoi, for example, was remarkable for the fact that he was not accompanied by any senior Soviet military officials, as he had been during his previous visit last October.

In a June 18 dispatch from Moscow in the *Washington Post*, Robert G. Kaiser reported that public lecturers are telling Soviet audiences that the Chinese government has "categorically refused" to allow Soviet ships carrying cargo for North Vietnam to unload in Chinese ports.

"Even when North Vietnam itself asked China for this cooperation," Kaiser wrote, "Peking refused, according to official lecturers here. They add, however, that the Chinese have unloaded four Polish and four East German freighters carrying goods for North Vietnam."

Nothing that the Soviet bureaucrats say can automatically be taken at face value, particularly when they are speaking about their political opponents. But in this instance, other reports have tended to back the charge against the Maoist regime, and none have been denied by Peking. In the June 19 *New York Times*, for example, Robert Kleiman of the paper's editorial board wrote:

" . . . six weeks after the mining of Haiphong and other North Vietnamese harbors, Moscow and Peking evidently have been unable as yet to agree on increased land shipment across China of Soviet aid to compensate for the halt in sea supply. . . ."

"Of all the Soviet ships en route to North Vietnam when the blockade was imposed, only one tanker has put into a Chinese port, and that briefly for emergency reasons. It now is reported to have left without unloading. Three or four Soviet ships have put into Hong Kong and Singapore. Some are back in Vladivostok. Others are still at sea, apparently awaiting instructions."

Whatever the truth of the charges, as long as the Chinese government

does not publicly declare its willingness to ship supplies for North Vietnam through its ports, its silence provides the Soviet bureaucrats a convenient pretext for not supplying the necessary aid.

The Kremlin is obviously grasping at any pretexts it can find. In the article quoted earlier, Kaiser described one of the sophistries being dished out by the Soviet lecturers:

"Lecturers are telling the public that immediately after the United States laid mines along the North Vietnamese coast in early May, nine Soviet minesweepers set out toward North Vietnam from Vladivostok. . . .

"One reason these sweepers were never used, Soviet audiences are being told, is that the United States could have quickly replaced its mines if they were swept."

Presumably a similar logic explains the Kremlin's failure to provide the missiles that could stop the genocidal bombing of North Vietnam: if the planes were shot down, Nixon would just send more.

A report released June 13 by the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute indicates that the lack of sufficient Soviet aid to North Vietnam is not caused by stinginess. The Kremlin can in fact be quite generous with arms—when the recipient is a bourgeois government. Walter Sullivan described the institute's findings in the June 14 *New York Times*:

"The chief recipient of Soviet arms, the report said, was Egypt, which received weapons valued at \$250-million in 1970 and \$420-million in 1971, chiefly in aircraft and missiles. The second biggest recipient was India, which has now been licensed to make MIG-21 aircraft, including the missiles and engines with which such planes are equipped. Soviet shipments to India included planes, antiaircraft missiles and tanks, the report said.

"The institute reported that the Soviet Union had also provided \$2-million worth of 'major arms' to Ceylon last year to help put down an uprising by extreme leftist revolutionaries."

In the two years that Brezhnev and his colleagues in the Kremlin were providing Sadat alone \$670,000,000 in sophisticated weapons, their military aid of all kinds to North Vietnam totalled \$170,000,000.

While the Soviet bureaucrats look the other way, there have been increasing indications that Nixon is moving toward an attempt to destroy

## Fourth Year Of The "Plan To End The War" (Contd.)



Herblock in the Washington Post

completely the dikes that protect North Vietnam from flooding. Bombing of the dikes on a lesser scale has already occurred, presumably with the intention of gradually accustoming world opinion to the idea.

On June 22, Vo Van Sung, a member of the North Vietnamese delegation to the suspended Paris talks, reported that between April 10 and June 10 U.S. planes had attacked dikes sixty-eight times, dropping a total of 665 bombs.

"Mr. Sung asserted," the *New York Times* reported, "that the American aim was to spread death and famine among the civilian population and lower its morale. 'The possible rup-

ture of the dikes in North Vietnam during the season of cresting rivers would threaten millions of inhabitants and create the danger of submersion of hundreds of thousands of acres of cultivated land,' he said."

Sung's charges were denied by the U.S. Defense Department, but a June 24 Agence France-Presse dispatch from Hanoi by Jean Thoraval indicated who was lying. Thoraval described what he had seen of the dike system about sixty miles south of Hanoi:

"One of the embankments was completely cut. Several were gutted, with gaps in the dike itself and hollows,

evidently caused by bombs, alongside. Deep cracks were visible everywhere. The landscape was almost what one might have expected to find on the moon.

"Village officials feared that the embankments would continue to disintegrate. One man explained that battered, cracked dikes were more difficult to repair than completely demolished ones."

Jean Cristophe Oeberg, the Swedish ambassador to Hanoi, told an interviewer from the Swedish Broadcasting Corporation June 24 that "the destruction, the devastation, is more complete now than any time before."

Oeberg said that U. S. planes were attacking "not only military targets but also economic targets—factories, well, as a matter of fact, anything."

An ominous propaganda ploy in regard to the North Vietnamese dikes was reported by Seymour Hersh in the June 24 *New York Times*. Hersh quoted "well-informed critics of the Vietnam war" to the effect that there was "no evidence" of deliberate bombing of the dikes.

Hersh named only one of these "critics," but their reliability can perhaps be judged from the fact that they included "some men still serving in the Government." Presumably to lend authority to the government "critics," the article quoted by name only Fred Branfman, director of Project Air War, an antiwar group based in Washington. But although Branfman blamed individual pilots rather than Nixon, his remarks were not exactly an unalloyed defense of the Washington warmakers.

"No one is going to be stupid enough to target dikes," he said, "particularly since it's a known war crime. But there is a paucity of targets left in North Vietnam and an awful lot of planes going up. It's inevitable that pilots are going to want to bomb lucrative targets."

Anonymous officials indicated to Hersh that if dikes were bombed, it was all an unfortunate accident:

"I know for a fact that the target lists do not include dikes," one well-informed former official said. "If we wanted to bomb them, we would."

". . . The source, who had access to most intelligence material while in the Government, added that the occasional bombing of a dike, whether by error or because of a pilot's violation of rules, was impossible to rule

out.

"In fact," he said, "we had some photos earlier this year of dikes that were hit, but I just can't believe it was done by policy." (Emphasis added.)

Hersh also quoted the official line as laid down by Daniel Z. Henkin, an assistant secretary of defense:

"Hanoi might be making these allegations so that they could claim, if there were any floods caused by natural phenomenon [sic], that they resulted from the erroneous charges that we have been bombing dikes."

After this remarkable twisting of both reality and grammar, Henkin went on to invoke the responsibility of a reputed long-time ally of U. S. imperialism:

"If there are floods in North Vietnam, and I hope to God there will not be, they would be acts of God and not as a result of any targeting of dikes or dams."

Those moved by the pious Mr. Henkin's prayers for his enemies should recall that this propaganda argument was predicted in last week's *Intercontinental Press*:

"Unlike the use of nuclear weapons, this tactic [bombing the dikes] has the advantage of causing an unbearable catastrophe without Nixon ever having to give a direct order; he could deny responsibility and blame the result on a series of 'natural accidents.'" (See "Will Nixon Bomb the Dikes in North Vietnam?" June 26, p. 725.)

As the history of U. S. aggression in Indochina has shown, the present refusal of the Soviet and Chinese bureaucracies to respond to Nixon's escalation will only encourage new and more dangerous actions—such as bombing the dikes.

As I. F. Stone observed in the articles quoted above, "Nixon has been given a green light to smash North Vietnam." □

## Italian Workers Need a United Front

# Provocations Feed Growing Fascist Threat

By Livio Maitan

Stalled negotiations over forming a new government; another murderous outrage in Gorizia, where a bomb was planted in a police car; and the threat of a coup d'etat by the fascist leader Almirante dominated the Italian papers in the first two weeks of June. But besides their news value, these events offered important indications of the tendencies in the Italian situation. I don't know, and I am not overly concerned about finding out, how much of a conscious link there was among these developments. The important thing was that in their objective result they all pointed in the same general direction. They favored a rightward shift preparing the ground for a return to reactionary policies.

The negotiations over forming the first cabinet of the new legislature have been carried out in a way clearly calculated to wear out the patience of the people and thereby force them to accept a shift to the right virtually through sheer exhaustion. From the start, the Christian Democrats opted for a rightward course, even though the May 7 election results left only very narrow margins for such a solu-

tion. If this line runs into difficulty in fairly short order, even in terms of getting a working parliamentary majority, the response will come on two levels. On the one hand, the bourgeoisie will try to force the Socialist party to capitulate entirely or try to provoke a new split in its ranks. On the other, they will launch a renewed and stepped-up campaign on the theme that the country is "ungovernable" in the present political and constitutional framework. The outcome, then, in the fairly near future will be a crisis of the regime.

That the actions of the fascists help to promote this right turn is self-evident. Thus, there is a two-pronged attack. The conservatives and moderates operate on the parliamentary and electoral level. The fascist goon squads try to intimidate people and deter them from engaging in present or future social struggles. There is no contradiction. Almirante must be regarded as an able and energetic opponent and not just a second-rate swindler.

While making its weight felt in parliament, the so-called *Destra Nazionale*

[National Right, a coalition of fascists and monarchists] has tried and will continue to try to accentuate the conservative trend, and thus to sharpen the confrontation with the mass movement (which the reformist policy aimed at avoiding), by organizing direct action to intimidate and repress the masses. It is seeking and will continue to seek conditions favoring an outcome beneficial to the ruling class and the most reactionary political forces.

A number of events since the May 7 elections have shown irrefutably that there is increasing complicity with the fascist policy in wide sectors of the state apparatus. (Such cooperation, it must not be forgotten, is necessary for even a partial success of the operation; and, as we all know, it was decisive for the victory of fascism fifty years ago.)

The apparent third element in the reactionary strategy has been the subject of the most violent arguments and the most widely varying hypotheses. No one can say with absolute certainty who is responsible for a chain of criminal acts whose latest link, for the time being, is the car bombing near Gorizia. No one can be sure whether they are part of a single plan. Irrational acts, of course, may be committed by individual persons or groups operating independently of any definite political forces. Historical research has been unable to determine the instigators or motives of many crimes.

However, it is hard to believe that the series of crimes that stretches from the Piazza Fontana to Gorizia were all the result of chance. All of these outrages have been openly exploited to give grist to the mill of the most reactionary forces. Furthermore, the bombings and murders have always come at a time when the right and extreme right could legitimately think that it could profit from such acts or that it had particular need of them.

There is another piece of evidence. In none of these cases have the so-called authorities been able to find the culprit. In the case of the Piazza Fontana bombing they did bring charges against one person. But everybody knows he had nothing to do with it. This is so obvious that the government is reluctant to start a trial that would inevitably bring down their whole house of cards.

It is hard to believe that all these crimes do not depend on a heavy mea-

sure of complicity at various levels. It seems incredible that they are not based on a desire to maintain an atmosphere of tension and uncertainty. The minimum objective must be to give a dramatic demonstration of the impotence not just of "specific" institutions but of the regime as a whole, and thus to promote or accelerate a general political crisis.

In fact, if the grim trail of outrages continues, we would have to say that this was the *main* method of promoting a crisis of the regime. The technique of indiscriminate bombings; political murders apt to provoke special reactions, which are quickly instigated and magnified to the extreme by the bourgeois press; and the impunity of those responsible can whip up an atmosphere of unrest, indignation, exasperation, and distrust of parliamentary democracy. These methods accomplish this result without arousing a revolutionary mobilization for a much more genuine kind of democracy. Thus, they can only have the effect of promoting a crisis of the regime aimed toward a right-wing solution.

Furthermore, it is worthwhile to refer to the experience of the not too distant past. Many episodes in the Italian political struggle in this period are reminiscent of similar developments under the so-called Weimar republic, that is, bourgeois-democratic Germany in the period following the first world war. It is all the more legitimate to draw the parallel when we consider other factors, which are often cited in today's discussions, as cause for at least relative optimism. From a bourgeois-democratic point of view, the Weimar constitution was rather advanced, in some respects more advanced than the present Italian one, and the workers' movement could rely on powerful political and trade-union organizations, in particular a strong Communist party. But the crisis of the Weimar republic culminated in the victory of Hitlerite fascism.

All these facts must be considered, not to raise any false alarms nor to justify the attitudes of those people who, now that the great euphoria is over, are screaming before they have really been hit. Nor must they be studied simply for the purposes of analysis. The problem is how to act and react to confront a grave situation and block the plans that the reactionaries are trying more and more openly every day to carry out.

In this connection it is not necessary to repeat here the fundamental importance of the bargaining campaign that has opened up over the renewal of contracts for the major categories of workers. In the present context, this struggle assumes even more clearly the dimensions of a *political* fight of the *working class as a whole*.

The essential thing is to revive the theme of unity in action in order to repel the attacks of the ruling class in all their ramifications. What is needed is unity on a class basis — not some vague, general "democratic" antifascism that would also appeal to the bourgeois parties or tendencies within them. We need unity of the working class, of all the working people, and the students and intellectuals who stand on the positions of the working class. In more precise political terms, this means that we need a united front including the revolutionary left organizations as well as the traditional reformist ones. The basis of such a front, of course, must be a common class platform.

I realize all too well that achieving this objective is far from easy. Sectarianism and infantile ultraleftism continue to reign in the revolutionary left (Lenin's phrase about the "infantile disease of left communism" retains all its validity). Too many say that they want nothing to do with the detested revisionists (except to vote for them on the quiet), because the traditional organizations think they can escape by denouncing the misdeeds of the "grouplets" and loudly taking their distance from them.

Underlying both attitudes there is a grave political shortsightedness. Both the ultraleftists and the reformists fail to understand that unless there is a truly united mobilization of the class and its allies based on a platform making no concessions to the bourgeoisie, the crucial battle in progress and those to follow will be lost in essence.

Let me draw the analogy with Weimar Germany once again. There the need for a united front was denied by the big workers' organizations and advanced only by Trotsky, "the prophet unarmed." The result was that Hitler won, sweeping away the Social Democrats, the Stalinists, and the revolutionists. Let us reflect on this lesson, which, despite all the differences to be seen in the present situation, retains all of its timeliness. □

# Bay of Pigs Veterans Raid Democrats

By David Thorstad

At 2:30 a.m. on June 17, five men were caught red-handed and arrested for breaking into the twenty-nine-suite offices of the Democratic party's National Committee headquarters in Washington, D.C. A week after the arrests, the case still remained shrouded in mystery, but several fingers of suspicion seemed to be pointing in the direction of the Republican party and even the White House as responsible for the scandal.

The arrested burglars had in their possession extensive photographic equipment and electronic surveillance instruments capable of intercepting both room conversation and telephone communication. They had removed two ceiling panels near party chairman Lawrence O'Brien's office in order to install a bugging device.

Police discounted the likelihood that persons "up high" had planned the raid because it was so badly bungled at every stage. Police may have been hasty, however, for the apparent leader of the plot, Bernard Barker, has had practice in bungling—he helped mastermind the abortive 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion in which top government officials also had a hand. All five suspects were linked in one way or another to the Central Intelligence Agency and the activities of anti-Castro gusanos.

In addition, one of them, James McCord Jr., is a former CIA employee who is a salaried security aide for Nixon's own reelection committee, with \$1,209 a month "take-home" pay and his own office in the committee's headquarters. He also holds a separate contract to provide security services to the Republican National Committee. (Since the raid, he has been fired.)

On top of this, E. Howard Hunt, a former aide to a high-level White House official, has been linked to the plot. Hunt was the top CIA official in charge of the Bay of Pigs invasion. Cuban sources in Miami indicated that two weeks before the raid, Hunt met in Miami with Barker, who was his immediate subordinate in the

Bay of Pigs fiasco. Hunt has now gone into hiding.

The other three participants are Frank Sturgis, an American who served in Castro's army and later trained a gusano guerrilla force; Eugenio R. Martinez, a Miami real-estate agent; and Virgilio R. Gonzales, a locksmith. The latter two have been linked to a gusano group called *Ex-Combatientes Cubanos de Fort Jackson*, a group of veterans of the Bay of Pigs invasion. *New York Times* correspondent Agis Salpukas reported June 24 that the group had held meetings in Miami with "American friends from Washington" and had agreed to undertake "direct action to combat what they viewed as left-wing causes in the United States."

The incident has caused considerable embarrassment to Republican party officials in an election year. Although both Democrats and Republicans authorize the use of such cloak-and-dagger operations against left-wing organizations without hesitating, it is apparently a violation of the rules of fair play for them to do it to each other. Suspicion that the Republican party was behind the raid was not lessened by the fact that the chairman of Nixon's reelection committee is none other than John Mitchell, who as attorney general gave a green light on surveillance, bugging, and wire-tapping. Mitchell claims neither he nor his committee authorized the raid. "We deplore such activity," he hypocritically asserted.

Democratic party chairman O'Brien nonetheless announced a \$1,000,000 suit against Nixon's reelection committee on June 20 for invasion of privacy and violation of the civil rights of Democrats. He called it a "blatant act of political espionage."

Efforts of the Republican leadership to quell the mounting suspicion have only added fuel to the fire. On June 19, for instance, the party's National Committee sent out an internal memorandum instructing those on the par-

ty payroll not to say a word about the case. This solemn approach contrasted sharply with White House press secretary Ronald Ziegler's flippant characterization of the raid as a "third-rate burglary attempt" that the White House did not feel the need to comment on.

