

Labor Swept Into Power in Australia, New Zealand



Lynch Attempts to Liquidate Irish Nationalism

Political Situation in Mexico Four Years After Tlatelolco

Argentine Speaks in D.C.

Daniel Zadunaisky, an activist in the Argentine movement to free political prisoners who is touring the United States and Canada under the auspices of the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA), spent November 30 and December 1 in Washington.

While in the U.S. capital, he spoke to six meetings attended by a total of 300 persons. In addition, a news conference was held.

On November 30, Zadunaisky spoke to a meeting attended by eighty persons at the Dumbarton United Methodist Church. The meeting was cosponsored by USLA, the Ecumenical Program for Inter-American Communication and Action (EPICA) of the National Council of Churches, the Committee Against Repression in Brazil, Common Front for Latin America, American Friends of Guatemala, Clergy and Laymen Concerned, the Anti-Imperialist Committee, and the Dumbarton United Methodist Church. Philip Wheaton, director of EPICA, introduced the speaker.

On the following day, Zadunaisky spoke to the Militant Forum on "Repression in Latin America and the Struggle Against It." Speaking with him was a Brazilian student who had been imprisoned and tortured in his native land.

Zadunaisky also gave talks to students at the University of Maryland, American University, and Federal City College.

As an example of the effectiveness of international campaigns in support of Argentine political prisoners, he told his audiences of the case of Agustin Tosco, a trade-union leader who was imprisoned for fifteen months without a trial. Following protests in Argentina and the United States, including a picket line in New York City organized by USLA, Tosco was released. □

Schedule

This is a reminder that our last issue of the year will be dated December 25. There will be no issues for January 1 and 8. We will resume our regular weekly schedule with the January 15 issue.

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Lynch Moves to Liquidate Irish Nationalism

By Gerry Foley

"There has been a slow but persistent stepping up of harassment of the I. R. A. by the Government this year," the *Irish Times's* political correspondent noted in the November 20 issue of the Dublin daily. "First came the Prisons Bill, then the Special Criminal Courts, then an enlargement of those courts, then stricter penalties for possession of firearms, then the closing of the Kevin Street offices [of the Provisional republican organization]. There also had been earlier arrests of leading members. Now the arrest of MacStiofáin and the decisions about the new legislation seem to herald a new stage."

Less than two weeks after this article appeared, the correspondent's prediction was borne out with a drama that once again put the political crisis of this small country on the front pages of the international press. The formally independent part of Ireland was threatened by the worst repression since the grim period of the second world war, when all opposition was crushed and more than 1,000 patriots and rebels against the dismal neocolonialist Dublin regime were dragged off to arbitrary imprisonment.

On December 2, after less than a week of discussion, the Dublin parliament approved drastic new repressive legislation:

"... on Monday [November 27] the government published a sweeping new bill amending the 1939 Offenses Against the State Act," Jonathan Harsch had noted in the November 28 issue of the Boston daily *Christian Science Monitor*. "If the bill is passed, any policeman will be able to act on 'reasonable grounds' to question any suspected IRA member. If the suspect refuses to reply or gives false or misleading information, it is an offense punishable by a 200 pound (\$480) fine and or 12 months imprisonment.

"The same terms apply—or 1,000 pounds fine and or five years indict-

ment—for any persons taking part in an illegal meeting.

"Other clauses make it far easier to prove membership of an illegal organization. Proof is established by 'any statement made orally, in writing or otherwise, or any conduct, by an accused person implying or leading to a reasonable inference that he was at a material time a member.'

"This includes 'omission by the accused to deny published reports that he was a member.' A police chief superintendent's belief that a person is an IRA member is satisfactory evidence."

In a dispatch printed in the November 27 *Monitor*, Harsch described the new bill as only the first point of Prime Minister Jack Lynch's program for "cracking down on the IRA":

"The surprise arrest and rapid sentencing of MacStiofáin is only one aspect of a four-prong government initiative against the IRA. As well as locking up the IRA leader, the government:

"—Announced Monday [November 27] new legislation bringing in 12-month sentences against suspected IRA men who refuse to recognize the court.

"—Dismissed the entire governing body of the Irish radio television organization for failing to observe a government directive against promoting the IRA.

"—Launched a new policy of publicly cooperating with the British Government despite the appearance of 'collaborating with the enemy.'"

At the same time, the British government was making it absolutely clear that it had the upper hand again and was not going to "take any nonsense from any Irish or degenerate English."

"At a press conference before he left to fly home to London Mr. Heath, speaking in precise, deliberate terms, was absolutely unambiguous about who is boss of Northern Ireland," Henry Kelly reported in the November 18 *Irish Times*.

"Mr. Heath was cold, almost icy, in his words when asked what chance

people would have, if any, of deciding the future structures for the North. He said: 'We have been carrying on discussions and, as a result of these, we have to balance up the various factors involved and we have to come to a judgment ourselves. When we have done that we will put it to Parliament and it is for Parliament to decide.'"

During his tour of Northern Ireland, Heath also remarked that the situation in Derry, where the liberated nationalist ghetto was occupied by British forces August 1, was "much improved."

On November 23, the prime minister of the Dublin regime, which owes its existence to the 1916 uprising and the 1919-21 war of independence, explicitly sanctioned the imperialist military presence in Northern Ireland, even pleading with the British people to support the occupation. In a debate at Oxford, Lynch said:

"It would be understandable that the British people, faced as they are—with an intractable situation which involves the continued killing of British soldiers and innocent civilians and which imposes heavy financial outlay, naturally would become impatient if for no other reason but to see a speedy and final settlement of the problem.

"I would counsel against any hasty or ill-considered action. In particular, the premature withdrawal of British troops could precipitate a disastrous scale of violence and bloodshed.

"The aim of responsible leadership in all countries must be to avoid such an outcome."

It is true, of course, that because of the situation created by centuries of British rule, any major changes in the setup in the imperialist enclave may be accompanied by a "disastrous scale of violence."

However, by accepting the need for maintaining British military occupation, Lynch was also implicitly endorsing the imperialist view that the source of the violence lies in the attitudes of the inhabitants of Northern Ireland.

The fact is that the proimperialist population's fanaticism has been fueled precisely by the presence of British forces. On the one hand, the Unionists could be confident that in the last analysis British power would always support their privileged position. On the other, they could not help but realize, for all their grandiloquent exultation of imperialist glory, that the London government was ready to barter with their interests for the sake of keeping some kind of political hold over at least a part of the nationalist population.

Thus, to accept any legitimate role for British troops on Irish soil or the right of the Unionist population to a veto over the democratic will of the majority of the Irish people means, ultimately, to give up hope that the Irish people can achieve their historic aspirations.

Lynch drew the inevitable conclusion:

"I am confident that the vast majority of the Irish people support the views that I have put before you. The Ireland of today, chastened by tragedy, faces the responsibility for adapting yesterday's dreams to the realities of today, and to the possibilities of the future."

The Dublin prime minister could hold out only one concrete hope for reunifying the country:

"The concept of a Council of Ireland is one that we find sensible and promising. I have no pre-conceived views as to the role which such a body might play, but clearly to be of real value it must have significant functions and an in-built capacity to evolve. It could perhaps operate at more than one level, in order to embrace the widest range of contact among leaders from the administrative, commercial, financial, social and political spheres of the two areas.

"Among its functions it might have significant scope in relation to economic development and economic integration and in relation to social harmonisation, cultural and education matters. An obvious opportunity for common action within the E. E. C. context will arise on matters of E. E. C. regional policy."