This prompted the *Washington Post* to editorialize June 21: "Mr. Ronald L. Ziegler, the White House spokesman, has already dismissed it as a 'third-rate burglary attempt' and warned that 'certain elements may try to stretch this beyond what it is.' The implication of that last statement is that he knows what it is and if so, we wish he would tell us, because frankly it doesn't shape up as your ordinary, garden variety burglary—however 'third-rate' its execution." The *Post* editors noted their concern over the implications of the affair "in a time of waning confidence in the processes of government."

The FBI has begun a nationwide search for four men who rented rooms in Washington's Watergate Hotel the weekend of May 26-29 together with four of the five men involved in the raid. Over that weekend, on May 28, an attempt was made to break into the Democratic party offices, which are in a building adjoining the hotel. The four being sought are thought to be members of an anti-Castro group called "Ameritas."

Meanwhile, the Democrats smell a promising campaign issue and can be expected to squeeze it for every vote it is worth. □

## Doesn't Like the Company

Arguing against building an antibalistic missile site around Washington, as permitted by Nixon's agreement with the Soviet leaders, U.S. Senator William Proxmire observed, "It is ridiculous for the country to put up a billion dollars to protect the politicians while the rest of the country is utterly destroyed. . . ."

"Certainly it is important that in the unthinkable event of a nuclear holocaust, that all that's left would be bureaucrats and politicians."

We have never expected the capitalist politicians and bureaucrats to worry about what happens to us in the event of nuclear war, but perhaps the prospect of being left with no one but themselves would tend to make them a bit less bellicose.

## Provisionals Call for Cease-Fire, Talks

By Gerry Foley

The Provisional IRA announced June 22 that it would suspend "offensive operations" provided there were a "public reciprocal response" from the British army. The statement continued:

"The leadership of the Republican movement believes that a bilateral suspension of operations would lead to meaningful talks between the major participants to the conflict.

"The movement has formulated a peace plan designed to secure a just and lasting solution and holds itself in readiness to present it at the appropriate time."

In the June 23 *New York Times*, a dispatch from Bernard Weinraub in Belfast commented:

"At least one element of surprise in today's announcement was that there was no time limit on the I.R.A.'s offer. There had been earlier indications that the Provisionals' leadership was discussing only a two-week or three-week truce.

"Another element of interest and surprise was the I.R.A.'s demand that it take part in any discussions on the future of Northern Ireland."

Weinraub noted that the Provisionals had dropped their previous conditions of an end to internment and abolition of the Belfast parliament, which in February was suspended for a year.

It did not seem, however, that the Provisionals would be the ones to gain from their concessions. Gerry Fitt, one of the principal figures in the Social Democratic and Labour party (SDLP), the moderate Catholic political organization, said:

"When I heard the Provisionals call for a meeting with Mr. Whitelaw [the London-appointed governor of Northern Ireland] and heard nothing about a precondition for ending internment, I nearly fell off my chair.

"Once they had missed that—and I rather think it was a mistake on their part—then we really had something to grasp. For the first time we could go and see Whitelaw without fear of pressure from anyone."

The British administration was quick to accept the Provisional IRA's offer. "Mr. Whitelaw said that the army would 'obviously reciprocate' when the IRA ceased its campaign," Weinraub reported. "The Provisionals said tonight that they accepted this as a mutual suspension of operations."



WHITELAW: Eager to "reciprocate."

The weekend preceding the scheduled truce, due to begin on midnight June 26, was marked by increased terrorist activity. The press speculated that the Provisionals' intention was to show that they had not been militarily beaten. There were also rumors that sections of the Provisional ranks would refuse to obey the cease-fire. In a statement quoted by Weinraub, Séamus Twomey, commander of the Belfast forces, seemed to confirm the existence of opposition to halting the campaign:

"Mr. Twomey said that, after midnight Monday, 'if any member of the Provisionals takes part in any offensive action, he will be very severely disciplined.

"'And if we find he is guilty of an act of deliberate treachery, then he will be shot.'"

Disorientation in the Provisional ranks might be expected, since this group has been built almost exclusively on the perspective of guerrilla warfare, without a clear and effective program for mass action. On the other hand, the leaders of the organization have made it clear on several occasions that they were trying to force the British to the conference table and had no hopes of being able to win a decisive military victory. In August 1970, Seán Keenan, who was the Provisional leader in Derry then, told me and a Swedish journalist that he hoped the armed campaign would force United Nations intervention.

Nonetheless, it seems clear that the Provisional campaign has ended in a political defeat. They have been forced to surrender almost unconditionally by a peace campaign in the Catholic community fueled by little more than the promise of concessions from the British authorities. The concentration camps are still open. There have been only token releases, and arrests continue. No serious steps have been taken to meet the long-standing grievances of the nationalist community. The suspension of the Belfast parliament has only given the British administration a fresh face and greater maneuverability. The system of religious bigotry remains intact, and the Protestant proimperialist organizations continue to play their role as a backup and ally for the occupation forces.

The real reason for the power of the peace campaign seems to be that a large section, if not the majority, of the Catholic population has come to resent terrorist actions as a source of apparently needless discomforts and dangers. They have no control over such actions and the violence did not seem to be leading anywhere. There was support for the bombings and the other violent acts in the Catholic ghettos, but the most common defense of them that I heard in Belfast in February of this year was that "they make the government sit up and take notice." Now that the imperialist regime seems to be "taking notice," the support for terrorism appears to be ebbing with dizzying speed.

Moreover, since the Provisionals



failed to build a mass political alternative to the moderate Catholic politicians, it was virtually inevitable

that the halting of the military campaign would restore the position of these traditional "negotiators." □

## Abandon Attempt to Jail Shop Stewards

### Dockers' Protest Forces Tories to Retreat

London

In a judgment that will have far-reaching legal and industrial repercussions, the Court of Appeal on June 13 reversed an earlier ruling of the National Industrial Relations Court that had found the Transport and General Workers Union "in contempt" and had resulted in £55,000 in fines against the union.

The original contempt order and fines resulted from an application by a Liverpool container-lorry firm to force dockers there to end the "black-ing" [boycotting] of the firm's lorries. This was the first major trial of strength for the newly instituted Industrial Relations Act.

The docks dispute arose because certain companies are employing unregistered dock workers at lower wages to pack and unpack containers at special depots near the docks. The registered dock workers see this as a threat to their jobs and are blacking lorry firms that are known to be involved.

The June 13 Appeals Court judgment found the TGWU not responsible for the actions of its shop stewards in the docks who were providing the local leadership for the blacking of these firms. The only recourse under the Industrial Relations Act was to take legal action against these rank-and-file leaders.

Contempt proceedings were begun the next day against three London docks shop stewards who, despite earlier court orders, continued to picket the Chobham Farm container depot in East London, where sixty-three unregistered TGWU workers were employed. The three men were Vic Turner and Bernie Steer, respectively chairman and secretary of the National Ports Shop Stewards Committee, and Alan Williams.

The three were given until 2:00 p. m. Friday, June 16, to appeal their case, after which time the High Court's Tipstaff would go to the Chobham picket

to issue the orders and have them arrested.

But sixty-five minutes after this deadline, Peter Pain, acting on behalf



HEATH: Forced to back down by militancy of dock workers.

of the official solicitor and without the knowledge of the three men concerned, requested of the Appeals Court that the arrests not take place and that the charges be dropped because of insufficient evidence. The judges agreed unanimously.

When he heard that an appeal had been lodged, Vic Turner commented, "This is a bloody liberty. I don't know what to make of it. How can anyone make an application on behalf of someone else to do exactly the opposite of what the person he is supposed to be appearing for wants?"

Some 35,000 dockers were on strike that day, and all work was stopped at London, Manchester, Hull, Preston,

and Liverpool to protest the threatened imprisonment of the three dockers' representatives. Moreover, support was coming from miners, engineering workers, Ford and Vauxhall workers, printers, and railwaymen. The miners themselves had delivered a massive defeat to the government earlier in the year and the railwaymen, in spite of a court-imposed "cooling-off period" and compulsory ballot, had recently won a pay rise greater than the government's pay norms.

Under the virtual certainty of an unofficial national docks strike from Monday [June 19], which would have found active support throughout the labour movement, the prime minister called an emergency meeting with cabinet ministers Thursday evening and another with the attorney-general and solicitor-general early on Friday. After the eleventh-hour intervention by the official solicitor, the government were, of course, quick to deny interference with the legal proceedings.

Earlier, on June 14, an official national docks strike was deferred for at least six weeks, but not without considerable opposition from the dockers. Almost all work was stopped at London, Tilbury, Liverpool, Hull, and Preston on that day to coincide with the TGWU docks delegate conference. The decision to postpone the strike was not well received by 500 militant dockers lobbying at the union's headquarters at Transport House. Unofficial action in the main ports now seems very likely, especially in view of the government's attempt to imprison the three dockers' representatives.

Most certainly, the "blacking" will continue and the possibility of another confrontation with the Tory government is not ruled out. The dockers cannot afford to compromise on this issue; their numbers have fallen from 65,000 to 42,000 in seven years and threaten to fall another 10,000 in the next five years. Friday's unofficial protest stoppage has demonstrated the dockers' determination to counter this trend. □

#### When He Was Still Mortal

The Mao Tsetung museum at Whampoa, reports the *Far Eastern Economic Review*, includes among its exhibits a chamberpot with the notice: "This is a hygienic convenience which was used twice by Chairman Mao in his youth."

# Kremlin Orders Arrest of Pyotr Yakir

By George Saunders

After months of threats, the Soviet political police have arrested Pyotr I. Yakir, a prominent dissident Communist, civil-rights leader, and son of one of the Red Army generals assassinated in 1937.

Yakir was taken into custody by plainclothesmen about noon on June 21, according to friends of his. The arrest was made at his apartment in the auto-plant district of Moscow. He was driven away in an official-looking black Volga automobile, dissident sources said.

His friends reportedly expect that he will be put on trial on charges of "anti-Soviet" activity.

Yakir was subjected to a prolonged search of his apartment in mid-January, at which time large quantities of personal documents, manuscripts, and files were confiscated from him. In connection with an official drive to suppress the *samizdat* newsletter *Chronicle of Current Events*, he was kept under close surveillance after that and, reportedly, searched a second time.

According to Charlotte Saikowski, writing from Moscow for the June 22 *Christian Science Monitor*, Yakir was arrested for "anticonstitutional activities which he had systematically carried on for several years, submitting to Western propaganda agencies information which was used against the Soviet Union."

Together with Vladimir Bukovsky, Yakir was one of three Soviet oppositionists who gave a filmed interview to CBS-TV correspondent William Cole in Moscow in early 1970. That television film was part of the evidence used to convict Bukovsky in January of "anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation," an offense for which he received a twelve-year sentence.

Saikowski says that her source named Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe as the agencies to which Yakir allegedly submitted information. Such a tactic of smearing pro-Soviet, but antibureaucratic opponents by association with reactionaries and real agencies of imperialism has been

Stalinist judicial practice since the 1920s.

Saikowski had further unpleasant news to report from her "source," who "said Mr. Yakir had been warned several times by Soviet authorities that his activities were illegal, but he persisted in them. Also, he added, the dissident formed a group of young people, including his daughter Irina, to assist him." (This is an apparent reference to the Initiative Group for the Defense of Human Rights in the USSR.)

"The latter charge apparently will be used in the trial," Saikowski goes on. "At this writing, however, it is not known under what article of the Soviet criminal code Mr. Yakir will be tried or when the trial will take place."

If Yakir is placed on trial, a very sharp confrontation between pro-Stalin and anti-Stalin forces in the Soviet Union could result. In recent years Yakir has become widely known as an outspoken opponent of Stalinism. An open letter he wrote in March 1969 stipulated grounds in present-day Soviet law under which Stalin should be posthumously tried.

An earlier open letter, in January 1968, cosigned by the Crimean Tatar poet and activist Ilya Gabai and underground satirical songwriter and singer Yuli Kim, had protested the increasingly favorable views of Stalin being printed. The 1968 letter contrasted the rehabilitation of Stalin's reputation to the continued negative treatment of Trotsky, whose role as People's Commissar of War and Chairman of the Military Revolutionary Council was still being presented as "unrelieved wrecking activities."

To oppose what he saw as a growing return to Stalin's methods of police terror, Yakir joined with other Soviet dissidents to form the loosely knit Initiative Committee for the Defense of Human Rights in the USSR in May 1969. Most of its members have been jailed or confined in psychiatric hospital-prisons, the most recent victim being the Kiev mathema-

tician Leonid Plyushch, who was arrested in January of this year.

The Initiative Committee's main activity has been to publicize violations of civil rights and to protest cases of political persecution. This has been done through protest letters and petitions, many addressed to the United Nations.

Despite the victimization of many dissidents in recent years, Yakir had not been previously touched, for all his outspokenness. In an open letter to the Twenty-fourth Congress of the Soviet Communist party in March 1971, in which he called Stalin "one of the greatest criminals of the twentieth century," Yakir indirectly referred to this temporary immunity he seemed to enjoy while friends and acquaintances were being picked off by the police on every side: "The selectiveness, the 'discrimination,' employed in exercising repression (for one and the same 'crime,' one person is given a reprimand at work, another is not bothered at all, and a third gets several years in a prison camp) only underscores the arbitrariness and illegality of the repressive measures."

The reason the KGB was reluctant to arrest him previously was of course that a legal case involving a Yakir would revive too many memories of the great purges of the 1930s. After his father, General Iona [Russian for "Jonah"] Yakir was shot, the general's widow and Pyotr, then fourteen years old, were interned in a concentration camp. They were not freed until after Stalin's death in 1953. In the "de-Stalinization" period they were rehabilitated, as were the Red Army officers Stalin had slaughtered on the eve of World War II, in a move that beheaded the first line of Soviet defense.

Khrushchev himself referred to Pyotr Yakir in the 1956 "secret speech" at the twentieth party congress. Allowed to work as a historian, Pyotr edited a collection of articles about his father. How far the rehabilitation of the purged generals of 1937 went may be judged from the fact that a Soviet ship was named the *Iona Yakir*.

Ironically, after Pyotr Yakir had signed a protest letter to the United Nations, the captain and crew of this ship sent him a letter remonstrating with him for his "unpatriotic" act. His reply to the crew of the *Iona Yakir*

is one of the documents circulating in *samizdat* today.

Another of his uncensored works circulating privately is entitled *Concentration Camp Childhood*. Part one of his memoirs, this has also been published outside the Soviet Union. The second part was reportedly confiscated by the KGB this year.

If Yakir is placed on trial, it will be the first time since the denunciation of Stalin's crimes that someone directly linked with a victim of the great purges has been subjected to revived Stalin-type frame-ups. The protests around the Sinyavsky-Daniel trial, the Ginzburg-Galanskov trial, the Litvinov-Bogoraz trial, and the Bukovsky trial might prove to be only preliminary skirmishes if all the forces opposed to a revival of Stalin's methods can unite and mobilize in defense of Yakir.

For several years the Kremlin has shied away from public trials for dissidents who might win too much support, especially if they are opposition Communists who might win support from left forces internationally. Thus the tactic of "quiet" incarceration in madhouses was used against the dissident Communists Pyotr Grigorenko and Ivan Yakhimovich.

In recent months the Kremlin has adopted a new tactic: allowing dissidents to leave the country but not permitting them to return. Leading dissidents and associates of Yakir—Yuri Glazov, Yuri Titov, and Aleksandr Yesenin-Volpin—as well as the poet Iosif Brodsky have thus been removed as immediate problems from the Kremlin's point of view.

A recent report in a Norwegian newspaper, *Aftenposten*, states that the Soviet authorities are planning to offer leading oppositionists a choice: to leave the Soviet Union or be imprisoned. Correspondent Per Egil Hegge claimed that among the oppositionists to be thus approached were Yakir, novelist Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, and Human Rights Committee member Valery Chalidze.

Hegge also claimed that, if expelled from the Soviet Union, oppositionists would be stripped of Soviet citizenship under Article 20 of the Criminal Code of the Russian Republic. This is the same article under which Stalin expelled Leon Trotsky in 1929, according to Hegge.

Other rumors have been reported that former Major General Pyotr Grigorenko, confined in a psychiatric hospital under conditions sure to destroy him before much longer, might also be expelled from the Soviet Union.

Such rumors could well have been planted by the Kremlin regime to disarm international protest if new trials are being prepared. A relatively minor oppositionist writer, Valery Tarsis, it should be recalled, was allowed to leave the USSR and was then stripped of citizenship in the same week that the major trial of writers Sinyavsky and Daniel occurred in 1966.

The Kremlin has real reason to aim reprisals against Yakir, Chalidze, Solzhenitsyn, and others like them. The signs of mounting unrest and political consciousness among the masses, especially among some of the national minorities, cause the Brezhnev regime to fear any organized or prominent oppositional person or group as a potential spark that could set off a conflagration.

The regime's anger at the outspoken oppositional stands of Yakir, Solzhenitsyn, and Chalidze was obvious in the course of the trial of Vladimir Bukovsky in January. All three were repeatedly linked with Bukovsky by the prosecution; and the harsh sentence meted out to him was a gauge of the treatment they would like to give the others.

Yakir and Chalidze figured largely in the protests around the Bukovsky trial, both preceding and following it. Yakir especially was linked with the publication of the transcript of Bukovsky's trial, which the authorities wished to keep secret. Aleksei Tumerman, the young Jewish dissident who took responsibility for making that

transcript public, is reportedly a close associate or even a secretary or assistant of Yakir.