The British government's "green paper" on Ireland has revived the old idea of a council that would coordinate the affairs of both Irish states. But the kind of relationship that has

clearly emerged between the "boss" of Northern Ireland and the Dublin regime indicates the kind of "unity" that can be achieved in this framework.

While Heath has continually pressed Lynch to repress militant nationalists in the part of the country under his rule (with obvious success), the head of the London government has steadfastly refused even to concede that Dublin has a legitimate interest in the situation in the North. The British authorities have maintained this position despite the fact that their massive repression has involved numerous violations of the Free State borders and has repeatedly driven thousands of refugees into the South.

If Heath refuses to discuss the conditions that have brought "tragedy" to tens of thousands of families in the imperialist enclave with the head of a government that has been thrown into one crisis after another by the anti-nationalist pogroms in the North, what kind of "understanding" is likely to be achieved in the "Council of Ireland"? Obviously the "evolution" can go only one way: toward increasing the British imperialists' direct control over the formally independent part of the country.

Lynch's "unity," furthermore, means not just abandoning what remains of the Dublin government's sovereignty but, in the context of the kind of "evolution" Lynch describes, accepting subordinate status for all of Ireland within the United Kingdom, an arrangement that would preserve the caste system in Northern Ireland and deny even British bourgeois democratic rights to every section of the population.

This capitulation seems to have led to despair among Lynch's erstwhile allies, the Northern nationalist moderates.

In an article in the November 22 *Irish Times* Paddy Devlin, a leader of the Social Democratic and Labour party (SDLP) for the Lower Falls Road area of Belfast, made some bitter statements:

"They [the Northern nationalists] cannot comprehend the opposition in the South to the idea of the country becoming united someday in the future. They fail to understand when prominent people in the South tell them that they are not to talk about unity or they will be attacked by loyalists, when their only idea of

talking about it in the first place is to prevent themselves being attacked at all. They realise that identification with Southern Irish people, and loyalty to the Southern Irish State, is the only hope they have of survival, for they see that the strength of loyalist extremists in the North can only be cancelled out—assuming Britain withdraws from the North—by the security forces in the South. . . .

"The atmosphere in the South is very slowly being poisoned against anyone there having a commitment to help the Northern people in their present agony, or when they are subject to an escalation of violence by loyalist elements.

"It is predictable that if things continue to build up, then there is every possibility that the troubles will spill over into the South. It is a political strategy on the political intelligentsia's part, though not a worthy one, to create an attitude of indifference to what goes on in the North, by contriving to create a cocoon of escapism behind which the South can hide."

Ivan Cooper, a "modern" moderate elected to the Belfast parliament on the momentum of the civil rights movement, put his finger even more directly on the contradictions of the Dublin government. The November 27 *Irish Times* reported:

"Mr. Ivan Cooper, M. P. for Mid-Derry, in an impassioned speech, said that they had been told that those people who expressed an extreme Republican viewpoint were prevented doing so on R. T. E. [Radio-Televis Eireann—Irish Radio Television]. Why then, he asked, were people like Craig, Hull and Herron, who daily and weekly urge people to take arms against certain sections of the community, why are they allowed to express their viewpoints on R. T. E.?"

The reality is that the subordination of the Dublin regime to British imperialism forces it not only to repeat the inequities of British "justice" but, in the case of serious nationalist agitation, to suppress all democratic rights.

The nature of the imperialist relationship involves using more brutal forms of exploiting labor and maintaining more reactionary forms of rule in subject countries, ultimately by means of the power of the dominant state and society. This was the reason that the leaders of the October

Revolution in Russia came to the conclusion that the fight for democracy led to a struggle against imperialism and thus against the international capitalist system. That is, they concluded that in subject nations the struggle for basic democratic rights leads directly and inevitably to socialist revolution. It was on the basis of this theory, which Trotsky called the "permanent" or uninterrupted revolution, that the October Revolution was made.

Lynch's "crackdown" in the last weeks indicates that the theory of permanent revolution remains valid for Ireland despite the peculiar and probably unique forms of imperialist domination there. This repression also points up how static and superficial the theories were that tried to make a distinction between the two parts of the country, claiming that the national question had been more or less "solved" in the South.

In building up for his repression of the militant nationalist supporters of the struggle in the North, Lynch was compelled not only to move toward liquidating all vestiges of the ideals and aspirations of the revolution of 1916-21. He was obligated also to come into sharp conflict with important forces which, although having an antinationalist and antirevolutionary outlook, nonetheless have a certain stake in maintaining "normal" bourgeois democracy.

For the Gaelic language movement, the continuer of the ideals of 1916, Lynch of course had only the back of his hand.

"The organisers of Oireachtas na Gaeilge [the Gaelic Festival] have been asked to explain the circumstances which allowed demonstrators to surround the table at which were seated President de Valera and the Taoiseach, Mr Lynch, at the Royal Dublin Society last month and, pending the outcome of this, payment of the Government grant to the event has been withheld," Peadar Mac Giolla Cearr wrote in the November 21 *Irish Times*.

But the Lynch government was hardly more gentle with the R. T. E. governing board, which although representing the nationalist intellectuals to some extent, also reflects the aspirations of the new professional layers that developed in the period of relative prosperity in the 1960s.

Lynch's police arrested the reputed Provisional IRA leader Sean Mac Stio-



LYNCH: Appeals to British people to support repression in Ireland.

fáin as he was leaving an interview with RTE journalist Kevin O'Kelly. The government immediately sent a peremptory demand to the RTE board that it explain why the authority was publicizing the views of an illegal organization.

Representatives of widely diverging political forces spoke out in defense of the RTE board. David Thornley, a mildly left personality in the Labour party said:

"If R. T. E. is to be bullied now, the press will be the next. We cannot separate freedom of the press from the freedom of television journalists. When asked to comment on the matter by the *Irish Independent* during the week, I said I hoped the Authority would tell the Minister to go to hell. I hope they have done so."

The authority did not exactly do that, but it did raise some difficult questions about government censorship of the news media. Donal O Moráin, the chairman of the authority, noted the following points, among others, in his reply November 23 to Gearóid O Coileáin, the minister for posts and telegraphs:

"The direction required the Authority to refrain from broadcasting any matter that could be calculated to promote the aims and activities of any organisation which engages in, promotes, encourages or advocates the

attaining of any particular objective by violent means."

O Moráin repeated the objections he made in a letter to O Coileáin dated October 15, 1971: "This definition of a class of matter under Section 31 presents us with great difficulties of interpretation starting with the 'any matter that could be calculated to promote . . .' Indeed the Authority thinks that the terms of the direction generally are so imprecise as to be unsatisfactory in principle and to place an unfair burden on the Authority. Although R. T. E. must make the day-to-day judgments on programmes to be broadcast there is, for example, no indication in the direction as to (i) who makes the eventual judgment on the observance or otherwise of the direction, (ii) the informational basis that should support such judgment, (iii) when the judgment should be made and (iv) whether every programme should stand on its own or whether judgment should relate to the broadcasting output of a particular period of time. No particular procedure is apparently envisaged which would for example take account of the overall intent of a programme or which would allow of an appeal from an adverse judgment.

"There is also the lack of geographic limitation to the activities to which the direction applies. The Authority assumes that the Government would not intend that R. T. E. should not broadcast, for example, interviews with or statements from members of the various liberation movements around the world such as the Bangladesh movement in East Pakistan and Arab national movements in the Middle East."

On November 24, the day after this letter was sent, the entire governing board was fired. Whereas the former chairman, O Moráin, had also headed up the prestigious Gaelic cultural organization Gael Linn, the *Irish Times* listed the activities of the new appointee as follows:

"Mr. Scannell is president of the Contract Bridge Association of Ireland and is a member of Elm Park Golf Club."

Even the bourgeois opposition party Fine Gael protested loudly at the government's crude maneuver.

"The Fine Gael spokesman on Posts and Telegraphs, Mr. Richard Burke, said last night that it was a very black

day for freedom of speech in this country," the *Irish Times* reported November 25. "Fianna Fail had shown the jackboot mentality by chopping the Authority straight away."

At the same time, Ireland's international position limited Lynch's ability to wage repression. In an editorial November 23, the *Irish Times* pointed to one factor, calling the government's attack on the authority "not so clever":

"This is not the 1940s. During the second world war, Ireland had a censorship of a stringency second to none. Admittedly, Irish neutrality was precarious. It was hardly more precarious than that of Switzerland, and Switzerland's press had considerably more freedom than the Irish newspapers had.

"Nor is this the 1950s of the previous I. R. A. campaign, when the newspapers were ridden hard by the Government. At that time there was little or no television on this island. But, in 1972, very many citizens of the Republic can see B. B. C. and U. T. V. and Welsh television. The Government should therefore be conscious not to make R. T. E.—or the Republic—look foolish by excluding items which can be freely run by British stations."

The *Irish Times's* London correspondent, James Downey, raised another problem in the November 27 issue of the Dublin daily: "The standing of the Taoiseach, Mr. Lynch, with the British press and public is likely on balance to be damaged by the R. T. E. affair."

Because of the very fact that Ireland is so closely integrated into the Anglo-American sphere, the Dublin regime is probably qualitatively more vulnerable to bad international publicity than any other neocolonial state. For various reasons this contradiction with a dependent government's need for repression has not come out clearly before. But these exceptional circumstances seem to be ending.

With the international spotlight on Lynch's repression, even sympathy with the jailed nationalist leader Mac Stiofáin seemed to be on the rise, despite the unpopularity of the bombing campaign with which he is associated. Both Irish and British papers carried headlines describing the agonies of the reputed Provisional chief, on the verge of collapse after

more than a week of total hunger strike against his arbitrary imprisonment.

Then a series of events took place that reversed this trend. One appeared to be a serious error by the militant nationalists. The origin of two others remained obscure.

On November 26, eight armed men tried to rescue Mac Stiofáin from the hospital from where he was being held. They engaged in a sharp gun battle with the police. Two civilians were hit. The attempt failed, and at least some of the commandos were captured.

In the early morning hours, a bomb had exploded in a movie theater in the center of Dublin. Five people were hospitalized. The papers ran pictures of bleeding, terrified civilians, similar to the pictures filling the papers and television broadcasts after the Provisional bombings in Northern Ireland. But the militant organization charged that the blast was the work of provocateurs.

"Dublin has overnight become a city dominated by rumors and panic reactions to the rapid-fire developments," a cable from Harsch reported in the November 29 *Christian Science Monitor*.

"The most violent IRA act in Dublin recently was Sunday's [November 26] armed attempt to free 'provo' leader MacStiofain. Feeling is spreading that if the IRA will attack a religious hospital in central Dublin, they have the strength and will to try anything."

Then, very conveniently for the government, on the very day the new repressive law against the IRA went before the lower house of parliament, three bombs exploded in downtown Dublin, killing two persons and injuring at least seventy. According to U. S. radio reports, the blasts resembled the Provisional bombings in Donegall and Argyll streets in Belfast this spring. The Provisional IRA again said that provocateurs had been at work.

The circumstances were peculiar. Warning of the blasts had been phoned in to the right-wing Unionist Belfast *News Letter*. Observers could not help remembering that a similar unexplained explosion occurred in the village of Claudy in County Derry the day the British army occupied the ghettos.

No evidence has been published link-

ing the Provisionals with these bombings, and there seemed to be at least a strong possibility that they were in fact provocations. But the public shock gave Fine Gael either a pretext or a push to withdraw its opposition to the IRA bill and let it pass the lower house. All the other formalities were completed by December 3, and the bill went into immediate effect. Reports from Dublin indicated that the city was tense, awaiting large-scale arrests.

As in the case of Claudy, the Provisionals seem to have been convicted in the eyes of public opinion because of the memory of the civilian casualties caused by bombings for which they did take responsibility. Also, the Provisionals' stated determination to pursue their military campaign regardless of the cost or feelings of the majority of the population probably helped the government to brand them as dangerous and uncontrollable elements.

For example, in a statement published in the November 12 *An Phoblacht*, the Provisional IRA leadership said:

"Let it be placed on record that the Army Council is determined to continue the armed struggle until total victory, regardless of the cost to ourselves or others. . . ."

But at the same time, it seems evident that the Provisionals have drawn behind them the bulk of the militant nationalist current in Ireland and that, whatever their errors, the government cannot suppress them without attacking the democratic rights of the Irish people as a whole.

Thus, a united opposition to Lynch's repression takes on vital importance, and not just because of the obvious need to defend the Provisional militants, who represent an important part of the vanguard of the Irish people and include many persons who have earned the respect of all patriots and revolutionists by their dedication and courage.

The fight for an independent Irish Ireland is inseparably bound up with the battle to defeat this repression. And after three years of the dynamic unleashed by the civil rights struggle, it seems clear that out of this fight will come the socialist revolution, which alone can achieve the highest aspirations of the Irish people. □

'Le Monde' Reports Revolt by North Vietnamese Dissidents in South

In the November 25 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde* correspondent Jean-Claude Pomonti described what he claimed was a "grave crisis" within the liberation forces that had been "provoked by dissident elements."

The substance of Pomonti's article was an account of an alleged attempt by three South Vietnamese leaders and one North Vietnamese general stationed in the South to forcibly take over the National Liberation Front and Provisional Revolutionary Government headquarters. Pomonti said his information came from a "well-informed and very reliable source."

The day the story appeared a spokesman for the PRG in Paris declared that it "had no basis in fact." Agence France-Presse reported that "American officials" in Saigon believe the story to be "senseless." North Vietnamese officials have likewise challenged its veracity. In its November 26-27 issue, *Le Monde* announced that it would stand by its story.

For the information of our readers, we offer the following synopsis of *Le Monde's* report.

On the morning of November 10, Pomonti wrote, nearly 1,000 dissidents under the command of the North Vietnamese General Le Vinh Khoa attacked the encampment occupied by the central PRG and National Liberation Front leaders. After two days of battles, they managed to take the camp, but without ever getting hold of the PRG ministers or the members of the NLF Central Committee Presidium. On November 12 the rebellion was suppressed by General Tran Nam Trung, PRG defense minister, vice president of the NLF Central Committee.

A tribunal was reportedly convened by the PRG, presided over by Trinh Dinh Thao, a lawyer who is president of the Alliance of National, Democratic, and Peace Forces, one of the constituents of the NLF. The participants in the rebellion were sentenced to various penalties.

Pomonti's source said that the

southern leaders of the rebellion were Vo Chi Cong, president of the South Vietnam Revolutionary People's party (the Communist party), Tran Bach Dang, a member of the NLF Central Committee Presidium and president of the Association of Youth for the Liberation of the South, and Vo Van Mon, an NLF Central Committee member who had been a lieutenant colonel in the Binh Xuyen sect before its suppression under the Diem regime.