In the month or two before Nixon's trip to Moscow, the Brezhnev regime seemed to suspend the sharp campaign it had opened up against all forms of dissidence at the turn of the year. Apparently, embarrassing incidents were to be avoided on the eve of Nixon's grand tour.

The dissidents, for their part, did not call a truce. Tumerman gave an interview expressing the hope that the question of human rights would come up in the Brezhnev-Nixon discussions, a vain hope of course. For that, he was immediately confined for "psychiatric" observation.

Yakir, too, issued a statement along the same lines as Tumerman's. "The guarantee of the freedom of the individual has ceased to be an internal matter and has become an international problem," he declared.

"Before the arrival of President Nixon," he reported, "people were called in to the militia [regular police] and the state security police, where they were asked to sign a promise not to commit any antisocial act during the president's visit."

"I would like to hope that after President Nixon's visit, reaction will not be stepped up, that arrests will stop, and that no one will be interned in an insane asylum," he added.

The regime has reacted otherwise. Under pressure from international and domestic public opinion to stop its repressive actions, it nevertheless has a mortal fear of a social uprising that would strip it of its privileges. It is casting about, seeking a way to silence the voices of protest without creating more protest in turn. □

## Report Opposition Leaflet in Moscow

An underground appeal distributed to selected mailboxes in Moscow apartment buildings during June calls on the Soviet people to strike and demonstrate to improve their living standards as Polish workers did in December 1970. Written in what the Western press calls blunt, aggressive language, the document is believed to be, if genuine, the first product of the Soviet underground aimed at average Soviet citizens.

The statement is signed "Citizens Committee" and is said to be circulating in three versions of varying length: 200 words, 600 words, and 1,200 words. According to the June 20 *New York Times*, dissident sources say the document was written by members of the "technical intelligentsia." It charges that Soviet living standards are being driven lower by luxury consumption on the part of the domestic elite and huge expenditures on foreign

aid, that there have been "concealed" increases in the price of food and industrial goods over the past ten years, and that the present Soviet system is not socialism, but "state capitalism, the worst and most rapacious system of government. This kind of pitiless thieving and uncontrolled rule is what Germany had under Hitler's 'socialism.'"

The document points to the higher standard of living in the West and says that this was achieved because Western workers fought for it. The example of Poland, where workers' struggles forced the removal of the Gomulka regime, an improved economic situation, and "softened censorship," is cited, and Soviet workers are urged to follow the Polish example.

There is some doubt, however, about the authenticity of the document. Numerous economic statistics are

cited, some of them inaccurate. For example, the leaflet says that the average Soviet worker's wage amounts to 100 rubles per month; in reality, according to the June 21 *Christian Science Monitor*, it is 126 rubles per month. The leaflet says that in the West the unemployment rate stands at between 2 and 4 percent; in fact, unemployment in the United States has been more than 6 percent for some time.

Furthermore, in its list of countries receiving Soviet economic aid—which the document says is completely unjustified—North Vietnam is included. The authors of the leaflet claim that Soviet aid to Vietnam stood at 3,000,000 rubles (about \$3,700,000) per day, a figure that vastly exceeds any Western estimate. Soviet aid to Egypt and Cuba is also criticized. □

tions of human rights." He urged that the salaries of all public officials be made public, that single-slate elections be abolished, that the people be allowed to select government and party leaders. Provision should be made, he said, for the "genuine possibility of recall of officials, at all levels, in cases of unsuitability," one of the norms of Bolshevik practice before the Stalinist degeneration of the Communist party and the Soviet state apparatus.

Other points included in either the memorandum or the afterword were: general amnesty for all political prisoners; an end to closed trials and a review of all sentences made "in violation of the right to know"; passage of new laws regarding the conditions under which political dissenters are held in mental hospitals; abolition of the death penalty; the drafting of a new law, to be presented to the people for discussion, on press regulations; an end to the jamming of foreign radio broadcasts and liberal access to foreign literature; the formation of watchdog committees for all those arrested to protect them from physical abuse; the establishment of open borders.

Sakharov also called for an intensification of the struggle against drunkenness, whose spread to the "dimensions of a national calamity" he said was a symptom of "a moral degradation of society, which is more and more sinking into a condition of chronic alcohol poisoning."

Finally, Sakharov attacked the size of the Soviet military budget, which he estimates to be about 40 percent of the national income. "Only a concentration of resources on internal problems will make it possible to overcome difficulties in the areas of the economy and the welfare of the population." □

## Releases Reform Program to Reporters

# Sakharov Asks Democratization of USSR

"Our society is infected with apathy, hypocrisy, narrow-minded egoism, and hidden cruelty. With hurt and alarm I am forced to note, in the wake of a largely illusory liberalism, the growth of restrictions on ideological freedom or persecution for political and ideological reasons."

With these words Andrei A. Sakharov, member of the Soviet Academy of Sciences and a founder of the semi-underground Human Rights Committee, released to Western reporters the text of a March 1971 "memorandum" he had sent to Soviet Communist party chief Leonid Brezhnev.

The memorandum contained a series of suggestions for reforming Soviet society, dealing with such points as economic policy, political prisoners, freedom of the press, and foreign policy. When, after more than a year, Sakharov had not received a reply, he wrote an "afterword" (dated June 1972), invited Western reporters to his Moscow apartment, and presented them with both documents.

The June 23 *New York Times*, while not printing the full texts of the memorandum and the afterword (they are, after all, not official treaties or presi-



BREZHNEV: Not answering his mail.

dential pronouncements), summarized Sakharov's views.

His major fire was directed against the "open and secret privileges" of the government and party elite, who, he said, "are deeply indifferent to viola-

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# The Violence of Those at the Top

[The following is the fourth installment of a lengthy feature on repression in Argentina that appeared in the April 25 issue of the Buenos Aires newspaper *Nuevo Hombre*. Its publisher, Dr. Silvio Frondizi, has been

arrested and the newspaper has been banned as a result of the publication of this issue. Translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

\* \* \*

## Methods of Torture and Those Who Use It

Thanks to the collaboration of lawyers and solidarity groups, *Nuevo Hombre* succeeded in obtaining fifty affidavits from compatriots who have been tortured. From them we are taking the excerpts that best illustrate these physical tortures and make it possible to imagine the psychological effects each one of them produces.

### Torture With Electricity

1. *Simple electric shock*. "They began to apply shocks to my muscles, thighs, vagina, gluteal muscles, anus, abdomen, breasts, armpits, neck, the bottom of my feet, my arms, fingers, head, and mouth. They did it for two hours."—Elena María Da Silva Pereira (April 1972).

2. *Electric shocks with water*. "When they stopped, it was to throw ice water over my whole body."—Alcides Francisco Godano (March 4, 1972).

3. *Applying electric shocks while victim is strapped down*. "They tightly blindfolded me and transferred me to another location where they began to undress me. They strapped me to a table. They began to apply shocks to me. . . ."—Adela Jorge (April 1972).

4. *Electric shocks applied internally*. "Shocks were applied to various parts of my body simultaneously. A great deal of blood was lost as a result of applying shocks to the vagina."—Elena Codan (April 1972). "They took me again to be given shocks. Everything was done all over again. They stuck something hard in my vagina."—Ema Elida Angélica de Debenedetti (April 1972).

5. *Electrified brush*. The person making the statement claims that they applied to moist areas and to his lips "something like an electrified brush. The sensation this gives one is that of flesh being torn off, and when they took out the brush I realized that I was all curled up because they very slowly began to stretch out my feet and arms."—Humar Valderrama (May 1971) in the newspaper *La Opinión* (January 12, 1972).

6. *Wires connected to the eyes*. "They attached wires to my eyes, which were covered with paper, and other wires around my head, which pressed heavily against my skull. These wires burned and sent a feeling of sharp pain through me."—Mirta Cortese de Ali (July 1971).

### Torture by Humiliation

1. *Rape*. "On the fifth day they came back for me. Again I was tortured. One of the torturers licked my chest while panting. . . . They raped me and told me that they were going to work me to death, that my uterus was half out. I lost consciousness."—Elena Codan (April 1972).

2. *Scratching the vagina*. "They stuck a finger into my vagina, scratched me with their fingernails, spat on me, laughed, interrogated me, and once again the electric shocks."—Elda Francsetti (April 1972).

3. *Hard objects in the anus*. "I was told to take down my pants as a way of humiliating me. An attempt was made to stick a revolver up my anus through my clothes."—Carlos Gon-

zález (March 11, 1972). "One of the most offensive insults was when they stuck a pen into my anus."—Emilio Brigante (October 1970).

### Hot/Cold Tortures

1. *Cigarette burns*. "They burned my fingers with the hot coals of a cigarette."—Alvaro Centurión (October 1970). "With cigarettes, they burned various parts of my body, especially the genitals; they turned a radio on full blast to drown out my screaming."—Edgardo Ramón Gamboa (March 4, 1972).

2. *Infrared rays*. "They passed a disk over my foot that gave off heat, producing burns in some places. During other sessions, they applied infrared rays that gave me two large burns in the gluteal area."—Mirta Cortese de Ali (July 1971).

3. *Acid burns*. According to a report in the January 12, 1972, issue of the daily *La Opinión*, Mirta Miguens de Molina "says that she saw her husband in an awful state, with acid burns on his testicles and mouth."

4. *Fan*. "These tortures consisted . . . of undressing her and soaking her in water, then sitting her in front of a fan and forcing her to remain in this position."—María Angélica Sabelli (court statement, February 16, 1972).

### Torture by Revulsion

1. *Basin of dirty water*. "These tortures consisted of . . . submerging one's head completely in dirty water to the point of suffocation."—María Angélica Sabelli (court statement, February 16, 1972).

2. *Urine to drink*. ". . . for three days I had had nothing to drink. They held out to me a container with a warm liquid in it. After taking a swallow, I realized that it was urine mixed with tea."—Carlos Della Nave (*La Opinión*, January 12, 1972).

### Torture by Stress and Suffocation

1. *Standing up*. "They forced me to stand up and look into a corner while they made sure I didn't lean against the wall. Whenever I was overcome by fatigue and sleep and did so, they would pull my hair or beat me." Hugo Alberto Sosa.

2. *Flexing with weights*. "Afterwards, they made me, still naked, flex my

outstretched arms, loaded down with two big books, for a period of approximately four hours. When I fell to the ground exhausted, they got me to stand up by kicking me and pulling my hair."—Miguel Gallizzi.

3. *Parrot's stick*. "With a thick pole placed underneath the knees and through the arms, I felt them hoisting me into the air; they began to beat me on my back, along the sides of my body. . . ."—Carlos Stecanella.

4. *Hood*. "After that, they put a hood on me made out of thick and double-layered cloth, which made it almost impossible to breathe; it was fastened around the neck by a cord."—Alcides Francisco Godano (March 4, 1972).

5. *Near strangulation*. "When they got up to apply shocks to me, they would sit me in a chair and around my head they would put a strap or a rope, and, with an object that I believe was a stick, they would make a tourniquet with the rope, which then tightened around my head."—Ubaldo González (*La Opinión*, January 12, 1972). "When I tried to scream, they pressed a finger against my trachea until I could not breathe."—Jorge Agrest (same newspaper).

## Torture by Means of Various Traumatisms

1. *Clubbing*. "As I didn't reply, the 'chief' began to try to beat my genitals with a spring wrapped inside a tube."—Homar Valderrama (*La Opinión*). "Consistent tortures consisting of blows with something hard, possibly a piece of wood, administered to the bottom of the feet."—Roberto Santucho (same newspaper).

2. *Hair pulling*. "They pulled me up by the hair, and I felt several tufts of hair come out. . . . They also pulled hair out of my head and groin. . . . Since I was unable to stay on my feet, they held me up by the hair for a while."—Carlos Figueroa (December 1971).

3. *Hair pulling with rotating movements*. They grabbed me by the hair and pushed my head down, making me turn it in a circular movement while they continued to pull it; this lasted for a period of ten minutes, until I felt completely faint."—Alcides Francisco Godano (March 4, 1972).

4. *Hanging*. "As if from a rack, they hanged me against the wall, with my arms and legs spread apart,

tightly tying down my wrists and ankles; all the weight of my body seemed to go on my left arm."—Elda Franscetti (April 1972).

5. *Spring with retractable ball*. "They showed me a torture invention and told me that it was made by the Yankees and that they gave it to those in the security services. It consisted of a plastic ball with a spring and a small flat piece that was inserted into the mouth; then, when the plastic ball was pulled away about 15 or 20 centimeters, they would let it go and it would come at me with a terrifying force."—Guillermo Oscar Garamona (*La Opinión*).

6. *Clapping in the ears*. "He begins rhythmically to clap the palms of both his hands against my ears, deafening me."—Gil Carlos Cicognini (March 11, 1972).

7. *Permanent handcuffs*. "They struck me, handcuffed and blindfolded, without any interrogation occurring, with their fists. . . . The entire night of Monday the 21st to Tuesday the 22nd I remained seated with my hands handcuffed behind my back; they did not allow me to sleep, and they did not provide me with either food or water."—Juan Carlos D'Angelo (March 10, 1972).

8. *Punches*. "Without any kind of explanation, faced with my denial they struck me at great length on the back of the neck, in the face. . . . all kinds of blows and kicks; they especially tried to hit me in the stomach."—Edgardo Ramón Gamboa (March 4, 1972).

9. *Wedges under the nails*. "They drove needles under my fingernails and they walked on my toes with their boots."—Hugo Marcos Ducca (September 1971).

10. *Salt in wounds*. "They poured salt on my back and chest and began to beat me."—Carlos Figueroa (December 1971).

11. *Massive beating*. "They took me to the corner of a corridor. . . . and blindfolded me with cotton, bandages, and adhesive tape; then they punched me violently over and over in my shoulders, kidneys, and stomach."—Ricardo René Haidar (March 4, 1972).

## Starvation and Lights

1. *Ban on food and water*. "They kept me there for two and a half days without anything to eat or drink and

without being allowed to go to the toilet, so I had to do my duty right in the same cell." "They placed me in a cell 2 meters by 1 meter."—Ricardo René Haidar (March 4, 1972). "He was held for five days. . . . throughout this period he was given neither food nor drink. . . . In addition, they beat his head against the wall, and as a result of the injuries this caused, he estimates that he has lost approximately one and a half liters of blood."—Luis Fernández Martínez Novillo (court statement).

## Threats and Pretenses

1. *Chinese spatulas*. "The threats are. . . . that they will bring me to Buenos Aires where they have needles equipped with spatulas from China that make it possible to scrape the bones without leaving any external marks."—Carlos González (March 11, 1972).

2. *Tub filled with acid*. "Along with this they threatened to transform me into foam by putting me into a tub of chloric acid that they kept on hand."—Carlos González (March 11, 1972).

3. *Simulated execution by firing squad*. "They spoke to me and told me that the moment had arrived to execute me; they took me to a room where gunfire could be heard; they shouted that they were preparing the order for my execution since they were going to take me to the mountain."—Carlos Figueroa (December 1971). "At one point, they carried out a simulated execution by tying me to a tree. I heard several shots go off. Then they untied me and let me rest."—Carlos Delia Nave (*La Opinión*). "Threats. . . . that they were going to cut me up into small pieces, that they were going to fasten a rock to my neck and throw me into the river."—Marcelo Nívoli (March 1972).

4. *Threats to torture or kill members of one's family*. "That they were going to make me give birth on the table. . . . One, whom they call doctor, took my pulse and checked my condition and said they could continue. . . . They told me I would talk, that they had time. That they could kill my son."—Emma Debenedetti (April 1972). "They made insulting comments about my mother, my wife, and my daughter, and said that they were all already sentenced to death, that they would torture my wife,

and worst of all that they would kill my daughter. . . ."—Edgardo R. Gamboa (March 4, 1972).

5. *Screams of persons being tortured nearby.* "Out of the corner of my eye I saw a hooded person in red pants and a white shirt being led by several people."—Eduardo Daniel Ramírez (March 12, 1972). "While they were striking the other person—I heard the blows and the screams—they asked that the radio be turned up so it could not be heard from the street."—Jorge Raúl Mende (December 1971).

6. *Drugs to make punishment bearable and use of Pentothal.* "They had recourse to drugs put into cigarettes, decanters, cotton swabs, and tablets; they revived me with this so that I could bear up under a continuation of this kind of interrogation."—Mirta Cortese de Ali (*La Opinión*). "The very day she was arrested, they gave her two injections that she is sure were of Pentothal, in spite of the fact that they said it was Coramina. She says the injections were of Pentothal because they brought on drowsiness, and in this state she was questioned about various criminal acts. . . ."—María Angélica Sabelli (court statement, February 16, 1972).

Sometimes—as in this case—it is superfluous to add an epilogue or draw a conclusion. Yet, unfortunately, this long list is not exhaustive. Many more examples could be added. They all speak about the heroism of the men and women who are victims of this torture and about the sadism of those who inflict it.

## The Torturer

"What happens to you when you are torturing?"

"You may not realize, but it's very tiring. . . . It's true we take it in turns, but the question is to know when to let the next chap have a go. Each one thinks he's going to get the information at any minute and takes good care not to let the bird go to the next chap after he's softened him up nicely, when of course the other chap would get the honour and glory of it. . . . Our problem is as follows: are you able to make this fellow talk? It's a question of personal success. You see, you're competing with the others."—Frantz Fanon (*The Wretched of the Earth*)

Is the torturer (and, by extension,

the repressor) sick? Is the responsibility for what he does merely an individual problem? The answers are negative in any serious analysis which takes as its point of departure not only the fact that personality structures are conditioned by the society in which they arise, but also that it is this very social setting that makes use of them for its own ends. Thus there is no torturer without a society that requires the use of torture and that therefore rewards those who inflict it.