The three leaders are said to be "partisans of struggle to the end," a line that is reportedly supported by Le Duan, secretary general of the North Vietnamese CP and which rejects the proposed Tho-Kissinger accords.

According to Pomonti's source, the "partial check of the great Tet offensive" of 1968 precipitated "differences" in the NLF Central Committee and in the PRG leadership. At weekly meetings Vo Chi Cong, Tran Bach Dang, and Vo Van Mon "violently" attacked the "sluggish" attitude displayed by NLF chief Nguyen Huu Tho and the "defeatist" posture of PRG president Huynh Tan Phat.

The latter two leaders, Pomonti reports, defended their views by insisting that hopes of military victory were "unrealistic" and that it was therefore necessary to adopt the perspective of a negotiated settlement, "provided it was well controlled and equitable." That point of view always got a majority of the votes.

The decision of the dissidents to resort to violence was reportedly made after the North Vietnamese General Le Vinh Khoa and his troops "composed of various extremist elements," were posted to zone 4. The NLF's zone 4, of which Khoa became commander, includes the provinces of Tayninh, Binhlong, Binhduong, and Phuclong. It is in this sector, just north and west of Saigon, that the leading organs of the NLF, the PRG, and the headquarters of the People's Liberation Armed Forces are situated.

Pomonti reports that General Tran Nam Trung, the commander who finally put down the rebellion, had a

"hard" reputation up to the time of the Tet offensive. Since then, he had become "more flexible. The plotters could therefore not rely on him. They had to move in his absence, hoping that the general would later rally to their support."

The opportunity came, according to Pomonti's source, when Trung, along with his special deputy, went to visit Anloc Province on November 9. The next day, before dawn, the dissidents attacked the bunkers housing the NLF and PRG leaders. In spite of the element of surprise, the security forces were able to gain enough time to evacuate the leaders to a "security zone" about a mile and a quarter into the forest.

The rebels were said to be armed with rifles, machine guns, and even with B-40 bazookas. But the "heroic action" of the security guards—the terminology would suggest that Pomonti's source is friendly to the NLF-PRG leadership—defended the "security zone" long enough for the leaders to be evacuated again. "By land rover, by jeep, and even by bicycle" the NLF and PRG officials were able to escape to other "security" areas. NLF president Nguyen Huu Tho is said to have been shot in the leg during the fighting.

Once they had taken the headquarters, the rebels and General Khoa reportedly sent a delegation to General Trung inviting him to join them in a reorganized NLF Central Committee. He refused. Instead, he "ordered three of his best battalions to retake the NLF and PRG headquarters by any means necessary."

After a full day's march, Trung's forces reached the embattled area on November 11 and surrounded the dissidents. The next day, Pomonti says, after firing some artillery salvos and mortars, they suppressed the rebellion. Two of the dissident battalions were said to have surrendered while the third, along with Vo Van Mon, fled.

Pomonti reports that the crushing of the rebellion was followed by a shake-up in the PRG. The reorganized cabinet includes only two, "moderate" members of the South Vietnamese CP. Ton That Duong Ky, secretary general of the Alliance of National, Democratic, and Peace Forces, was added to the government. The Alliance, Pomonti writes, which is "considered the most moderate element in the Southern revolutionary forces, therefore

seems to have been the main beneficiary of the changes." The big loser was the "hard" wing of the southern CP.

After hearing of the rebellion, North Vietnamese Prime Minister Pham Van Dong is said to have reaffirmed his "unconditional support for presidents Nguyen Huu Tho and Huynh Tan Phat." He added that measures were being taken to ensure that North Vietnamese troops fighting in the South would not "interfere in the affairs" of the PRG.

The tribunal that judged the rebels pronounced its verdict on November 16 according to Pomonti. Vo Chi Cong

was sentenced to twenty years in a prison camp, Tran Bach Dang to ten years. Vo Van Mon was condemned, in absentia, to death. Of the twenty other defendants, verdicts ranged from acquittal to five-year sentences.

The same day the sentences were handed down, an NLF delegation consisting of representatives of the front's four component parties was reportedly dispatched to Hanoi to discuss the rebellion with Pham Van Dong. Pomonti reported that the "indignation" expressed by Dong at the rebellion of North Vietnamese battalions "appears to have contributed to improving Hanoi-PRG relations." □

gow Indochina Committee in response to the call for international antiwar actions issued by the U. S. National Peace Action Coalition.

Marching under their own banners were members of the Clyde District Boilermakers Union, Clydebank Young Communist League, International Marxist Group, International Socialists, Revolutionary Socialist Youth, Old-Age Pensioners Association, Stirling Trades Council, and the Amalgamated Union of Engineer-Workers No. 2 Divisional Council. A letter from representatives in Britain of the Vietnamese people was read to the rally.

In Australia, on November 18, some 1,000 persons marched in Melbourne, 500 in Sydney, and 250 in Canberra. Other actions occurred in Adelaide and Brisbane.

Among the speakers at the Melbourne rally were George Crawford, chairman of the Australian Labor party in Victoria, and Labor MP Moss Cass. In Sydney, the gathering heard Jack Munday from the Builders Labourers Federation, and Frans Timmerman, editor of *Tharunka*, the student newspaper of the University of New South Wales.

On November 19, some 2000 persons from all over Belgium defied a steady rain to march in a demonstration organized by the Front Uni National Indochine. Participating in the demonstration were the youth groups of the Belgian Socialist party and the Fédération Générale des Travailleurs de Belgique (General Federation of Belgian Workers). Various Jewish organizations and Maoist groups also participated. The largest contingent was that of the Ligue Révolutionnaire des Travailleurs (Revolutionary Workers League), the Belgian section of the Fourth International, and the circles of the Jeune Garde Socialiste (Socialist Young Guard). □

Czech Appeals Denied

Thirty Czechoslovak dissidents convicted last summer in frame-up political trials conducted by the Husak regime have had their appeals denied by the country's supreme court, according to a report in the December 1 *Christian Science Monitor*.

Of the forty-six persons sentenced to prison terms in the trials, three have had their sentences reduced upon appeal. There was no word of who the three were.

In France, Scotland, Australia, and Belgium

Demonstrators Demand End to War

During November, in the midst of peace rumors and the continued prosecution of the air war, demonstrations against U. S. aggression in Indochina took place in Europe and Australia.

Thousands of persons throughout France participated on November 6 and 7 in activities called by the Front Solidarité Indochine (FSI—Indochina Solidarity Front). The actions were scheduled to coincide with the U. S. elections so as to emphasize that the movement to aid the peoples of Indochina will stay in the streets regardless of the election results and Nixon's "peace" demagoguery.

On November 6, a rally sponsored by the FSI at the Mutualité in Paris drew a crowd of nearly 3,000 persons. Huynh Cong Tham, representing the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam, told the audience, "Since its formation, the FSI has set itself the task of building active political and material support. This activity has been invaluable encouragement for us. Through our joint actions, we will bring about peace. We know that you are with us and we will win."

Other speakers at the rally included L. Van Sinh, of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, Dr. Insokan of the Royal United National Government of Cambodia and the National United Front of Cambodia, Photsavang of the Union of Laotian Stu-

dents, Jean Lacouture, Laurent Schwartz, and Wilfred Burchett. Madeleine Rébérioux, of the national office of the FSI, described the dangers facing hundreds of thousands of political prisoners in South Vietnam.

On the following day, about 7,000 persons marched through the streets of Paris in a demonstration sponsored by FSI, La Cause du Peuple, Révolution!, and other organizations.