For it is not merely a question of the "use" of violence, but of what it is used for. In an article published in Montevideo in *Marcha*, Mario Benedetti expressed this succinctly: "Revolutionists of any kind can kill (as they can be killed) during a full-blown confrontation; they can even pass implacable judgment on counterrevolutionaries. But they never torture. They do not torture because they understand that the mere act of torturing would corrupt their status as human beings, would debase their concept of justice, would degrade their social consciousness, and in the final analysis would bring dishonor upon the untainted image and the clear example of their great mentors and martyrs."

*Nuevo Hombre* asked Dr. Silvia Bermann, general secretary of the National Executive Committee of the Argentine Psychiatrists Federation and a member of the Executive Committee of the Buenos Aires region of that group, to contribute some thoughts on these ideas and on the psychology of persons who inflict torture. This is her report:

"It is difficult to be detached about the moral implications and the horror of torture, whether it be an isolated phenomenon or a part of the system, as in our country today. It is impossible to abstract the torturer from his social context in order to dissect him.

"On the other hand, the torturer, with few exceptions, does not go to clinics, and the system is not open to investigation from the psychological point of view. Essentially, what we know about it we learn from those who are tortured; this is an important characteristic of the system and another sign of how vile it is: It carries out its operations in secrecy and bad faith. Torture is brazenly denied; it is hypocritically rejected, and it is then practiced. But there must be

a suggestion of it if it is to fulfill its function of intimidating; it must travel from mouth to mouth as a rumor.

Fanon describes for us two cases of torturers whom he was familiar with. One of them felt pursued day and night by the screams of those he had tortured; the second, who was also given to torturing his wife and children, ended up requesting the chance to torture without any feeling of remorse. These were, obviously, two highly contrasting personalities. Between the two extremes are found a great variety of types. But what they have in common is the fact that the ability of an individual to torture cannot be held to be within the bounds of what is normal.

Lauretta Bender has pointed to five causes of cruelty in children as the origin of sadism in the adult: 1) when a situation of family rivalry—with parents, brothers, or other members of the family—reaches a point of extreme intensity as a result of some external factor; 2) when a situation of rivalry occurs in a family situation that is not normal for the child—for example, in an adoptive home in which positive emotional responses are not sufficiently strong to be able to control aggressive tendencies; 3) when organic factors cause the child to feel inferior and abandoned and in need of greater love, of which it is deprived; 4) when educational difficulties are intolerable for a child with enough understanding to be able to be aware of an inferior status that it sees being forced upon it; 5) when the rule of family behavior is one of severe aggression in the parents and the child has to protect itself against them by reacting in the only way it knows how.

"These abnormal emotional experiences prematurely distort and divert the child's character until it results in a psychopathic personality, highly distorted and perverted in its intellectual, emotional, and sexual structures. The more authoritarian and frustrated the forms of family relationships, the greater will be the aggression that regulates them, and the greater will be the affective deficiencies of the developing human being. The sadomasochist suffers from psychosexual infantilism; he has not been able to develop, he is slow to mature, and he bears within himself an exaggerated burden of aggression and dependency." (*The Torturer*, M. Fernández.)

"These characteristics — aggression and dependency — fit perfectly into the framework of the torturer: He has to have someone give him orders and lead him, and possibly punish him, at the same time that he carries out his contemptible role in torture. It is a matter of destroying coldly and deliberately, with full recognition of his responsibility, not only the person but the personality of the one who is tortured. He looks on the latter as something very different from himself; he regards his victim as being strong, independent, and free, capable of standing up to him and having his own distinct ideology. He uses every possible physical and psychological means to get the information he wants. This creature — a sick person and social refuse at one and the same time — usually disassoci-

ates himself from his acts and feigns acts of kindness and family tenderness, is moved by the suffering of animals, etc.

"Our social organization prematurely imposes harsh repressive structures in such a way that our entire society is infused with violence. But aggression is not innate in the individual, but is a distortion of full development as a social being and is a product of the frustration of his basic human needs.

"But the torturer is not the only one responsible for his acts; also responsible are those who make up, and ultimately determine the course of, a society that generates the causes of family sicknesses, that retains, promotes, and makes use of these sick persons for its own ends."

[To be continued.]

immediate among the student population. On June 7, a meeting of 1,000 students voted to strike and set up an interuniversity coordinating apparatus.

On the night of June 8, a silent march was held around the slogan "Freedom for the comrades."

Support grew among the university population. The rector of the provincial university and all of the deans demanded that the prisoners be released. A top governing body of the university sent telegrams of protest to leading government figures, including General Lanusse and Minister of the Interior Mor Roig. A meeting of professors, teaching staff, and graduate students voted to organize a march encompassing all levels of the faculty. Statements of protest and solidarity came from a number of unions, among them those representing workers in light and power, press, private petroleum, milling, automotive transportation, banking, and graphics. They also called on the CGT (Confederación General del Trabajo — General Confederation of Labor) to call a meeting to vote on a proposal to hold a work stoppage demanding the release of the arrested students.

Statements of solidarity were also issued by a series of political groups, including the UCR (Unión Cívica Radical — Radical Civic Union), the "62 Organizations," the PSA, the FIP (Frente de Izquierda Popular — Front of the Popular Left), the Communist party, the PSP (Partido Socialista Popular — Popular Socialist party), the Bar Association, the Peronist Lawyers Center, the Provincial University Workers Association, the Association of Psychologists, the Society of Architects, etc.

On June 12, the scope of the protests increased considerably with the involvement of the secondary school students and, especially, with the decision of the CGT to organize a general work stoppage on June 14. The same day, four of the five persons who had been arrested were released. Three of them — Iglesias, Diez, and Sara Ferreiro de Chueque — are nevertheless to be eventually put on trial. The fifth, Sprovieri, remains imprisoned, and was reportedly to be transferred to Buenos Aires.

The June 14 general strike was held in spite of the release of the four, which was generally understood to be

## New Actions Planned in Mar del Plata

# General Strike Wins Release of Prisoners

On June 14, the city of Mar del Plata, 400 kilometers south of Buenos Aires, was completely shut down by a one-day general strike by workers and students. The June 14 issue of *Avanzada Socialista*, the newspaper of the Argentine Socialist party (PSA — Partido Socialista Argentino), called the mounting mobilization of workers and students "the most important reaction to date" in opposition to the "antisubversive" campaign of the repressive Lanusse regime.

The wave of unrest was provoked by the arrest of five students following a mass meeting at the university June 6. Approximately 1,000 had gathered there to mark the sixth month since the murder last December of the student Silvia Filler\* by armed fascists who invaded a peaceful student assembly and opened fire on the participants. Speakers at the June 6 meeting included representatives from all tendencies in the student movement, Filler's father, and Marcos Chueque, a member of the PSA who was seriously wounded in the fascist assault. Chueque is one of the main witnesses in the case.

As the crowd was leaving the auditorium, people were savagely attacked by the police. "In the confusion," reported *Avanzada Socialista*, "a group of policemen dressed in civilian clothes singled out PSA comrades Jorge Sprovieri, Sara Ferreiro de Chueque, and Marisol Diez, and arrested them along with the student Alfredo Iglesias." Later that evening, Marcos Chueque was also arrested at his home.

Along with Chueque, Sprovieri is a key witness in the case against the fascist gang, a number of whom are currently in jail. The arrests were seen as a blatant attempt on the part of the police to side with the fascists by dealing a blow to the plaintiffs in the case. The newspaper *La Capital* commented in its June 10 issue: "The impression, shared by people on all levels, is that this is an attempt to eliminate obstacles so that members of the CNU [the fascist group that murdered Filler] can be set free before long."

An indication of the complicity of the police with the fascists is the fact that two of those arrested — Chueque and Iglesias — were actually placed in the very same cell in which the members of the fascist band were being held, thereby risking not only their well-being but even their lives.

The response to these arrests was

\* Our article on the Mar del Plata general strike in our June 26 issue incorrectly gives Filler's first name as Susana. — IP



a concession to the success of the mass mobilizations.

A coordinating committee of various political parties has been formed to help organize a continuing struggle for freedom for Sprovieri and demand-

## Allende Toes CP's Line

# Chile Cabinet Shuffle Reflects Shift to Right

Chilean President Salvador Allende announced June 17 that six members of his cabinet had been dropped. One who lost his post was Minister of Economy Pedro Vuskovic, who has been an advocate of moving ahead with the administrative take-over of large private companies on a list of ninety-one earmarked for state control. He is being replaced by a more moderate independent socialist, Carlos Matus Romo.

The cabinet shake-up suggests that the Communist party, which favors a slowdown in implementing this and other aspects of the Popular Unity program, has won out in the crisis that has threatened the coalition since mid-May. Certain left-wing elements in Allende's own Socialist party around Senator Carlos Altamirano favor mass mobilizations and extra-parliamentary struggle as a way of implementing the program and combatting the mounting danger from the right. They appear to be the losers in the cabinet shuffle.

According to *New York Times* correspondent Juan de Onís, on June 17 Allende announced that the new cabinet had been chosen "to carry forward a more clearly defined and better coordinated program against inflation, deficits in Chile's international payments and wage and price conflicts, as well as to improve relations between the state and private sectors of the economy." Inflation is expected to climb to a rate of 40 or 50 percent this year in contrast to 20 percent in 1971.

The CP is pushing for more than a "consolidation" of the economy, however. It would also like to crack down on the MIR (Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria—Movement of the Revolutionary Left) and reach an accommodation with the opposition

ing that no trials of any of those arrested be held. The participating parties thus far include the PSA, the FIP, the PSP, and the ENA (Encuentro Nacional de los Argentinos—National Encounter of Argentinians). □

Christian Democrats. "The CP would like to bring about a complete break with the MIR by the government coalition," wrote *Le Monde* correspondent Charles Vanhecke, June 14, "as well as an explicit condemnation of the illegal occupations of farm properties that are doing their part to cut the government off from the moderate section of the electorate—as several partial elections during the past few months have shown. Realizing that the government is at a political impasse, it is proposing a dialogue—and even an understanding—with the Christian Democrats, whose neutrality in the parliament is indispensable to the government if it wants to get any legislation passed."

Whether Allende will move to crack down on the MIR remains to be seen, but no time has been wasted in beginning the "dialogue" with the Christian Democrats. Allende met for nearly two hours in the presidential palace June 13 with the president of the opposition party, Renan Fuentealba, reported *Agence France-Presse*. The aim of the meeting was thought to be an attempt to reach agreement on the text of a new constitutional change setting clear limits on the three sectors of the economy (national, mixed, and private). Minister of Justice Jorge Tapia made this observation following the meeting: "In the final analysis, Popular Unity was never all that far removed from Christian Democracy."

The *New York Times*, an influential voice of U.S. imperialism, had kind words in a June 20 editorial for Allende's decision to reject the "radical counsel" of his own party in favor of the "more moderate and conciliatory approach urged by the Communists." It noted that "In thus shifting back toward the center of Chile's political spectrum, Dr. Allende has re-

duced the danger of large-scale civil strife and given his revamped Government its best chance to revive a sagging economy." It also tossed in a bit of advice to the right-wing Chilean opposition: "It should always be the objective of Chile's now-united democratic opposition not to force Dr. Allende out of office but to make his Government play by well-established rules." The cabinet shuffle shows that the imperialists can rely on the Communist party to play this watchdog role.

Other changes in the cabinet include the appointment of Mireya Baltra, a Communist deputy, as minister of labor; Orlando Millas, a prominent member of the CP's Political Committee, as minister of finance; Aníbel Palma, a Radical party member and formerly under secretary of foreign affairs, as minister of education; and Luis Matte, a civil engineer described as "an independent of the left," as minister of housing.

In another development, a military tribunal in Santiago on June 16 sentenced ex-General Roberto Viaux to twenty years in jail and five years in exile for masterminding the murder of General René Schneider on October 22, 1970. Schneider was murdered by a right-wing commando in an attempt to create chaos and prevent Allende from assuming the presidency.

The court also sentenced Jaime Melgoza, accused of being one of the three persons who actually shot Schneider (the two others have fled abroad), to the maximum sentence of life imprisonment. Raul Igualt, a retired colonel, was sentenced to ten years in jail and two other persons received fifteen and five years. □

## Neuman Trial Postponed

Giora Neuman, the young anti-Zionist revolutionist charged with refusing to submit to induction into the Israeli army of occupation, went on trial before a military tribunal June 11. Neuman has already served six months in jail and, if convicted, could face a five-year sentence.

At the request of the defense, the trial was postponed for one month, but a defense motion to transfer the case to a civilian court was rejected.

The movement in Neuman's defense took a step forward during June: A letter written by Jean-Paul Sartre expressing his support for Neuman received wide distribution in the Israeli press.

# Meir Launches Two Terror Raids Into Lebanon

By Jon Rothschild

Against the background of tragedy that is imperialism's contribution to the drama of world events, the United Nations Security Council has often provided attentive observers with the diverting spectacle of low farce. The June 24 special meeting to discuss the latest Israeli invasion of Lebanon was no exception. Huang Hua, the delegate of the People's Republic of China, had apparently rediscovered the existence of imperialism, without which, he said, Israel could not have perpetrated the attack. But Israeli delegate Yosef Tekoah had an answer ready. He brazenly asked the Chinese bureaucracy for support. "In the dawn of recorded history," said Tekoah, harking pretty far back, even for a Zionist ideologue, "there had been two nations [sic] in Asia—China in the East and Israel in the West.

"China knows that history did not begin with the Arab efforts to oust the Israelis from the Middle East. The people of China will recognize Israel's fundamental rights of peace and coexistence."

The regime that Tekoah represents had just finished giving the world a lesson in peace and coexistence. In

two days of unprovoked attacks on Lebanese territory, the Israeli armed forces had killed dozens of civilians and destroyed a large number of houses belonging to Palestinian refugees.

The first attack came on June 21, when an Israeli armored force struck into southern Lebanon near the vil-

laged of Ramieh. Lebanese officials said five Israeli tanks and three half-tracks had ambushed five Syrian officers who were touring border areas. The Syrians, along with several of their Lebanese escorts, were taken prisoner.

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een sources said "scores of guerrillas" were killed or wounded. This assault, the Zionist regime said, was retaliation for a rocket attack on the Israeli village of Qiryat Shemona, an attack which took place after the Hasbaya raids and in which no casualties were reported.

The Israeli explanation for the two invasions is thus, as usual, a lie. There is in fact no evidence that there has been any significant increase in fedayeen military operations in recent weeks. The June 14 *New York Times* printed a report by Henry Kamm describing the present situation of the fedayeen in southern Lebanon. The number of guerrillas in the area,

Kamm said, has been reduced from thousands (before the Israeli invasion in February) to about a hundred.

In a follow-up article in the June 19 *Times*, Kamm quoted a "high-ranking Lebanese security official" who virtually invited the Israeli armed forces to come to the Lebanese regime's aid in eliminating the Palestinian movement once and for all. The official complained that "we are in a bad situation" in trying to deal with the fedayeen. "Speaking of Israel, he said, 'They will have to take care of this. Their army is more powerful and has sophisticated electronic devices.'"

Seemingly echoing his thoughts from the other side of the border,

Israeli Prime Minister Golda Meir said on June 23, "If the danger is from over the border and the Lebanese Government is unable to handle it, we don't have any choice but to do it ourselves."

The trouble is that the "danger" is at present nearly nonexistent. The real thrust of the Israeli border policy is to see that in the future there will be no danger from the Palestinian revolutionary movement. This entails the physical terrorization and political fragmentation of the Palestinian people, who must be pushed forever further from the borders of the "nation" that sprang to life at the dawn of recorded history. □

## If You Can't Face the Facts, Rule Them Out

# A Malignant Case of Sectarianism in Philosophy

By George Novack

The relation of philosophy to politics has been a subject of continual controversy within and around the socialist movement for over a century. Witness the criticisms of the utopian and "True" Socialists made by the creators of Marxism in the 1840's, Engels's pitiless dissection of Dühring's notions, Plekhanov's refutations of the subjective method of the Populist ideologues, and Lenin's polemics against the partisans of empiriocriticism.

The most significant dispute of this kind in the history of Trotskyism was connected with the struggle waged by Trotsky, Cannon, and their associates in 1939-40 against the petty-bourgeois opposition led by Burnham, Shachtman, and Abern, who abjured the method of Marxism in their departure from the principles and positions of the Fourth International. The nature of dialectical materialism and its role in the practice of revolutionary politics was thoroughly illuminated in the course of that conflict.

Trotsky's contributions to the discussion are reprinted in the collection *In Defense of Marxism*. His views can be summarized in the following points. Dialectical materialism is the irreplaceable philosophic foundation of scientific socialism. Its mainspring is the dialectical method of thought whose laws and categories reflect the most general features of a changing world. This logic is especially useful in clarifying contradictory processes and complex problems of the class struggle. Rejection of dialectics under the pressure of nonproletarian forces is a telltale sign of revisionism and opportunism. Its abandonment opens the door for the intrusion of obsolescent, inadequate, and inferior modes of thought. These are evidenced in the intellectual productions as well as the political orientations and conduct of their adherents.

Trotsky documented these propositions by analyzing

the specific errors committed by the unprincipled Burnham-Shachtman-Abern combination. It was imperative, he concluded, for the Socialist Workers party to uphold dialectical materialism and transmit its teachings to the younger generation in order to prevent infection by alien and incorrect theoretical tendencies and avoid aberrant habits of thought.