In Rennes, about 600 persons defied a ban on demonstrations to protest the U. S. aggression. Despite police harassment, the march went off without clashes.

At the Assas law school, which the fascists always viewed as their stronghold, the flags of the three Indochinese peoples were raised at a rally attended by more than 400 persons. Attempts by the neofascist Ordre Nouveau to disrupt the rally were unsuccessful.

More than 1,000 persons marched in Marseilles, more than 1,000 in Rouen, 200 in Perpignan (where a delegation from the Spanish Communist party and a group of Americans took part), 800 in Bordeaux, and 200 in Dijon.

In Glasgow, Scotland, on November 18 about 600 people marched in the center of the city to express their opposition to the continuing U. S. aggression in Indochina. The demonstration was organized by the Glas-

Has Hanoi Made Additional Concessions?

The latest "final" round of U.S.-North Vietnamese talks began December 4 at an undisclosed location in or near Paris. Henry Kissinger, who reported six weeks ago that peace was "at hand," now estimates, according to the December 3 *New York Times*, that "95 percent" of the settlement has been decided on. The remaining 5 percent should be cleared up "in a few days."

Public statements by the parties concerned tended to indicate otherwise, but, as the *Times* observed on December 4, "public statements have been used tactically by all parties in the negotiations and were not considered to be reliable guides to actual intentions."

There are, unfortunately, no official sources of information about what transpired in the preceding round of talks between Kissinger and chief Hanoi negotiator Le Duc Tho. But most reports in the Western press indicated that Hanoi had made additional concessions on a number of key points.

First, the amended version of the accord will apparently include a formal stipulation of a cease-fire in Laos and Cambodia concurrent with the cessation of hostilities in Vietnam. No such provision existed in the treaty released October 26 by Radio Hanoi. Saigon, or rather Washington, operating through Thieu, had insisted on it. The Laos-Cambodia cease-fire will also entail a withdrawal of North Vietnamese troops from those countries.

Second, Hanoi has reportedly agreed to recognize the demilitarized zone. The original draft of the treaty did not mention the DMZ, access to which has been essential for supplying the liberation forces.

Third, while the original draft specified that third parties could resupply weapons to the southern liberation forces or to Saigon only on a "one-for-one" basis, the amended accord is said to allow for unlimited military aid to either side. Since Moscow and Peking have already demonstrated their unwillingness to seriously help the Vietnamese people defend themselves against U.S. imperialism, the sub-

stance of the change is that Washington will have a free hand to move weapons into the South.

The central point of disagreement appears still to be the question of North Vietnamese troops in South Vietnam. The United States has

Calls Socialism 'Only Solution' for Argentina

Tosco Opposes Any Peron-Lanusse Accord

"We do not want a castrated Perón. If Perón has returned in order to lead the people in making the revolution, he is welcome. If Perón has come back for some other reason, it won't do at all," Agustín Tosco, leader of the electrical workers in Córdoba, Argentina, told Giangiacomo Foa during an interview published in the November 26 issue of the Mexico City daily *Excelsior*.

Tosco was released from prison in September after serving a year and a half for allegedly "subversive" acts.

The militant labor leader took a clear stand in opposition to any effort on the part of Perón to reach an agreement with "the oligarch Lanusse." "If Perón represents the interests of the people," he said, "he cannot embrace Lanusse. The people and Lanusse are like oil and vinegar."

He added that "the fundamental problems of Argentina and the working class are not going to disappear as if by magic just because Perón and Lanusse embrace." In Argentina, he said, "the only solution is a broad struggle for socialism."

Regarding speculation on the possibility that Perón will, indeed, negotiate an agreement with the military dictatorship, Tosco commented: "I am going only by acts. I insist that the presence of Juan Domingo Perón will be good for the people only if Perón has returned revolution in hand."

While the elections scheduled to take place next March "are a possibility

continued to press Hanoi for a formal commitment to take its forces out of the South and leave the local liberation forces to the mercy of the Thieu regime. Previously, North Vietnam had reportedly agreed to a de facto reduction in its southern forces. But since Washington has reneged on its original acceptance of this point, Hanoi has again raised the demand that Thieu's civilian political prisoners be released, apparently tying the question of the political prisoners to the question of withdrawal.



TOSCO: Freed labor leader calls on Peron to break with Lanusse.

that cannot be belittled," Tosco noted that "elections do not solve everything. In Chile the elections were useful. In Brazil they are a joke."

When asked what his position would be on the proposed elections, Tosco stated: "I think that progressive forces should form a Popular Front, not like the Chilean one, but more along the lines of what was done in Uruguay in the last elections." □

Labor Parties Swept to Power

By Caroline Lund

Labor parties in both New Zealand and Australia won resounding victories in national elections held November 25 and December 2, respectively. In both countries, labor candidates were able to point to spiraling inflation, growing unemployment, anti-trade-union measures, deteriorating social services, and militarism as features of the defeated capitalist-party governments.

After what the November 2 *Wall Street Journal* called "the biggest and most bitterly fought election campaign in Australia's history," the Labor party won by a comfortable majority, ousting the coalition government of the Liberal and Country parties for the first time in twenty-three years. Prime Minister William McMahon was replaced by the parliamentary leader of the Labor party, Gough Whitlam.

The Liberal party is described by the November 19 *New York Times* as representing "conservative and moneyed interests," while the Country party "speaks for the powerful farmers and ranchers."

Besides pledging to implement social reform measures, the Labor party called for an end to conscription, reduction of the armed forces, withdrawal of Australian troops from Singapore and Malaysia, and recognition of the People's Republic of China.

With unemployment standing at a ten-year high and inflation at its worst in twenty years, Labor candidates in Australia had no lack of campaign issues. But the Labor leadership's response to these problems was to propose formation of a Prices Justification Tribunal to moderate price rises, as a step toward controls on wages as well as prices.

In New Zealand the Labour party won its biggest election victory since 1935. Voters gave Labour fifty-five seats in the eighty-seven-seat parliament, defeating the National party government headed by John R. Marshall. The National party had held power for twelve years. Labour party head Norman E. Kirk will become the new prime minister.



KIRK: Finally to become Prime Minister. Will he uphold Labour's program?

Major issues in the New Zealand elections were outlined in a special election supplement of the revolutionary-socialist biweekly *Socialist Action*, which called for support to the Labour party. Since the last elections, three years ago, prices have risen about 25 percent. In response to the inflation, the National party imposed wage restraints and launched a crackdown against militant unions. Its proposed Industrial Relations Act, introduced in October, would severely limit the right of unions to strike.

The Labour party leadership refused to take this bill head on and make it a central election issue. "Instead of taking a firm stand against the government's anti-union measures," wrote *Socialist Action*, "the right-wing Labour leaders have accommodated to them, indicating that in spite of all their disagreements with the particular government schemes, they also favour 'stabilisation' of wages and limitation of the right to strike."

Under National party rule social

services have steadily eroded. In 1967 the government abolished the system of free milk in schools, which had been introduced by the first Labour government (1935-49). The public hospital system has deteriorated, as the National government adopted policies aimed at shifting medical care from public to private control.

While house rents went up 96 percent over the past five years, with apartment costs not far behind, the National party drastically reduced the public housing and building program established by the Labour government during the 1940s.