Trotsky primarily directed his arguments against the conception that philosophy in general, and dialectical materialism in particular, was of negligible use in dealing with political problems in the class struggle. This position was put forward by the chief theoretical inspirer of the opposition, James Burnham, who bluntly declared in *Science and Style*: "There is no sense at all in which dialectics . . . is fundamental in politics, none at all." (*In Defense of Marxism*, p. 196.)

Burnham was echoing the empiricists, positivists, and formalists, who divorce philosophy and logic in principle from sociology and politics, denying that they have any interconnection. The same opinion of their mutual irrelevance is held by diverse reformists who live from hand to mouth and from one crisis to the next without feeling the need for any theoretical grounding for their political activity or any consistent, thought-out perspective for the workers' movement.

In the course of time, dialectics teaches, everything is transformed into its opposite. This has been the case with the controversies over the relation of philosophic method to political practice on the fringes of the Fourth International. They have been turned about. Whereas in 1939-40 we had to do battle against an aggressive rightward-moving tendency in order to ward off the dangers of skepticism about the dialectical method, now, a third of a century later, it's necessary to expose the errors

and pretensions of sectarian phrasemongers represented by the Socialist Labour League in England and its satellite in the United States, the Workers League.\*

The Healyite approach to this question is the converse of Burnham's and Shachtman's. Whereas Burnham asserted that dialectics had no value in politics, the SLL maintains that everything else is of subordinate importance. Whereas Shachtman was indifferent to the philosophical aspects and implications of Marxism, the SLL leaders are fanatically obsessed by them. They advertise themselves to the radical public as the exclusive custodians, prime exponents, and peerless practitioners of the dialectical method.

They unremittingly campaign in their press and publications for "the understanding and development of dialectical materialism as the theory of knowledge of Marxism." This, they reiterate, is the most essential task of the revolutionary vanguard today.

Whoever questions this order of priorities or their misinterpretations of Marxism is condemned forthwith as a revisionist, liquidator, centrist, and "capitulator to the vendors of bourgeois idealist philosophy." These labels are culled from indictments of their erstwhile French, Hungarian, and Bolivian comrades in the International Committee with whom they have recently broken, ostensibly over this very issue. (The editor and contributing editors

\*In a series of articles entitled "The Liberal Philosophy of George Novack" Alex Steiner insinuates that I stayed on the sidelines in that struggle, ignoring a direct request from Trotsky for me to intervene. "There is no indication," he writes, "that Novack took any active part in the discussion, which was so crucial to the theoretical development of the SWP." (*Bulletin*, March 6, 1972.)

For the record, John G. Wright and I were assigned by the majority leadership to take responsibility for the education of the membership in Marxist theory both during and after the struggle. In the climactic debate between the contending factions in New York, Cannon presented the majority position on the political questions while I answered Burnham on the philosophical issues. But facts carry little weight in the Healy-Wohlforth Academy of Detraction and Distortion.

of *Intercontinental Press* have been targets of similar accusations for a much longer time.)

The French Internationalist Communist Organization (OCI) had for its own reasons refused to ratify the SLL's injunction that "Everywhere revolutionary youth must devote itself *first of all* (our emphasis) to the task of developing Marxist theory through a struggle against bourgeois ideology in all the forms it takes in the workers movement." American radicals will understand why. They have become familiar with this kind of diversionary politics based on resolutions and declamations against one or another aspect of "bourgeois ideology." Ultralefts such as Progressive Labor, sometimes joined by opportunists like the CP, are accustomed to counterpose campaigns inveighing against "racism" and "sexism" in the abstract to the organization of mass actions on specific issues such as the struggle for Black control of the schools in the Black communities or for the repeal of laws restricting women's right of abortion. And when these groups encounter resistance from serious militants, they, like the Healyites, invariably hurl unrestrained epithets against their opponents for lack of political arguments.

Healy, Slaughter, Banda, and their overseas disciples fall into the category of sectarian dogmatists in philosophy as in politics. Ideologues of this type seize upon a correct idea and twist it into a caricature that has little correspondence with reality. What they lack above all is a sense of proportion. This unrealism runs through all their positions from their appraisals of the state of the class struggle to their perversion of dialectical materialism.

There are persons who appear to talk quite sensibly until we notice that they have one-track minds and are consumed by a single subject. The Healyite evangelists are like that. They are monomaniacs on the subject of the dialectical method. To them everything else in working-class politics is directly and unconditionally hooked up with their crusade on behalf of the dialectical gospel.

Having learned from Trotsky that a correct philosophical doctrine is indispensable for revolutionary politics, they inflate this truth beyond measure and apply it in the most exaggerated, indiscriminate, and absolutistic manner. From a sound premise they draw the illegitimate conclusion that dialectical materialism is the central element in the political life of the revolutionary vanguard. This is not so.

Theory is united with practice in Marxist politics. The living link between them in the proletarian struggle for power is the revolutionary party. The basis of the party is its principles and program, not its philosophic method. Although the program of revolutionary socialism has been worked out and is refined with the aid of dialectical materialism, it does not coincide with it.

The distinction between the two is expressed, among other places, in the requirements for party membership. Whoever agrees with the programmatic positions and perspectives of the party and acts in a disciplined way to implement them is eligible to join its ranks.

The sectarians are not content with these standards. They demand in addition that all their members and collaborators swear by the teachings of dialectics as they misconstrue them. This criterion is erected into the supreme test of loyalty to the movement.

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ciples cannot exact any such philosophical loyalty test from its militants. It is not a religious denomination but a combat organization dedicated to transforming society. It judges people by where they stand and what they do in the arena of anticapitalist action, not by what they profess or believe in the field of philosophy.

Each and every adherent to the vanguard party cannot be expected or obliged to subscribe, hand on heart, to its philosophic outlook. This prescription would exclude all nondialecticians and nonmaterialists from its ranks. Of course, it is incumbent upon the Marxist party to educate its members in the ideas and spirit of dialectical materialism and counter the influence of antiscientific tendencies inside and outside its organization. But this is a pedagogical and propagandistic task dependent upon rational persuasion leading to conviction in free discussion.

Ideas, and still less philosophical systems and their theories of knowledge, cannot be imposed upon people's minds; and a genuine Marxist party would not bring organizational pressure to bear upon individual members to conform to official opinion in these matters.

The SLL, on the other hand, insists upon total compliance, at least outwardly, with its eccentric version of Marxist theory. The Workers League, its echo chamber in the United States, has, we have heard, expelled critics for the dereliction of "idealism." What this accusation really means is that the hapless individual has dared question some policy or action of the national leaders who, in the name of defending the Holy Grail, crack down on anyone who steps out of line.

This bureaucratic practice does not belong to the Marxist tradition. It is borrowed from Stalinism, which commands all the faithful to pay obeisance to scholasticized "diamat" on penalty of expulsion. Purely ideological dissent or nonconformity is ipso facto branded as disloyalty.

The Healyites rightly regard Trotsky as a high authority in these matters and their misappropriation of his mantle deceives some people. But Trotsky had a different conception of the place of dialectical materialism in the totality of party life. During his most vigorous defense of Marxist philosophy against its detractors, he stated: "To demand that every party member occupy himself with the philosophy of dialectics naturally would be lifeless pedantry." (*In Defense of Marxism*, p. 45.) This is precisely what the Healyites call for. They are the "lifeless pedants" Trotsky warned against.

All members of the revolutionary party must accept, try to understand, and apply to the best of their capacity its principles, program, and perspectives. But such a demand cannot be extended to include the philosophy of dialectics. This is a voluntary, not a mandatory, aspect of party activity and personal development.

In 1940 Trotsky was willing to reserve room in the leadership of the SWP and also the Fourth International for individuals and groupings that rejected dialectical materialism or depreciated its importance, provided they abided by the stated program. This policy did not signify that he undervalued the Marxist method of thought in any respect. It was a realistic recognition that the struggle for philosophical ideas and the doctrine which constitutes the foundation of the revolutionary program does not override at all times other, more pressing tasks and objectives.

Trotsky engaged in hundreds of controversies over forty years. Many of his polemical writings contain valuable observations on the use and abuse of the Marxist method. But in only a few of these did he bring the role of dialectical reasoning to the fore. He did so when it was appropriate and urgent, as in the 1939-40 dispute over the fundamentals of Marxism. When in their flight from Trotskyism the leaders of the petty-bourgeois opposition disclaimed and disparaged the logical method of scientific socialism, Trotsky took up the challenge and probed the question to the bottom for the education of the party cadres. He knew how to invoke and apply its ideas when the issues at stake warranted. But he did not make an ikon out of this logical instrument or treat it as an end in itself.

The Healyites for their part make a fetish out of the dialectical method. They convert it into a hollow abstraction which they beat like a drum. For them it is a shibboleth around which the devotees must gather. They resemble idealistic thinkers in their reverential attitude toward a self-subsistent method detached from social reality.

The lifestream of materialist dialectics flows from its indissoluble merging with the facts of the real world. This is the source of the concrete content that makes its concepts meaningful and the method fruitful.

The Healyites, however, scornfully dismiss as a pragmatist or empiricist anyone who gives primacy to the facts. Here again they stand in opposition to Trotsky's position. In 1934 he told one of Healy's precursors, the Belgian sectarian Vereecken: "But we Marxists are interested, above all, in facts." (*Writings of Leon Trotsky*, 1934-35, p. 211.)

By their criteria, such a statement would classify Trotsky as a dangerous petty-bourgeois empiricist who had to be fought tooth and nail. Actually Trotsky was voicing the mandate of materialism that facts, not ideas or personal opinions, determine what is so and not so, what is true and what is false, what is effective and what is misleading in action.

The SLL dogmatists, who shout so loudly about the struggle for the materialist dialectic in general, usually abstain from resorting to its procedures when it comes to concrete cases. These champion swimmers do not like to get wet.

Let us dwell upon two pertinent examples of their barrenness. Dialectical logic should enable competent Marxist thinkers to comprehend and cope with objective contradictions in all sectors of reality, and especially to analyze complex political phenomena.

The 1959 Cuban revolution traversed an extremely unusual path of development that diverged in salient respects from the pattern of the October 1917 revolution. In overthrowing Batista, the insurrectionary guerrilla forces proceeded from the rural areas to the cities and the capital while the armed struggle was led, not by a party with a Marxist program, but by a band of humanistic revolutionaries in the July 26 Movement. Yet in two years Castro and his followers went forward from demolishing the military dictatorship to expropriating the native and foreign capitalists and converting Cuba into a workers state. No one had foreseen this eventuality, its principal authors included.

These unexpected and anomalous developments offered, it would seem, a splendid opportunity for self-proclaimed masters of the Marxist method to display their skill. Moreover, it would have been seemly for would-be supporters of Trotsky to recognize that the Cuban events strikingly confirmed the unfolding of the permanent revolution in a colonial country fighting against imperialism for its national independence and social liberation. Historical realization is, after all, the supreme test of the truth of a theory that teaches the inseparable interdependence of the democratic and socialist objectives in our epoch.

What did the best minds of the SLL come up with? Confronted with the unlikely features that characterized the revolutionary process, they ran away from its objective contradictions and buried their heads in the sand. They simply refused to acknowledge fundamental facts known to the whole world.

Capitalist relations, they continue to assert to this day, have remained intact in Cuba; and Castro, like Batista, they say, heads a capitalist regime. These absurdities demonstrate how strident proclamations of undying fidelity to dialectical materialism can mask an incapacity to use its principles in making a correct assessment of so epoch-making an event as the first socialist revolution in the Americas.

The Healyites are not totally bereft of dialectical sense. They have recognized that under certain exceptional conditions capitalism could be abolished by Stalinist parties, as happened in Eastern Europe and China. But they balked when this was done without the benefit of the Soviet army through a non-Stalinist—and a non-Trotskyist—leadership. Such a contradictory state of affairs was beyond their limited comprehension. So they shut their eyes and their minds to what really happened.

But, as Trotsky observed, when dialectics goes out the door, other modes of thought come in the window. In order to file everything in familiar pigeonholes in their minds, the Healyites classify Cuba as state capitalist. There is a name for this sort of thinking that proceeds in defiance of the facts. It is formalistic and schematic, not dialectical; unrealistic, not materialistic.

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A common appraisal of the Cuban revolution and its results promoted the reunification of the divided forces of the Fourth International in 1963. A rump organization called the International Committee, consisting of the SLL in England and the OCI of France, stayed by itself for the next eight years.

Although the OCI did not agree with the SLL's bizarre position on Cuba, the two managed to coexist under the same tent during that time. Then all of a sudden at the end of 1971 they openly split, exploding the pretension that the International Committee was a viable alternative to the Fourth International.

Since Paris is closer to London than Havana, it should be an easier chore for the SLL participants to give a clear, coherent, and convincing explanation of the split along dialectical lines. So far their statements have had a purely empirical character, being limited to listing a set of specific differences that cropped up over the past two years between them and the OCI. But why did these differences evolve to the point of irreconcilable antagonism, and come to a head so abruptly? They do not tell us

what the root causes of the rupture were.

Their explanation remains superficial because they do not know what they themselves really are as a political-theoretical current. To understand what is behind the breakup of the IC, it is necessary to understand the essential political character and direction of the disputants.

As the record shows, the Healyites are sectarians in theory and practice (which does not preclude an occasional opportunistic sortie.) The Lambertists of the OCI are opportunistic by inclination, as evidenced in their trade-union orientation, electoral policies, and international alignments. After the reunification of the Fourth International in 1963, the pair could get along in a loose alliance because of their common hostility to the organization, positions, and perspectives of the authentic Trotskyists in the Fourth International.

This cement began to crumble as the two groups kept pulling in divergent directions in their respective countries and on questions of world politics. It only remained for one of the partners to find a convenient occasion to part company with the other. Differences over the conduct of the Lora group in Bolivia seemingly precipitated the split.

But Healy, true to form, has a more "profound" rationalization for it. He claims that the French OCI did not see the urgency of inculcating the ideas of dialectical materialism in the youth. That was the OCI's unpardonable offense. Just as Wohlforth expels dissidents for "idealism," so Healy casts out Lambert over philosophic divergences.

This lame excuse still does not add up to a dialectical analysis which would have to set forth the nature of the contradictory factors and the course of their development that led to the split.

The truth is that the rump International Committee set up by Healy in 1963 has been an abortive combination of sectarians and opportunists who formed an unprincipled bloc against Trotskyism. Once its dissimilar components clashed, their ephemeral coalition was shattered. That is a correct accounting of the logic that underlay the split and rendered it inevitable.

Healy, however, dispenses with applying any such dialectical acumen to this unpleasant episode in his international maneuverings. To do so would cut the ground from under his feet. He would gain more credence if he lectured on dialectics less and utilized it more.

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Systematized sectarianism is one of the worst varieties of that virulent political disease. In the mouths of the Healyites, dialectics is nothing but an incantation, a form of mumbo-jumbo.

The bombast and bluster of these phrasemongers may impress some inexperienced and credulous people who have still to deepen their knowledge of the essentials of Marxism and absorb the traditions of Trotskyism. It would not be the first counterfeit to temporarily pass for good coin.

But reiteration of formulas cannot be a satisfactory substitute for the real thing in philosophy or politics. Such a sterile approach has nothing in common with fruitful and creative application of the method of scientific socialism.

June 15, 1972

*Intercontinental Press*

# DOCUMENTS

## Letter of 17 Communists on Russification of Latvia

[The following open letter by seventeen Latvian Communists has been excerpted by several Western publications since it was first summarized in the January 30 issue of the Swedish daily *Dagens Nyheter*. The attention it has attracted occasioned a "rebuttal" by the official Soviet press, claiming that the letter is a forgery. (See *Intercontinental Press*, April 17, p. 432.)

[We reprint below the full text of the letter. It was accompanied by a note reading, "Please forward copies to Communist party leaders in Rumania, Yugoslavia, France, Austria, and Spain, as well as to parties in any other countries you choose. Please forward personal copies to Comrades Aragon and Garaudy in France."]

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Dear Comrades,

We are seventeen Latvian communists, seeking your help. We are writing to you because we do not see any other way of affecting certain actions and events which cause great harm to the communist movement, to Marxism-Leninism, and to our own and other small nations.

Many communists have voiced in their party organizations the concerns we are expressing here, and some have appealed to the Central Committee of the Communist party of the Soviet Union. Repressions have been the only results.

In order for you to understand us better, we would like to say a few words about ourselves. We are not opportunists, nor are we "leftists" or "rightists." We are communists and most of us became communists twenty-five to thirty-five, or more, years ago. We wish only success for socialism, for Marxism-Leninism, and for the whole of mankind.

All of us were born and have lived in Latvia, and most of us have personally experienced the deficiencies of a bourgeois regime. We joined the party at a time when it was still underground. We endured repressions, were confined to prisons, and suffered under the yoke of bourgeois Latvia. The struggle to establish Soviet power and a socialistic order was our main goal in life. We all studied Marxism-Leninism. During the last world war, we were members of the Soviet armed forces or partisan groups and fought the Nazi aggressors. During the postwar years, we all actively participated in building socialism in our land.

With a clear conscience, we did everything in our power to carry out the teachings of Marx, Engels, and Lenin. However, it became painfully clear to us that

with each passing year their ideas became more distorted, that the teachings of Lenin are used here as a cover for Great Russian chauvinism, that deeds no longer agree with words, that we are complicating the work of communists in other countries, that we are impeding this work instead of enhancing it.