A major factor in Labour's victory was the party stand against the war in Vietnam and militarism in general. Popular sentiment in New Zealand has strongly opposed both U.S. aggression in Southeast Asia and New Zealand's complicity in it, with anti-war demonstrations mobilizing up to 35,000 in a country of less than 3 million people. The Labour party pledged an end to the draft and withdrawal of the New Zealand military-training teams remaining in Vietnam. (The National party had been forced by antiwar sentiment to withdraw regular New Zealand troops from Vietnam in 1971.) Labour also promised to pull out of a joint Australia-New Zealand force occupying Singapore and Malaysia.

Socialist Action criticized the Kirk leadership for attempting to water down these stands: "Although the Labour Party Conferences have called for an end to New Zealand support for the Saigon dictatorship, the Kirk leadership has avoided taking a clear stand on the issue. An illustration of how Kirk slides out of taking such stands was given in 1971, when the Labour Party conference called for withdrawal from SEATO. Straight afterwards, Kirk told the press that Labour policy was to work for a South East Asian regional arrangement to replace SEATO, which he described as 'ineffective'—directly contradicting the intentions of the party rank and file."

To some extent the Labour party related to the demands of the growing women's liberation movement in New Zealand—calling for enforcement of equal pay for equal work and government subsidies for child-care centers. But the Kirk leadership prevented the party from taking a stand in fa-

vor of the right of women to abortion (abortion is illegal throughout New Zealand except to save the life of the pregnant woman) for fear of losing some Catholic votes.

A new element in the Labour party campaign was an energetic Socialists for Labour Campaign initiated by the Trotskyist Socialist Action League. Socialists for Labour called for a Labour victory while advocating socialist policies, an end to all wage restraints, repeal of the abortion laws, support for the demands of the Mao-

ris (original Polynesian inhabitants of New Zealand) for language and land rights, an end to all sporting contacts with South Africa, and other positions the present Labour leadership has refused to take.

In Australia, also, socialists fought within the Labor party for more far-reaching policies in the interests of working people. Members of the Socialist Workers League and the Socialist Youth Alliance campaigned for a Labor victory under the slogan "Labor to power—fight for socialist policies." □

Pro-Nixon bureaucrats were pleased by the choice. AFL-CIO leader George Meany said he thought Brennan would make "a very fine secretary of labor." Both Meany and International Brotherhood of Teamsters President Frank Fitzsimmons (another Nixon backer) were consulted before the appointment was made.

At his November 29 news conference, Brennan indicated that he was more than willing to accept the subordinate role that awaits a labor bureaucrat in a capitalist administration.

He said he hoped that the wage freeze could be "phased out" soon. He was quick to add, however, that he was merely the secretary of labor and that there were many people involved "with greater knowledge than I."

When reporters reminded him that Meany had once called the outgoing secretary of labor a "janitor" who could be ignored, Brennan said, "I'm not ashamed of being a janitor. It's a damn good way to make a living."

His modest—and accurate—view of his post may make it easier for Brennan to survive in Nixon's cabinet. Martin Durkin, the plumbers'-union bureaucrat who held the post for nine months in 1953, quit after President Eisenhower broke a promise to amend the strikebreaking Taft-Hartley act.

Brennan will have no power as secretary of labor to protect the interests of workers, even were he inclined to do so. Real power in the department rests with career bureaucrats who look to Nixon and the employers for guidance.

Nor will Brennan's presence in the cabinet reduce the growing squeeze on the living standards of construction workers. Nixon has already suspended the Davis-Bacon act, which requires Federal contractors to pay prevailing wage-rates as set by the Department of Labor. A growing number of government contracts are going to nonunion contractors.

If the government abandons wage controls, as Brennan hopes, it will rely on the threat of unemployment to force workers to accept a reduced standard of living.

It remains to be seen whether Brennan will serve a full four years as a well-paid front man for Nixon's antilabor policies or whether, like Martin Durkin, he will soon withdraw into well-earned obscurity. □

Not Ashamed to be Nixon's Janitor

Racist Bureaucrat Picked for Labor Post

Nixon's November 29 appointment of Peter J. Brennan, the prowar racist who heads the New York council of building trades unions, as U.S. secretary of labor marks the first time in twenty years that a labor bureaucrat has held the post.

Although Brennan is being touted in the bourgeois press as a "representative of labor" in Nixon's second administration, his reactionary views put him far closer to the ruling class than to most American workers.

The new labor secretary first became nationally prominent in May 1970, when, in the midst of student strikes against Nixon's invasion of Cambodia, he organized a proinvasion demonstration of 50,000 construction workers, Cuban gusanos, and other prowar groups. Marchers carried banners bearing the slogan "We support the Establishment." Union members were offered a day's pay and other inducements for their participation.

One week later Brennan presented Nixon a hard hat (commonly worn for protection by workers at construction projects) emblazoned with the words "Commander in Chief." The former painters' union official told reporters, "... our people are decent people. They work in the church and the synagogue and the Little League and the Boy Scouts. They would tear up their union cards before they would do anything to hurt this country."

There was crude calculation behind this seemingly mindless superpatriotism. The once highly privileged craft

unions have been under pressure from several directions. The construction industry is experiencing an economic downturn and is heavily dependent on federal contracts. In addition, the bureaucrats are fighting to maintain the building trades as all-white job trusts against the demands of Blacks for equal job opportunity. A majority of the skilled-trades unions—electricians, plumbers, ironworkers, steam fitters, sheet metal workers, elevator constructors, and painters—virtually exclude Blacks. In 1969 demonstrations by Black workers forced Nixon to initiate the Philadelphia Plan, a "quota" system that provided a small number of skilled jobs for Blacks.

Brennan and other bureaucrats sent up a howl of protest against these "undemocratic" quotas. They prefer the traditional system, which "democratically" bars Blacks entirely. In lining up behind Nixon's war policies, Brennan expected Nixon's help in rolling back the minimal gains Blacks had made.

During the election campaign, a Labor Department source predicted that the Philadelphia Plan would be dumped, and Nixon stated that "dividing Americans into quotas is totally alien to the American tradition." Brennan and a number of other craft-union leaders got the message and endorsed Nixon.

The cabinet appointment is Brennan's reward for helping to keep the "Commander in Chief" in the White House.

Willy Brandt's Electoral Victory

Frankfurt am Main

"The Social Democratic party of Germany has won the greatest electoral victory in its 110-year history," exulted party chairman and Chancellor Willy Brandt after the November 19 elections to the Bundestag.

In the Federal Republic of Germany, each voter casts two ballots, the first for an individual candidate, the second for a party. One could, for example, vote for a Social Democrat or Christian Democrat on the first vote (*Erststimme*), and for the liberal Free Democratic party on the second vote (*Zweitstimme*).¹ The results indicate that many Social Democrats, and also many Christian Democrats, did just that. The former out of fear that the FDP might get less than 5 percent of the "second votes" and be bounced out of parliament, a development that would bring the CDU/CSU back to power. The latter, because they wanted to prevent the anticipated SPD victory from being too great. They wanted to strengthen the bourgeois-liberal sector of the coalition in order to keep the SPD from trying any "socialist experiments."

The SPD succeeded in increasing the number of its Bundestag seats from 224 (the 1969 election) to 230. The FDP increased its shares from 30 seats in 42, while the CDU/CSU fell from 242 to 224.²

With a voter turnout of 91.2%—the highest in German parliamentary history—the SPD drew 45.9% of the "second votes" (that is, votes for their party), the CDU got 35.2%, the CSU 9.6%, and the FDP 8.4%. With 114,000 votes, the German Communist party got 0.3%, and the extreme rightist NDP got 0.6% (207,000 votes).

For the first time, the SPD has become the biggest vote-getting party, its 17,167,000 *Zweitstimmen* topping the CDU/CSU's combined total of 16,795,000. The SPD's success becomes

even more impressive when you consider that it got 48.9% of the *Erststimmen*, that is, of the votes cast for individual candidates. By way of comparison, after the 1918 revolution, the Social Democrats and Independent Social Democrats together got only 45.5% of the vote!

It scarcely needs to be stressed how ludicrous the ultraleftists' call for boycotting the elections looks today. Or the sectarian IKD's call to vote for the Communist party. It is obvious that in large part the Communists did not even vote for their own party but rather for the SPD. Besides, the CP ran on such an ultrareformist program that its total cannot even be considered as a revolutionary protest vote. This once large party, which drew millions of votes during the years of the Weimar Republic, could not even match the vote totals of the Ligue Communiste in France or the Socialist Workers party in the United States.

Sources of the SPD-FDP Success

In this election, for the first time since the 1950s, there was a visible process of polarization, one that reached not only into the factories, but even into families. This led to intense debate and to *public* expressions of support for one or another party—buttons and stickers, such as "Citizens for Brandt" or "We want Willy," were worn into factories or pasted on automobiles.

The employers made their preference for the CDU/CSU so obvious—through advertisements in the press that cost 30 million marks [about US \$10 million] and through other forms of support—that they stepped up the process of polarization. The employers issued "bans" against government ministers and the chancellor, forbidding them to hold meetings in the factories, even though such gatherings were common practice during the Adenauer regime. This was just as clear evidence of the employers' CDU partisanship as the millions they spent on the election campaign.

Even in the last elections of the Weimar Republic, when German big capital was already massively supporting the Nazis with millions in contributions, the SPD was still granted a certain sum from the employers' campaign treasuries. But this time, SPD Treasurer Alfred Nau's pleas to the bosses to throw some money his way too, seeing that his party had gotten the trade unions to scale down their demands, largely fell on deaf ears. The slogan first raised in the Baden-Württemberg metalworkers' strike of 1963—"Millionaires against the millions"—got practical confirmation in this election that was more convincing than any propaganda.

Sophisticated polls conducted by sociological institutes revealed that the SPD won over about 1.7 million voters—mostly workers—from the CDU/CSU, and that about 1.1 million people—mostly from the "middle strata"—shifted to the CDU/CSU.

In 1969 the "middle-class trend" was running in favor of the SPD. That is, thanks to the liberal Karl Schiller, the SPD won the votes of the middle strata. But since then, Schiller has not only resigned from the ministries of economics and of finance, but from the SPD as well. In fact, he campaigned together with Ludwig Erhard (former CDU economics minister and chancellor) in favor of the "free-market economy." But this time, in contrast to 1969, the "red trend" ran in favor of the SPD. "The SPD ran stronger than usual among the workers," the Institute for Social Research in Mannheim commented.

Just as the employers' anti-SPD propaganda failed to win votes from the working class, the anti-SPD sermons given by bishops and priests failed to have any effect. Even though, according to an "Infratest" Munich poll, 60% of the Catholics still voted for the CDU/CSU, this represented a loss of 3% compared to the 1969 election. The SPD got 54% of the Protestant vote, but won 5% more of the Catholic vote—especially among the lower layers of the working class, the youth, and women.

Undoubtedly, the SPD picked up its biggest gains from people voting for the first time, the 4.8 million youth between eighteen and twenty-one who were just granted the right to vote.

A poll conducted before the election by the Allensbach Institute for Popula-

1. For an explanation of West Germany's baroque electoral system, see *Intercontinental Press*, December 4, p. 1332.

2. A postelection recount took one seat from the FDP and gave it to the CDU.

tion Research revealed that as of October, 60% of voters under thirty planned to vote for the SPD and 31% for the CDU/CSU. The FDP was rated at 6%. (As it turned out, the FDP actually got 10% of the youth vote.)

The young vote has by no means always gone this way. The Allensbach Institute wrote: "If these figures are compared with the corresponding official statistics for the 1965 and 1969 elections, it becomes clear that there has been a shift to the left among young voters that has favored the SPD. In 1969, only 39.8% of twenty-one to twenty-nine-year-olds voted SPD, 49.4% for the CDU/CSU. Four years later, in 1969, official returns indicated that a plurality, 46.5% of voters under thirty had opted for the SPD; 43% voted for the CDU/CSU."

It can hardly be disputed, as the Allensbach Institute says, that "the shift came between 1965 and 1969." That is, it occurred as the revolt in the universities, the struggle against the emergency laws, and also the 1966-1967 recession gave the youth radicalization a mass character, at least on a vanguard level. This extraparliamentary development of the vanguard radical youth has now found a parliamentary carry-over in these elections, in which the youth went to the polls in massive numbers for the first time. This will not be the final expression of the extraparliamentary radicalization.

It would be wrong to conclude from this that there are now millions of radical youth. But there has unquestionably been a growing political interest and commitment, not the least of whose expressions were the "election initiative" groups of unorganized Social Democrats. The number of these groups—and this is also unprecedented in SPD history—grew from about 65 local chapters to 338. They linked up closely with the many "Bürgerinitiativen" [civic initiatives] and action groups that were established, generally on a local basis, as "extraparliamentary" bodies or "groups supplementing parliament," or as "single-issue movements." FDP General Secretary Flach saw these groups as a means of "gradually strengthening direct democracy." (For the magazine *Der Spiegel* this even sounded like a "system of councils.")

It also seems equally incontestable that this politicization, above all of

young women (not least because of the discussion around the repeal of the abortion law, the struggle against paragraph 218), resulted in votes for both the SPD and the FDP. Here again, the top Catholic hierarchy—which waged an intense struggle against the repeal of the abortion law and even claimed that if 218 were repealed, we would soon be executing old people!—lost a battle.

The CDU/CSU Failure

The reactionary bourgeois press (and especially the newspapers controlled by Axel Caesar Springer, which waged a massive pro-CDU/CSU campaign) would like to reduce the whole problem that arose for the CDU/CSU in this election to the contrast between Willy Brandt and Rainer Barzel. Naturally, this is the best way to hide the real issues. It was the Springer press that polemicized most sharply against the SPD's Eastern and détente policies in the belief that this would mobilize the anticommunism of the 12 million refugees [from East Germany] and the real former-Nazi potential, and could return the CDU/CSU to power. The intelligent bourgeois *Stuttgarter Zeitung* matter-of-factly stated: "The obstructive policy on the question of the *Ostpolitik* [as is known, the CDU/CSU abstained on the voting on the Eastern treaties, and a few days before the election Barzel rejected the basic treaty that had been negotiated with the German Democratic Republic], for example, clearly did not pay off. And with the European détente policies going full steam ahead—from the security conference to the disarmament conference—the CDU/CSU will be placed in one difficult situation after another by Brandt and [Foreign Minister Walter] Scheel. So it will have to make its peace with détente. The CDU/CSU will also have to doctor up its domestic policies and show some more reforming zeal if it does not want to find itself isolated for a long time from the political currents that for the time being have determined its fate."

Undoubtedly, the *Ostpolitik* and détente policy is in the interests of German big capital. In view of the growing difficulties in profit-realization and the increasingly intense international competition, the German bourgeoisie has every interest in gaining access

to the Eastern market through such a policy. But for the bourgeoisie, this entails a clear danger. The destruction of anticommunism as the central ideology and the direct contact, to be guaranteed under the new treaties, that millions of people will have with East Germany will inevitably lead to a re-activation of the discussion, hitherto believed dead, of socialism and capitalism. This is going to involve not just small layers of the student vanguard, but the workers themselves, who for decades have been blinded by the "economic miracle."