Originally we believed that this was due simply to the errors of a few individual local officials who did not realize the harmful effects of their attitudes. With time, however, it became apparent to us that the leadership of the Soviet Communist party had deliberately adopted a policy of Great Russian chauvinism and that the forcible assimilation of the small USSR nations had been set as one of the most immediate and important domestic policy goals.

Latvia is such a small country that its history, geography, and economic situation probably are not known to many outsiders.

Already 2,000 years ago the Indo-European tribes of Kursi, Seli, Zemgali, and Letgali inhabited the eastern shores of the Baltic Sea. Because they inhabited the shores of sea gulfs and the estuaries of navigable rivers, such as Daugava, Visla, Venta, and others, their territories attracted the attention of nations both to the east and west, principally Germany and Russia. Consequently, these tribes were conquered in the thirteenth century with the cross and the sword of the German Crusaders. The ancestors of the Latvian people lived for 700 years under the oppression of the German Crusaders and barons.

But the Russian czars always dreamed of capturing the ice-free ports of Ventspils, Liepaja, Riga, and Tallin.

Czar Peter I fulfilled this dream and our ancestors came under Russian domination. From time to time various areas of Latvia were also occupied by the Poles and the Swedes. All these conquerors tried to assimilate the local tribes, but without success. Later these tribes evolved as the nations of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia, gaining their independence in 1918, after World War I.

The territory of Latvia covered 66,000 square kilometers, with 2,000,000 inhabitants, 76 percent of them Latvians. Latvia established a democratic bourgeois government with a multi-party system. A political class struggle took place and, according to the division of power, the system was more or less democratic. The trade unions and the Social Democratic party from 1918 to 1934 functioned legally, but the Communist party was underground from 1919 to 1940.

Before World War II the Soviet Union forced Ulmanis, the head of the Latvian bourgeois government, to sign an agreement permitting the stationing of large garrisons of the Red Army in Latvia, but in 1940, with the help of the Red Army, the bourgeois government was overthrown and Latvia was annexed by the Soviet Union.

During the democratic bourgeois rule, Latvian economy and cultural life achieved significant progress. Latvia, along with Denmark and the Netherlands, supplied the world's markets with the highest quality butter, cheese, eggs, bacon, lumber, and flax. It also exported electrotechnical equipment, optical goods, and other industrial products. It had a national university with nine faculties, four other institutions for higher education, opera, a theater of music, several theaters of drama, and many groups of performing artists.

During World War II, approximately 40,000 people were evacuated to the interior of the Soviet Union. Two Latvian divisions fought in the ranks of the Red Army. The rest of the indigenous population remained in Latvia. Some of the people who had remained in Latvia were annihilated by the German fascists. Some died on the front in battle against the Red Army, and, at the end of the war, some emigrated to Western countries (West Germany, Sweden, Australia, United States, etc.).

After World War II, the CPSU CC [Communist party of the Soviet Union Central Committee] established as its goal to develop a permanent power base in the territories of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia, and began the forceful colonization of these territories with Russians, Byelorussians, and Ukrainians. It also began the forceful assimilation of Latvians, Lithuanians, and Estonians, as well as other minority nationalities, disregarding the fact that such actions clearly speak against the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

Since we cannot sign this letter, you may think that the things we have said are not true, that we have exaggerated certain shortcomings that are unavoidable in any endeavor.

No, it is not so. Let the facts speak for themselves. Let us start with those truthful words that are written in the resolutions of the CPSU CC meeting on June 12, 1953 (the only such truthful resolution).

In his report about this resolution by the Presidium of the CPSU CC, the member of CC and candidate of the Presidium

of CPSU CC Janis Kalnberzins said at the plenary session of Latvian CP CC on June 22, 1953:

"The Presidium of CPSU CC resolved to:

"1) Charge all party and state organs with the task to correct thoroughly the situation in the national republics—to put an end to the mutilation of Soviet national policy.

"2) To organize the preparation, education, and wide selection for leadership positions of the members of local nationalities, to abandon the present practice of selecting leaders who are not of the local nationality, and to relieve individuals who do not have the command of the native language, and have them recalled by the CPSU CC.

"3) All official business in the national republics should be conducted in native languages."

Latvian CP CC First Secretary Kalnberzins stated in this Latvian CP CC plenary session that the CPSU CC Presidium's resolution was harsh, but in regard to the Latvian SSR it was correct. Stated in this ruling was that Latvian CP CC and Council of Deputies (obviously under pressure from Moscow) up until then had grossly overstepped Lenin's principles of national policy. He further stated that numerous party, Soviet, and economic executives, basing their actions on false vigilance, expressed their distrust of the local cadres, and for leading positions picked mostly non-Latvians. These people did not understand the Latvian language and were ignorant of local conditions. Such a position taken against the local cadres had resulted in a situation such that in the Latvian CP CC only 42 percent of its members were Latvians, while among the party secretaries from cities and districts only 47 percent were Latvians. Besides many of them were Latvians in name only and did not know the Latvian language, having lived many years, or their entire lives, in Russia.

Who knows to what extent this action had been directed from above, but Kalnberzins (very loyal to Moscow) then correctly said that there was an especially unsatisfactory situation from a national group viewpoint in the city of Riga party organization. In the City Council division cadre there were no Latvians, and among thirty-one instructors only two were Latvians.

The cadre policy and party organization membership was set by the regional organization division and the party's charter organization secretary. It was in these circles that there were the fewest Latvians—the regional committee divisions each had but one Latvian, and among the charter organization secretaries, only 17 percent were Latvians.

Such unfounded mistrust of Latvian workers, farmers, and working intelligentsia, combined with the described party cadre membership, had led to the situation that among Riga communists there were only 18 percent Latvians.

This gross distortion of national poli-

tics and discrimination against Latvians mentioned in the Latvian CP CC plenum was acknowledged by such a sycophant of power politics as Arvids Pelse, the then Latvian CP CC propaganda secretary, present CPSU CC policy bureau member, and CPSU CC Control Committee chairman. Speaking about the CPSU CC plenary resolution, he said:

"The resolution gives clear and unequivocal instructions—first of all, to improve the basic situation in the republic, to end distortion of Soviet national policy . . . to prepare, to train, and to appoint Latvian cadres to leading positions in the near future, on a large-scale basis."

From this statement, it is obvious that it was officially acknowledged in 1953 (the only time since Lenin's death) that the Marxist-Leninist national policy in our country had been grossly distorted (and is still being grossly distorted today).

But did this distortion end after this plenary session? No. The above-mentioned course continued but a short time. After that, even though the plenary resolution was never repealed, all intended changes were halted and everything remained as it had been before. Even more, in the national republics the determined program for the coercive assimilation of small nationality groups was enacted even more forcibly and consistently.

What is the main course of this program and how is it enacted? The first main task is to transfer from Russia, White Russia, and the Ukraine as many Russians, White Russians, and Ukrainians as possible to Latvia (and to other Baltic states) for permanent settlement.

How is this first main task enacted?

The Soviet Union CP CC did not trust the national republic CP CC. Thus:

1) For the Latvian CP CC, and likewise for all other republic CP CCs, a Soviet Union CP CC organizational bureau (orgbureau) was established for Latvian affairs. The bureau's function was to control and direct the Latvian CP CC and the republic's overall politics. Shatalin was chosen the orgbureau's chairman, but was later replaced by Rjazanov.

2) For the Latvian CP CC second secretary position Moscow appointed Ivan Lebedev and for the Latvian CP CC first secretary in cadre affairs, Fjodor Titov. These positions are still held by appointed Russians. At the present time the Latvian CP CC second secretary position is held by Belucha, a Russian sent from Leningrad.

3) The orgbureau and these "high commissars" from Moscow have continually directed the republic's cadre politics so that all leading positions—and primarily all party, state, and economic department head positions—are given to Russian newcomers. These people in turn grant other newcomers preference for registration in cities, provide apartments, and appoint them to better jobs.

4) To guarantee a massive influx of Russians, White Russians, and Ukrainians into the Latvian republic, federal,

interrepublican, and zonal government departments have been set up in Latvia, and the construction of new large industries, as well as expansion of existing plants, has been undertaken, disregarding any economic necessity.

The construction personnel for these projects were collected and brought in from cities outside of the republic; raw materials were brought in from the Urals or the Don basin (i.e., from places 3,000-4,000 kilometers away); similarly, the labor force and the specialists were imported, but the production was exported from the republic. For this reason a diesel equipment factory, a factory making electrical accessories for automobiles (Autoelektropribor), a hydrometric equipment factory (Gidrometpribor), and a turbine factory were built in Riga. Extensive synthetic-fiber plants were built in Daugavpils. The imported labor force for these plants has formed a fair-sized town with almost no Latvian inhabitants. A large tricot garment factory and many other plants have been established in Ogre.

Literally, in every regional city new plants are being or have been built. The construction labor, specialists, and production labor are imported, but the products are sent to the entire USSR.

Although Latvia had a sufficient number of generating stations, which have provided electric power for the republic, and Russia has many large rivers, imported workers have built a hydroelectric station in the River Daugava at Plavinas, and a city—Stucka—has been built for the construction forces, and consequently a new region has been formed in the republic.

5) Although the depletion of forests has exceeded reforestation for every year since the war, forests are being barbarically destroyed, turning large areas into swamps and leading to the importing of raw materials for the local furniture industry. For the last few years lumberjacks have been and are still being brought into Latvia from Russia, White Russia, and the Ukraine. The destruction of the forests continues and the imported lumberjacks settle permanently in the republic.

This policy has led to the present situation where between 25,000 and 35,000 additional people each year become permanent residents of Riga. Total population has increased by a factor of 2.5. As a result, whereas Latvians in Latvia were 62 percent of the population in 1959, in 1970 they accounted for 57 percent of the population. Similarly, the population of Riga was 45 percent Latvian in 1959 and only 40 percent Latvian in 1970.

The future result of such a policy can be clearly discerned from the fate of the former Karelian Soviet Socialist Republic. It exists no more, as it has been liquidated because the local nationals make up less than half of the total population of the republic. Now Karelia is a part of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Re-



public. A similar fate awaits the Kazakh SSR and Latvia.

6) Absorption of the local population into the mass of arriving Russians, White Russians, and Ukrainians is also furthered by the establishing of large bases for the armed forces and border guards on Latvian soil, as well as the building of dozens of medical clinics, rest homes, and tourist facilities for the use of the entire Soviet Union. Rigas Jurmala (the beach area on the Baltic Sea) is now an official Soviet Union resort and there remain few local residents.

This has been the policy ever since the end of World War II and in the last two years it has been further reinforced. In our republic there are already many large firms where almost no Latvians remain among the workers, technicians-engineers, or management (e.g., "REZ," Diselstroitelnij zavod, Gidrometpribor, and many others), and there are other companies where the majority of workers are Latvian, but management does not understand the Latvian language (Popov radio factory, Wagon Car Mfg., Autoelektropribor, Rigas Audums, etc.).

There are bureaus and departments where few Latvians are employed. For example, in the Interior Department system of Riga there are about 1,500 workers, but only about 300 of these are Latvians.

Among the employees in the Commerce Department, a majority (51%) does not speak Latvian and only 29% of the management positions are filled by Latvians.

There are very few Latvians in construction. Approximately 65% of the physicians who work in Riga's medical institutions do not understand Latvian, and because of this there are often gross mistakes made in diagnosis as well as in prescribing treatment.

All of this naturally leads to rightful indignation among the local population.

In achieving the first basic aim, the increase in the number of non-Latvians in the republic, steps are also being taken to achieve the second basic aim, which is to assimilate the Latvians and lead to the Russian way of life throughout Latvia.

To achieve this the following things already have been done and are still being done:

1. The arrivals' demands for increased Russian-language radio and television programming have been met. Currently, one radio station and one television station broadcast programs only in Russian, while the others broadcast programs bilingually. Thus, approximately two-thirds of radio and television broadcasts are in Russian. Jelinskis, the former director of Riga's broadcast center, resisted the arrivals' demands and was fired.

2. Regardless of the accessibility in Latvia of all newspapers, magazines, and books published in the Soviet Union, approximately half of all periodicals issued in Latvia are in Russian. In Latvia there is a shortage of paper for publish-

ing works of Latvians and for school books; however, works of Russian writers are published, as well as school books in Russian.

3. In the republic's city, regional, and most of the local municipal organizations, as well as in all enterprises, all business is conducted in Russian.

4. With the exception of such collectives as the Latvian newspapers and magazines, Latvian theaters and schools, and partially the farm collectives, all gatherings and meetings are conducted in Russian.

There are many collectives where the absolute majority is Latvian; however, if there is only one Russian in the collective, his demand that meetings be conducted in Russian is met. If this is not done, the collective is accused of nationalism.

5. In cities and villages the formation of the so-called united schools, kindergartens, and children's homes continues. In practice this means that Russian-language kindergartens and schools remain unchanged, but in all the formerly Latvian-language institutions classes in Russian are instituted. Thereafter, in these cases, all pedagogical meetings, teacher and student meetings, as well as the meetings of the Young Pioneers, are conducted in Russian. Excepting the rural districts of Kurzeme, Zemgale, and Vidzeme, few Latvian kindergartens, children's homes, and schools remain.

6. In all high schools and institutions of higher learning there are extensive study programs in Russian.

7. In newspapers, radio and television broadcasts, meetings, and books—everywhere, every day, friendship with Russians is encouraged; widely propagandized are cases where Latvian girls marry Russians or Latvian youths marry Russian girls.

8. In the production of consumer goods, everything national has been eliminated. Formerly in Latvia, as in any other country, there were unique foods, special brands of confectionery, chocolates, cigarettes, but now there are only the brands of the Soviet Union: Belock, Lastocka, Kara-Kum, Kazbek, Belomorkahal, and others. In cafeterias and restaurants food is prepared according to the Russian recipes. National foods are rarities.

9. The Latvian people have a very important festival called "Ligo," which has been celebrated for hundreds of years, even during the German fascist occupation. Until last year, it was expressly forbidden to hold this festival. This year the festival again was not recognized, although it was not officially banned.

10. There are two approaches to our literary heritage. There are repeated editions of the works of such Russian authors as Tolstoi, Turgenev, Dostoevski, Gogol, Pushkin, Lermontov, and others. However, of the Latvian authors who wrote in the pre-Soviet era, only Rainis, Paegle, and Veidenbaums are fully recognized, and partial recognition is given to As-

pazija, Blaumanis, and a handful of others.

11. Riga is divided into six administrative regions, none of which has a locally derived name. They are named Lenin, Kirov, Moscow, Leningrad, October, and Proletarian.

12. Riga has streets that have been renamed after Lenin, Kirov, Sverdlov, Pushkin, Lermontov, Gogol, and Gorki. One street is named after Suvarov, who was a czarist governor. The street names that were dropped include Aspazija Boulevard (named after the best-known Latvian poet) and Krisjana Voldemara Street (named after an unrelenting exponent of Latvian nationhood).

13. In Riga today there is a memorial museum not only for Lenin, but also for Peter I—the Russian czar who conquered the Baltic states.

14. Latvian soldiers, called "strelnieki," played an important role in the October Revolution. Lenin himself gave them the important role of guarding the Kremlin during the most critical days of the revolution. During World War II, two Latvian divisions and a special aviation battalion heroically fought as part of the Red Army. Today, however, there are no separate Latvian military units; Latvian youths in the military are purposely not assigned to the Russian units stationed in Latvia, but are scattered throughout the Soviet Union as far from Latvia as possible.

15. Latvian professional and amateur theaters, ensembles, orchestras, and choirs cannot have a repertoire officially approved unless it contains Russian plays or songs. However, the Russian collective repertoires almost never include Latvian plays or songs.

We could continue enumerating more such facts and conditions that all support the same point, namely, that all expressions of Latvian nationalism are suppressed, that there is a forcible assimilation and no equality among nations, cultures, and traditions.

One could ask: Why are the Latvian people and Latvian communists silent?

They are not silent. There have been attempts to oppose this political policy.

For example, the former first secretary of the Riga committee of the Communist party, who later became vice chairman of the Latvian Socialist Soviet Republic, E. Berklavs, always spoke out against this injustice. For a time he was also supported by other members of the Central Committee of the Latvian Communist party.

But when his support grew to include a majority of the Central Committee members, the then first secretary of the Communist party of the [Union of] Soviet Socialist Republics, Comrade Khrushchev, made a personal trip to Latvia and later sent the secretary of the CPSU, Muchitinov. As a result, E. Berklavs was dismissed from his post as vice chairman of the Council of Ministers and expelled from the Central Committee Bureau and

the Central Committee, and was sent out of the Latvian republic.

For supporting E. Berklavs and opposing Great Russian chauvinism and opposing the mutilation of Marxism and Leninism, the following persons were also removed from their posts:

K. Ozolins, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic and Latvian Communist party Central Committee Bureau member;

Straujums, first secretary (after E. Berklavs) of the City of Riga Communist party Committee and Latvian Communist party Central Committee Bureau member;

Pizans, editor of the Latvian Communist party official newspaper, *Cina*, and Latvian Communist party Central Committee candidate;

E. Mukins, deputy planning chairman for the republic;

V. Kreitus, first deputy chairman of the City of Riga party Executive Committee;

Bisenieks, Latvian Communist party Central Committee Bureau member and secretary;

V. Krumins, Latvian Communist party Central Committee secretary;

P. Dzerve, director of the Economic Research Institute of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic's Academy of Science;

V. Kalpins, minister of culture and Latvian Communist party Central Committee Bureau member;

P. Cerkovskis, deputy minister of culture;

Prombergs, deputy health minister;

A. Nikonovs, minister of agriculture; Vallis, deputy minister of agriculture; Darbins, editor of the City of Riga official newspaper;

Ruskulis, first secretary of the Communist Youth League Central Committee;

Valters, Latvian Communist Youth League secretary;

Brencis, editor of the Latvian Communist Youth League official publication, *Padomju Jaunatne*;

Zandmanis, director of the Cadres Division of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic's Council of Ministers;

J. Kacens, supervisor of the Administrative Section of the Latvian Communist party Central Committee;

E. Liberts, minister of highways;

Plesums, chairman of the Control Commission of the Latvian Communist party Central Committee;

E. Erenstreite, senior adviser to the Council of Ministers;

J. Gibietis, member of the City of Riga Communist party Central Committee and supervisor of the Education Section of the City of Riga Communist party Executive Committee;

M. Vernere and Duskina and many other principals of intermediate schools.

All the significant party and government posts have now been filled with non-Latvians and Latvians who have spent their entire lives in Russia and who arrived in Latvia only after World War II.

The majority of them either do not speak any Latvian or speak very little. The facts speak for themselves.

The secretaries of the Central Committee of the Latvian Communist party are the following:

First Secretary Voss, Russian-born Latvian; as a rule, he doesn't speak Latvian in public.

Second Secretary Belucha, born Russian. Knows no Latvian at all.

Secretary of Propaganda Drizulis, Russian-born Latvian.

Secretary of Agriculture Verro, Estonian from Russia. Knows no Latvian at all.

Secretary of Industry Petersons, Russian-born Latvian. Speaks Latvian poorly.

Leaders of the Council of Ministers: Chairman Y. Ruben, Russian-born Latvian, speaks Latvian very poorly; Vice Chairman Bondaletov, born Russian, speaks no Latvian at all.

Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Latvian Soviet Republic V. P. Ruben, Russian-born Latvian, knows Latvian only superficially, does not speak Latvian in public.

It is almost a law that leading positions are filled by men without principles, men without personal views or opinions, sycophants, opportunists, and flatterers. Men of principles who have opinions and express them openly are barred from important positions.

Such are the conditions in Latvia; under such conditions live the people native to their republics in their own land.

Those Lithuanians, Estonians, Jews, Germans, Poles, and other minorities (except Russians) residing in Latvian territory do not have their ethnic heritages at all respected. Until 1940 (until the establishment of Soviet rule) in Latvia these minorities had their own elementary and secondary schools where they studied in their own language. They issued their own language newspapers, magazines, books; they had their own clubs, theaters, and other cultural and educational institutions. Now, in disregard of pertinent Marxist-Leninist principles dealing with ethnic questions, and contrary to the statements of USSR leaders that ethnic problems in the Soviet Union have been solved and that each nationality has been guaranteed complete freedom and equality, nothing of that kind is evident. In every republic the Russians have everything, people native to their republics have something, but others nothing at all. The 3,500,000 Jews residing in the Soviet Union have only one newspaper and only one magazine in their native language, and that only in their autonomous region. They are denied the right to have their own theaters, clubs, cultural and educational institutions, even in those cities where they number tens of thousands.

Esteemed comrades! In this letter we briefly illuminated actual conditions in the Soviet Union only from one viewpoint—that of the rights of ethnic mi-

norities. Just as cruelly mutilated in our midst are Marxist-Leninist teachings about inalienable human rights and freedoms, freedom of speech, Lenin's work ethic, and other fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism.

Why are we writing to you about all this? Why have we waited so long to write? What are we asking you to do, what are we proposing?

As explained earlier in this letter, we became Communists a long time ago. We were acquainted with the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and the basics of the socialist state in theory only while being active in the Communist underground, or while suffering in the prisons and forced-labor camps of bourgeois Latvia, but we believed in these ideas unreservedly. When we first saw the socialist state (the only one in existence at that time) we immediately noticed the difference between theory and practice. But we firmly believed that the faults were of a transient character and that they could be overcome. At first we did not recognize the seriousness of these faults. Through daily application of socialist ideas we gradually realized that much of the official written and spoken output of the government was for display purposes only—deliberate distortions and outright lies. All party conferences, meetings, and assemblies are carefully prearranged and executed shows. They are convened only to create an illusion of democracy within the party. In reality, these conferences, meetings, and assemblies merely have to approve everything that has been dictated from "above"; subsequently they expound the individual opinion of a single person—the head man in the government. Every attempt to object to these opinions is regarded as opposition to the ideals of the party and Leninism. Those who dare to object not only lose their positions but also their freedom, and often end up suffering subhuman conditions in prisons and concentration camps, are deported, or, sometimes, vanish without a trace.

Naturally, these conditions eliminate all arguments and discussions at party conferences and assemblies as well as at the meetings of workers' councils. In this way, an apparent unity is achieved.

We suppose you have heard of the situation here or know part of it. However, knowledge of the conditions here based on information of official documents, or short visits to the USSR, is certain to be far from complete. That is why we are writing to you: We want to acquaint you with the facts.

We realize that no Communist party has the right to interfere in the internal affairs of another Communist party. Nevertheless, for this very purpose, in order to safeguard this principle we must unite against any violator. You now have the facts. Besides, world opinion judges the effectiveness of socialism and communism in general by our successes and

failures here. Therefore, the actions of the USSR have a direct influence on your work. For this reason we feel that you should know the truth about the conditions here, so that you can take appropriate steps to sway the leaders of the Communist party of the Soviet Union. We know that this will not be easy. These men are not used to opening their minds to outside ideas. They act from a position of power and recognize only force. But your parties play an important role in the world Communist movement and your proposals cannot be taken lightly. We have no intentions of suggesting any

methods you might use to influence the leaders of the Communist party of the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, we are convinced that the high prestige of Marxism-Leninism cannot be preserved if the distortions of its principles are accepted silently, without protest. If the leaders of the Communist party of the Soviet Union decline to stop the actions described above, they have to be unmasked and boycotted.

The present policies of the Communist party leaders in the Soviet Union are destroying the world Communist movement.

With a Communist greeting.

## The Rise of Workers' Struggles in Spain

[The following article is scheduled for publication in a forthcoming issue of *Quatrième Internationale*. Translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

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I

In a January 1971 editorial entitled "The Twilight of Francoism," *Quatrième Internationale* drew a balance sheet of the new rise of struggle of the Spanish laboring masses, from the Asturias strike of 1962 to the victorious struggle of December 1970 against the death sentences meted out to six Basques in the Burgos trial. This balance sheet described the factors impelling Spain toward socialist revolution:

"In spite of the accelerated economic growth of the 1960s, a by-product of the expansion of Western European imperialist economy, the Spanish bourgeoisie has been essentially unable to eliminate from Spanish society disequilibriums that produce the most explosive social contradictions in Europe: the proletariat's low standard of living, the permanent crisis of the poorest agricultural regions, Spanish industry's inability to compete in the international capitalist market, the crying underdevelopment of social services, etc.

"Objectively, the economic growth has served to postpone the social explosion, but at the same time has rejuvenated the proletariat, significantly expanded its numbers, and increased its capacity to overcome, little by little, the trauma of its defeat in the bloody civil war. This growth has also resulted in the development of

valuable allies of the working class among the masses of students in ferment and among layers of technicians and intellectual workers, who are progressively radicalizing.

"The combination of the above two factors means that the Spanish bourgeoisie cannot afford the luxury of a democratic parliamentary — or even a Gaullist — regime. Any democratic rights won by the laboring masses would lead to struggles of explosive intensity and revolutionary breadth. Hence the basic failure of all attempts to gradually "liberalize" the Francoist regime, including under the form of a constitutional monarchy — an illusion that even the daily that by some mockery entitles itself *Pravda* [Truth] has just recently repeated for the n-th time.

"Under these conditions, the orientation of Spanish capitalism could have but one aim: fragmenting and channeling all workers' struggles toward purely economic and immediate goals. For a whole period, the traditional leaders of the Spanish proletariat, and above all the leaders of the Communist party, have objectively helped the bourgeoisie achieve this aim. The appearance of more resolute, politicized, and general forms of struggle, despite the intensified repression, marks the failure of this strategy. All the Spanish bourgeoisie's roads seem to lead to a ripening of the revolutionary upsurge."

The principal features of economic, social, and political development in Spain during the sixteen months since January 1971 completely confirm this analysis.

The year 1971 saw a pronounced

slowdown of the Spanish economy. At the same time the rise in the cost of living shattered all previous records. Banking circles calculate that price increases in 1971 averaged more than 15 percent. The fact that a country like Spain experiences in its turn simultaneous stagnation and inflation says a lot about the weakness of its economic institutions.

Countries with a relatively marginal economy, like Spain, will be hit especially hard by the deterioration of the international capitalist economic situation. Spanish workers in West Germany and its smaller economic satellites are threatened with unemployment by the recession gripping those countries. Now, in Spain itself, unemployment is on the rise.

The third "development plan" (1972-1975) projects only a 1 percent annual increase in the number of jobs — less than the annual population growth and much less than the annual increase in the size of the work force, which is swelled not only by population increase, but also by the rural exodus, the ruin of the petty artisans, and the rationalization measures that are now beginning to spread throughout industry. It must also be stressed that in the area of new employment the objectives of the second "development plan" were not achieved. Even according to official statistics, the annual increase in the number employed reached only 0.9% during 1968-1971, as opposed to the projected 1.3%. Concretely, this means that in 1971 there were 150,000 fewer jobs than had been planned.

The agricultural crisis in poor regions, the crisis of the *minifundia*, continues unchecked, accentuating the concentration of landholdings, the proletarianization of small farmers, and the rural exodus. It is sufficient to point out that in 1970 the peasantry, which still constitutes 30% of the working population, accounted for only 14% of the national income. If one subtracts from this 14% the incomes of the large landed proprietors and the new kulaks, one gets an idea of the miserable incomes to which the mass of the small peasantry is condemned.

The absence of any political "liberalization" has become more and more obvious. Instead of "modest progress" toward a "European" regime, about which every Spanish reformist dreams, there has been a regression

toward the most rigid dictatorship. This is especially marked by the adoption of the "public security" law, Franco's blunt rejection of establishing the right of political association, the intensification of censorship, and the extension of "exceptional laws." Juan Carlos has to guarantee the permanence of Francoism, but without Franco. Only the voluntarily blind can fail to see in the overtly fascist and *intégriste* agitation of Blas Piñar's "Christ the King" groups the hardening of the regime itself. This is most clearly expressed by the standing order to shoot strikers. After the shooting in Granada, after the construction striker killed in Madrid, after the SEAT worker killed in Barcelona, it was two shipyard workers in El Ferrol who were shot down by the dictatorship.

This hardening of the repression comes in answer to mass struggle, and especially to workers' struggle. The most striking, most important element in the understanding of the basic tendencies of Spanish development is that the working class is no longer allowing itself to be intimidated by this intensified repression, and has not let itself be lulled by economic concessions or promises of "liberalization" as in the past. To the hardening of the repression the workers respond, and will respond more and more, with an increasing hardening, intensification, and politicization of their fight. In this way, the upsurge of objectively revolutionary struggles develops in Spain.

## II

The major events that mark the rise of the mass movement in Spain between January 1971 and March 1972 are well known: the movement to boycott the union elections; the Madrid construction strike; the national strike of bank employees; the Asturias strike; the very bitter strikes in Pamplona and in Vittoria (Michelin), the latter lasting forty-two days; the strike and occupation of the SEAT factories in Barcelona and the solidarity strike of 100,000 Catalonian workers after a SEAT worker was murdered during the retaking of the factory; the national student actions centered around the medical students' strike which culminated in Madrid; the workers' movement around the renewal of many collective bargaining contracts during

the first quarter of 1972; the explosive strike of the shipyard workers in El Ferrol, Galicia, which produced a real street battle between the workers and the repressive forces.

Simply listing these fights shows their tendency both to expand to a countrywide scale and to reach all sectors of the laboring masses. The participation of layers of the "new middle class," already discernable last year, was shown by the young doctors' activity in the student revolt against the "education law." On this same occasion, and especially on February 14, 1972—the day of national demonstrations against this law—high-school students, for the first time in Spain, took to the streets in massive numbers.

In the rest of imperialist Europe the capitalists have succeeded in uniting faster than the working class. But in Spain, the mass struggle more rapidly borrows from the advanced forms of struggle of other parts of Europe, while the bourgeoisie has not succeeded in borrowing the prevailing industrial technique and organization.

Aside from their politicization and their tendency to extend themselves, the 1971-1972 struggles of the Spanish workers had three basic characteristics that bring them still more into line with those of the European proletariat.

The goals and limits fixed not only by the Francoist regime but also by the whole employing class have been generally overturned wherever the workers opted for direct action instead of the "arbitration" of the state "unions."

Although the steelworkers of Altos Hornos in Bilbao had to settle for a nominal wage hike of 11 percent over three years while the Banco de Madrid published figures putting the rise in the cost of living at 35 percent just for the years 1970-1971, wherever the workers were able to bring to bear their growing combativity, the wage policies of the regime suffered partial setbacks.

The workers spontaneously opted for unitary demands that the revolutionary groups have vigorously projected: equal wage hikes for all; 450 pesetas [about US\$7.00] a day minimum wage, etc. In the same spirit, the strengthening of class solidarity and the slogan of rehiring all fired workers played an increasingly important role in workers' actions.

Closely tied to this rise in the level of class consciousness was the adoption of more militant forms of action increasingly centered around workers' democracy. Strikes and actions were marked by the formation of workers' general assemblies; during the strikes the limited, permanent workers' commissions were replaced by larger committees responsible to the entire assembly.

Already there are examples in which the revolutionary Marxist demand for the formation of real strike committees responsible to, and therefore recallable by, the broader general assemblies have been put into practice by the workers. Furthermore, we must call attention to the emergence of mass pickets to extend the strikes—pickets that go to neighboring factories or other factories in the same branch of industry to generalize the struggle.

It was at El Ferrol that the hardening of workers' struggle reached a really qualitatively new level. Passive submission to the dictatorship's repression, which became more ferocious with the order to shoot demonstrators and strikers, had become increasingly unacceptable to the Spanish proletariat. Nevertheless, in 1971 it was only the revolutionary vanguard groups, and especially our comrades of the Revolutionary Communist League [Liga Comunista Revolucionaria—LCR], that raised the call for defense marshals and then began to apply this tactic, in a necessarily limited way, during the "lightning demonstrations."

When the Civil Guards retook the Barcelona SEAT factories, there were reflexes of self-defense, but the mass of workers hesitated to fight on the hardly favorable terrain of a single plant surrounded by the enemy.

On the other hand, when repressive violence was unleashed in the streets of El Ferrol against the striking shipyard workers, they not only responded, but passed to the counter-offensive and even managed to clear the repressive forces out of part of the city. Two workers were killed, but many cops were sent to the hospital. The strikers cut off the electricity, gas, and water, and the struggle took on the appearance of a citywide general strike.

The best past traditions of the Spanish working class, the most revolutionary in Europe, were suddenly

thrust to the surface again, reinforced and enriched by the bitter lessons of past defeats—and above all marked by a profound mistrust of the bureaucratic apparatus and a stronger sense of class solidarity and independence.

### III

A hardening of the dictatorship on the one hand, and a harder and harder response from the laboring masses on the other. The basic policy of the CP—seeking collaboration with the bourgeoisie, the monarchists, and even a fraction of the army so as to overturn the Francoist regime peacefully, without a revolution—has been robbed of all credibility by these lines of force in Spanish social and political development.

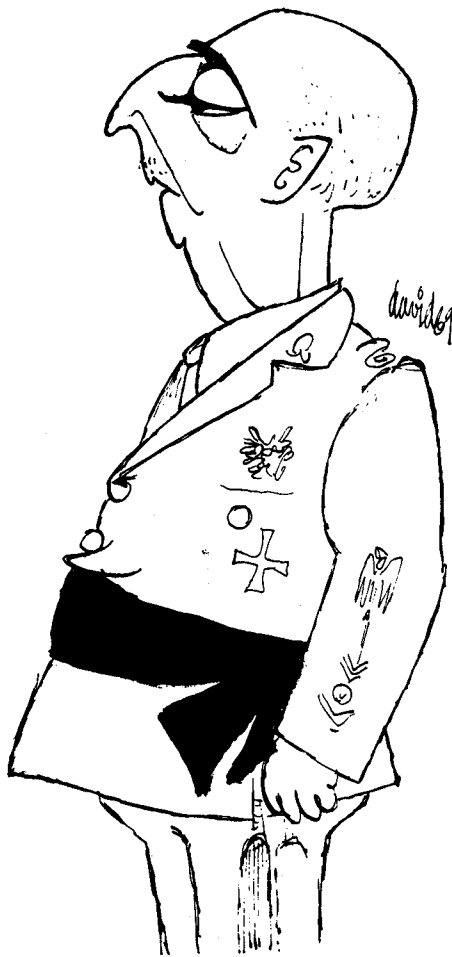
In an interview in the French CP magazine *Nouvelle Critique*, Santiago Carrillo, general secretary of the Spanish CP, described his party's policy with a cynicism bordering on naïveté. The Spanish bourgeoisie, he says, no longer has any political force with which it could collaborate in the framework of a parliamentary regime. In the past, social democracy played this role; today, the CP offers itself as a replacement.

This whole orientation was founded on the hope of transforming the Francoist regime—without a revolution, solely through mass "pressure"—into a bourgeois parliamentary democracy by collaborating with the bourgeoisie, all the while solemnly promising to protect the latter's property and profits. The objective role of this policy, independent of the calculations and designs of the CP leaders, was to channel the new rise of workers' struggle toward goals compatible with the survival of the capitalist regime—most notably by choosing forms of action and organization that fostered the reformist and gradualist illusions propagated by a wing of the dictatorship.

The failure of this policy is demonstrated on two levels. The masses increasingly came to realize the illusory character of the notion that the Franco regime could be brought down without a revolution. In real life they unleashed harder and harder struggles with a clear anticapitalist dynamic. A vanguard began to emerge in the factories and in the universities which, having assimilat-

ed the essential lessons of the CP's neoreformism, succeeded in consciously drawing sectors of the mass movement toward demands and forms of action destined to set in motion a process of permanent revolution.

The most striking example of this change in the relationship of forces in the mass movement, of the CP's loss of the absolute hegemony it had wielded for fifteen years, was the re-



David, in *Direct From Cuba*

### FRANCISCO FRANCO

markable success of the far left's campaign for a boycott of the state "trade-union" elections. The fact that in Catalonia and in the Basque country more than 50 percent of the workers followed the boycott slogan, and that even in the Madrid industrial complex—the bastion of the CP—substantial minorities of the working class boycotted the elections, reflected the maturation of class consciousness among a significant sector of the Spanish proletariat.

Since cases of the workers breaking with the CP's line on the factory

level are spreading not only in the newly industrialized areas, but also in the old bastions, even in Madrid—at the Castellon factory—we are seeing for the first time a similar phenomenon.

The emergence of a broad vanguard independent of the traditional apparatuses and beginning to have a mass character and a mass influence is obviously not a development restricted to Spain. The same phenomenon has occurred, or is in the process of occurring, in three other important imperialist countries in Europe—France, Italy, and Great Britain.

For reasons peculiar to Spain, the relationship of forces between this vanguard and the CP is without doubt more favorable to the revolutionists in Spain than is the relationship between the revolutionists and the French or Italian CP, or, in the case of Great Britain, the relationship of forces between this vanguard and the Labour party. The more explosive character of the social contradictions, the much greater objective difficulty in limiting the mass movement or channeling it toward reformist goals will tend to accentuate still more this reversal in the relationship of forces.

The CP leadership thus finds itself confronted by a new task—that of maneuvering within the mass movement so as to limit its loss of influence and to hold back the crisis in its own ranks that could not help but be triggered by the successive breaks with its line by workers and students. The Santiago Carrillo team must also defend itself against the repeated attempts of the Soviet bureaucracy to replace it with one that would support Kremlin policies more unconditionally.

All these factors explain several things: the Carrillo team's greater flexibility toward other tendencies in the workers' movement, including the revolutionary groups; Carrillo's trip to Peking; the occasional united fronts the CP concludes with far-left groups, including, at the University of Madrid, our comrades of the LCR; and the CP's pronounced insistence on nonexclusive unity in action.

While attaining this unity in action in a favorable conjunction can lead local CP groups to shift their orientation to the left, that is, to adapt to the line of the revolutionists, it would be false to conclude that this

is a possible line of development for the CP as a whole. On the contrary, the greater "liberalization" of this party and its evincing a clearer respect for workers' democracy fit in perfectly with its accentuated social-democratic evolution and its increasingly rightist political orientation.

Does this mean that a decline in the mass influence of the CP is in sight? We do not think so. Progressively, as wider and wider layers of the masses enter into action, as still newer layers of the proletariat and the youth begin to become politicized, the most likely variant is that the CP's influence within the vanguard will decline, but its influence among inexperienced and relatively less politicized masses freshly entering into action will expand.

Numerically, the total effect of these two tendencies will mean a strengthening rather than a weakening of the CP. This must be carefully taken into account by the revolutionists in formulating a correct tactical orientation toward building a revolutionary party within the mass movement.

#### IV

The historical perspective revolutionary Marxists in Spain defend is that of the permanent revolution. They reject both the possibility of liquidating the Francoist regime without a revolution and the notion that the mass movement can content itself with extracting democratic freedoms and thus peacefully institute a traditional bourgeois-democratic parliamentary regime. *Franco and the Francoist regime (with or without Franco himself) can be overthrown only by a revolutionary mobilization of the masses that challenges the bourgeois state, dissolves and destroys its repressive apparatus, occupies the factories and the land, and threatens capitalist property.* The revolutionary process leading to the overthrow of the dictatorship will immediately place on the agenda the victory of the socialist revolution without having to first go through an intermediate historical stage of bourgeois-parliamentary democracy.

But to speak of permanent revolution does not at all mean to defend the caricature of this concept that says a revolution will be immediately defeated if it does not result in the in-

stitution of the dictatorship of the proletariat after the first battle.

The Spanish bourgeoisie does not want to liquidate the dictatorship because it fears that granting democratic freedoms to the masses would accelerate anticapitalist struggles rather than allow them to be channeled toward reformist ends. But if the bourgeoisie is confronted by a revolutionary movement so tumultuous that it increasingly takes on insurrectionary forms, it would no longer have anything to lose, and would have precious time to gain, in throwing the workers the bone of democratic freedoms.

This is why the perspective of permanent revolution in Spain does not exclude, but on the contrary includes, the possibility of temporarily establishing democratic freedoms as a by-product of a revolutionary proletarian upsurge. This process will *begin* by the laboring masses winning these freedoms.

During such a period, the bourgeoisie would be feverishly preparing the means to overturn the relationship of forces and crush the mass movement by force. The proletarian vanguard would utilize this breathing spell to perfect the organization of the masses into organs of dual power (workers' councils, workers' militia) and to strengthen its influence among the masses so as to enter the inevitable confrontation with maximum chance of victory, to accelerate the construction of the revolutionary party.

The difference between such a perspective and that of European-style "normalization"—a repetition of what happened at the end of the second world war in France and Italy as a result of the betrayals of the Communist and the Socialist parties in the context of an accelerated capitalist economic growth made possible by those very betrayals—is strikingly obvious.

To put this perspective into practice, Spanish revolutionary Marxists must from now on apply a revolutionary strategy that has as its essential goal preventing, or making more difficult, all maneuvers aimed at diverting the revolutionary energy of the masses toward purely reformist ends—maneuvers which, in the concrete conditions prevailing in Spain, would not lead to a more or less stable bourgeois-parliamentary democracy but to the crushing in blood of the new

generations of Spanish workers and students.

The essential elements of such a strategy are as follows:

- Encourage all efforts to prevent struggles from being fragmented, scattered, or isolated, and try, on the contrary, to coordinate various struggles, not only by sector, but also on a local, regional, and national scale; and this not only for workers' struggles properly so called, but for all workers' struggles, as well as for struggles by students, high-school students, the laboring layers of the "new middle classes," and the poor peasants. Great attention must be paid to developing techniques for extending and generalizing strikes, as well as to the emergence and strengthening of organs for coordinating struggles, which prefigure the future soviets.

- Support all attempts to go beyond purely economic struggles and demands, to politicize strikes and workers' action campaigns. Democratic demands, including those relating to the national question, today play a key role in this process. The attempts of the regime and the employing class to restrict workers' struggles to the framework of simple wage negotiations that are thoroughly unfair—the workers do not even have legal trade unions on their side in such negotiations—are best thwarted by advancing systematically in the lists of demands the following: unconditional rehiring at full pay of all fired workers; immediate release of all political prisoners; expulsion of the private police and the public repressive forces from the factories, universities, and high schools; recognition of the right to strike; recognition of the right to form trade unions; recognition of freedom of association, of the press, of assembly, and of demonstrating.

- Push demands and forms of action that are clearly anticapitalist: no speed-ups; no firings; struggle for workers' control; occupation of factories, etc.

- Propagandize for and organize adequate and increasingly advanced forms of self-defense for strikes and demonstrations against the repressive violence of the dictatorship, its direct and indirect agents, the defenders of capitalist rule in Spain.

- Assure the greater and greater proliferation of united organs for preparing struggles—expanded and really united workers' commissions—and

their replacement, during peaks of struggle, by representative organs democratically elected by the masses. That is, prepare for the emergence of real organs of dual power at the moment when the mass movement reaches its culminating point.

● Prepare for a revolutionary intervention among the agricultural workers and poor peasants.

This entire strategy can be summed up in a single slogan: *Propagandize, prepare, and organize for the revolutionary general strike to overthrow the dictatorship, murderer of workers.*

## V

With the formation and strengthening of the LCR a first step has been taken on the road to constructing a revolutionary party of the Spanish proletariat, a party that can only be based on the program of revolutionary Marxism. Propagandizing for this program, the LCR is today the initial nucleus of such a party. But to achieve its construction it will not be sufficient merely to strengthen the LCR through intensive individual recruitment. Regroupments, fusions with other revolutionary currents, and recruitment of the best vanguard worker militants still remaining in the CP will be necessary.

The centralizing role the LCR played on a national scale during the struggle to boycott the CNS elections, its catalytic role in the immediate, national response to the SEAT events, its exemplary role during the student actions in Madrid made the organization known and respected among wide circles of the vanguard and made it a pole of attraction for revolutionary militants even in regions where the organization does not yet have any base.

The Fourth International is proud of the fact that militants of such temper and courage have on their own decided to join it. It sees in this a confirmation of the process the International is now experiencing: its transformation from limited numbers of small Trotskyist propaganda groups into a world revolutionary movement, already able to initiate actions that visibly alter the relationship of forces between the vanguard and the bureaucratic apparatuses within the mass movement, and at the same time able to begin to alter the evolutionist ten-

dencies of the mass movement itself.

The immediate problem that must be dealt with is the new growth stage of the LCR. This problem involves both that of relations with centrist and ultraleftist groups within the vanguard and that of relations with the traditional organizations of the workers' movement, essentially the Communist party. Systematic programmatic delineation, theoretical polemics, both political and propagandist, must be combined with the ability to propose and to conclude occasional agreements for united action around specific goals that correspond to the interests of all the laboring masses.

There is no contradiction between these two aspects of revolutionary politics and organization. On the contrary, they logically complement one another. Each attains its full value only through combination with the other.

The process of constructing a revolutionary party could also enter a new stage around the question of the workers' commissions. The CP's effort to transform these bodies into semilegal trade-unions under the control of its own apparatus has failed.

This failure comes as a result of the bankruptcy of the CP's whole gradualist and neoreformist orientation. The workers' commissions were compelled by the force of circumstance to expand their activities toward clearly political questions; and this made any semilegal existence incompatible with the very nature of the dictatorship. The failure equally resulted from the CP's loss of hegemony over the workers' vanguard, and from the process of growing political differentiation, which often even led to the commissions' fragmenting into grouplets. And finally, the CP's failure reflected the widening and hardening of struggle, which led to the emergence, on the eve of or during strikes, of much broader organs than the workers' commissions to prepare and conduct the workers' struggle.

From all this derives the impossibility of mechanically applying the traditional attitude of revolutionists toward trade-union work to the attitude Spanish revolutionists must take toward the workers' commissions. But this in no way means that we are dealing with an organizational form considered henceforth to be outmoded

and for which the revolutionists must substitute a combination of factory political groups and strike committees (or committees to prepare for strikes) issuing from general assemblies.

The workers' commissions often represent the organizational form of permanent confrontation and collaboration of all the militant elements of a factory that is best adapted to conditions of clandestinity (that is, a situation in which it is impossible to organize mass trade unions) and of the increasingly turbulent upsurge of the mass movement (a situation in which the number of active militants in a factory may vary, even doubling or tripling during periods of action). The workers' commissions have the double advantage of being both unified and flexible, and this at the very moment when events and the relationship of forces permit the breaking of the CP's claim to political control or to exclusive representation within the commissions.

Spanish revolutionists must therefore make themselves the most confirmed advocates of this unified character of the workers' commissions, which implies the greatest respect for workers' democracy and for the right of representation and organization of all tendencies of the workers' movement within them, all the while taking account of the concrete reality, without making a fetish of any specific form of united action. The fight for this principle today corresponds to a real development of consciousness in the ranks of the CP itself. Far from opposing the task of constructing a new revolutionary leadership of the Spanish proletariat, it allows for the concretization of this task for the first time before such a broad workers' vanguard.

*Francoist Spain is today the weakest link in the European imperialist chain.* The outbreak of a revolutionary general strike, the outbreak of a new Spanish revolution, would have incalculable repercussions on the alignment of social and political forces on the entire continent. For this reason, revolutionary Marxists and the Fourth International have a special obligation to solidarize with the Spanish proletariat and with their comrades of the LCR.

The crucial place of the Spanish proletariat today in the context of European workers' struggle and the de-

cisive importance the outbreak of the Spanish socialist revolution would have for the proletarian revolution in all capitalist Europe impose on the revolutionary Marxist organizations not only a special obligation to aid their comrades of the LCR, but also imply the necessity of understanding that in numerous European countries Spanish immigrant workers act today as an especially militant vanguard force. It is therefore urgent to develop systematic work in this area and to orient toward organizing Spanish groups abroad sympathizing with the LCR wherever that proves possible.

To aid the maturation of the revolutionary process in Spain; to aid in the construction of a new revolutionary leadership for the Spanish proletariat; to contribute to the strengthening of the LCR—these are the most direct means revolutionary Marxists command in accelerating the transformation of the new rise of European workers' struggle since May 1968 into a new revolutionary upsurge on a continental scale.

June 1, 1972

## Sri Lanka Union Hits Ties to Imperialism

[The following resolution was adopted by the General Council of the Ceylon Mercantile Union on June 15 and sent to Prime Minister Bandaranaike. The resolution was signed by Bala Tampoe, general secretary of the union and secretary of the Lanka Sama Samaja party (Revolutionary), the Ceylonese section of the Fourth International.]

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The General Council of the Ceylon Mercantile Union calls upon the Government of Sri Lanka to demand that the U. S. Government immediately end the bombing and shelling of towns, villages, and means of communication in Vietnam and the mining of North Vietnamese ports and waterways by the air and naval forces of the United States, and that all U. S. forces in Vietnam be withdrawn and all U. S. military and other aid to the U. S. puppet regime in South Vietnam be stopped forthwith.

The General Council of the Union further condemns the admission by

the Government of Sri Lanka into the Port of Colombo of the U. S. destroyer "Thomaston" on 2nd June 1972, and the acceptance on board that ship of military aid for the army of Sri Lanka from the U. S. Government on 5th June 1972, by the Deputy Minister of Defence and Foreign Affairs of the Government of Sri Lanka. The General Council considers the grant of U. S. military aid to any regime in the world to be solely for counter-revolutionary purposes, and the acceptance of such aid by the Government of Sri Lanka amounts to an act of condonation of the savage attacks of the U. S. Imperialists against the heroic people of Vietnam. It also amounts to an act of political treachery to the people of this country, who elected the present Government in the belief that it would not permit any unit of the land, sea or air forces of

the United States to enter this country, on any pretext, or accept any military aid from the Imperialist Government of the United States, which no previous Government of Ceylon has ever done.

The General Council further resolves that the membership of the Union and the people of Sri Lanka generally should be alerted to the danger of Sri Lanka being converted into a military base of U. S. Imperialism in Asia, at a time when millions of people in the United States itself and throughout the world are denouncing and opposing U. S. military intervention against the revolutionary liberation movement in Vietnam and the grant of U. S. military aid to reactionary regimes in Asia, Africa and Latin America, to be used against the mass movements of the peoples of those continents by such regimes. □

## Why Official Republicans Suspended Offensive Military Action in Ireland

[The following is the lead article from the June issue of *The Starry Plough*, the paper of the Official republican movement in Derry, Northern Ireland.]

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The decision by the Official IRA to suspend offensive military activity was taken after weeks of consultation with the Executive of the Republican Clubs. It was not influenced in any way by the hypocrites on the "peace at any price" bandwagon. It was clear to us that the violence in the North, if it continued as it had been doing, could lead only to a sectarian war, a war between Catholics and Protestants which would be of no benefit whatever to the working-class. That was the single most important reason for the decision.

Moreover, a continued military campaign would have meant a struggle in which, by its nature, the majority of the people could not physically participate. This would have separated the IRA from the people, a situation totally unacceptable to Republicans.

What began in 1968 and proceeded through 1969 and 1970 was a struggle of the people—a struggle which escalated until August 1971 when many thousands began the Rent and Rates strike and the Civil Disobedience Campaign, demanding an end to internment, the release of political prisoners and the repeal of the Special Powers Act. These demands are still relevant and we will continue to agitate until they are met.

We demand also the right to work in Derry, the right to a decent home at a

reasonable rent, the right to a decent future for ourselves and for our children. These issues were being clouded by the smoke from the bombs, drowned out by the crack of the rifles. It was for these reasons—so that we could get back to class politics—that the IRA at the request of the Republican Clubs, suspended the campaign.

The suspension could change the present situation from one of elitist military activity into one of mass political action, in which the Official Republican Movement must be the vanguard, must give leadership so as to develop the struggle for basic civil rights—still to be won—into a struggle for the ownership of this country by the people of this country.

The men of no property of whom Tone spoke, the landless for whom Lalor fought, the worker in the factory, the unemployed, the emigrant, the homeless, the tiller of the land, these constitute the common people of this country; they have never owned this country. They are as mere tenants in it. For hundreds of years they have been a source of cheap labour and profit for British Imperialism and capitalism. The task of the Official Republican Movement is to bring the people to a realization that they must organize themselves to fight and defeat the small groups who claim and control 80% of the wealth of Ireland, North and South.

Only by the establishment of a Socialist Workers Republic can we achieve lasting peace, justice and freedom. On these principles we will continue to push forward, motivated by the teachings and writings and actions of those who have gone before us. □