The German bourgeoisie hoped to escape this dilemma by returning the CDU/CSU to power, thus being able to take the necessary follow-up steps to the U.S.-Soviet détente without venturing too far, especially in East Germany's direction. Above all, the bourgeoisie wants to shield the West German workers from too close contact with East Germany because, while the East still has a markedly lower standard of living than the West, it can nevertheless offer some instructive points and material for discussion in many social areas (the number of workers' children in schools, vocational training, the number of kindergartens, and so on).

What the SPD-FDP Coalition Will Mean for the Working Class

Even before the voters went to the ballot box amid the various predictions of the pollsters, all favorable to the SPD and FDP, the SPD as well as the opposition and Social Democratic Bundestag President Heinemann made desperate efforts to halt the process of polarization that was becoming clearer and clearer. People were reminded that even after the elections, life had to go on and that "conflicts" had to be healed. This concern was no longer limited merely to the elections, but extended much more clearly to their results—to the anticipated politicization around coming wage confrontations, especially those involving the metal workers' union (2.3 million members), whose contracts expire on December 31, and the OeTV [Oeffentlicher Dienst, Transport und Verkehr—Public Service, Transport, and Traffic] workers' union (one million members), whose contract is also about to run out.

Two days before the elections, the

top managers of German industry met with the leaders of the trade unions—who had firmly lined up with the SPD during the elections—to work out a "nonaggression treaty." A "stability pact" was proposed, according to which in 1973 the workers would accept a 5 percent increase in wages and salaries (while price increases are running at nearly 7 percent and taxes are going up, too) in return for a promise to keep the increase in factory prices of industrial goods, which now stands at about 3.5 percent annually, to just one percent next year.

Just one day after the elections, the *Handelsblatt*, which is very closely tied to big capital, came out with an "Action Program for the New Government." The first point was that "after the vigorous election battle, with its often artificial polarization," it has become clear that the government's program, especially in economic and fiscal matters, "will be dictated by a series of objective necessities." Inflation will remain the number one problem. *Konzentrierte Aktion* will have to be used to fight it, to provide "guidelines"—naturally for wages.³

"Unconditional guarantees of full employment" must at least be modified. That is, unemployment, at least in cases of "gross malfeasance by the social partners," should become an instrument of economic policy. (It goes without saying that the employers cannot be punished by unemployment.)

"In coming years, 'reforms' that cost money" will have little chance of passage, states the *Handelsblatt*, and it adds immediately, "The general tax reform will also have little chance of getting through in the current legislative session." (The proposed reform would have at least taxed the rich a little more strongly.)

The bourgeoisie is openly relying on the FDP to act as a brake on too sweeping reforms. Its task is seen "not as merely putting the brakes on any deviations by its larger partner [the SPD] in matters of security, but as actually blocking them." But even from the ranks of the SPD leadership itself come warnings against having any great illusions. In contrast to 1969,

3. "Concerted Action," a system of "settling" labor disputes by the intervention of a committee composed of representatives of the government, the trade unions, and the employers.

no new concrete promises of reforms have been made—or only those that will not cost anything. Instead the government's declarations are deliberately left as vague as possible, so as to allow it a free hand later on.

On the very night of their election victory, the SPD leaders had great words of praise for the Catholic voters, and for women as well. But the factories, in which the victory was forged, were almost completely forgotten, as were the trade unions. The pressure on the trade-union leadership to hold down its demands and not to press too strongly for reforms has already begun.

But the question remains whether the union leadership can afford to take the attitude demanded of them by the SPD leadership's "stabilization policy," which amounts to guaranteeing big capital a chance to raise its profits, to get back out in front in international competition.

The bourgeois-liberal *Stuttgarter Zeitung* described the union leadership's dilemma in the sharpest terms:

More Blood on Brezhnev's Hands

Ukrainian Prisoner Commits Suicide

A young Ukrainian afraid of breaking under the pressure of police interrogation recently committed suicide inside Lviv prison. (*Ukrain'ske Slovo* [Paris], November 12, 1972.)

Katala, aged thirty, an engineer, was a close friend of the artist Stefania Shabaturova. Shabaturova was recently arrested for oppositional activity. Katala was under interrogation by the Soviet secret police (KGB), who repeatedly demanded that he give evidence against her.

Under continuous pressure from the secret police, Katala feared that psychological torture might "break" him and that he would turn police witness against his close friend.

On April 28, Katala was summoned by the police to the Lviv prison for a routine interrogation, but this time it was to take place in the women's section of the prison. The police had hoped to bring Shabaturova to meet Katala after they had finished with him.

"From OeTV circles complaints are heard that precisely because we have a 'pro-working-class' government, the union members' hopes have been aroused. If the union leadership becomes too friendly with the regime, it will not be able to prevent wildcat strikes. On the other hand, if it pushes demands that correspond to the aspirations of the membership, it will be forced to declare strikes."

Even if one were to take the very pessimistic attitude that soon after the SPD victory the union leadership will succeed in cutting down the demands of the membership so as to please the SPD-FDP regime, such a situation will not last long. The leadership will lose its own credibility in the view of its membership, and that will create openings for the "radical leftists" who, while predicting that the workers would vote for the SPD, did not cover up the fact that this regime could not fulfill the workers' hopes for reforms, because it is not prepared to take on the thing that prevents passage of the necessary reforms—the capitalist system itself.

During the initial stages of the interrogation, Katala managed to break free and run into a corridor. There, with a loud cry of protest, he drew a knife which he had kept concealed and plunged it into his heart. By the time the KGB officials had reached him, Katala was dead.

The suicide coincided with Nixon's visit to Kiev. Afraid that news of the event might spread throughout Lviv and cause a major disturbance, the KGB secretly buried Katala's body, strengthened prison security, and canceled all visits to the prison. □

Thy Will Be Done

Philippine President Marcos says he communed with god before unleashing a repression last September. He wanted to "ask Him whether it was correct for me to proclaim martial law." Marcos asked for "signs" from heaven. "I told myself if this occurs, I will immediately order martial law. And it did occur." Marcos did not specify what signs he got.

YSA Discusses New Stage of Vietnam War



Photograph shows some of the participants at Young Socialist Alliance Convention singing the "Internationale" at conclusion of proceedings.

The national convention of the Young Socialist Alliance, a revolutionary-socialist organization in political solidarity with the Socialist Workers party, was held November 23-26 in Cleveland, Ohio. The gathering, attended by some 1,200 persons, focused on the impact of the moves toward a settlement of the Vietnam war.

In the international report, Geoff Mirelowitz said that "what is happening now . . . reflects a new stage for the Vietnamese struggle and *for the world revolution*. . . . We are seeing the effects of world events on the Vietnamese. The result is that the Vietnamese are now faced with the prospect of a settlement to the war that will pose serious obstacles to the successful completion of the Vietnamese revolution. The imposition of this agreement on the Vietnamese is a result of Nixon's agreements with Brezhnev and Mao. This *détente* will have a negative impact on other struggles for liberation as well, although it will not change the long-term perspective of intensifying struggles for national liberation and social justice."

Mirelowitz reported on the expansion of the Fourth International. "Now is the time to build the Fourth International all over the world," he concluded, "and to build the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party."

The political report, given by YSA National Chairman Andy Rose, reaffirmed the YSA's view that "although the radicalization and level of activity will continue to go through ups and downs, periods of lull and periods of upsurge, the long-range prospect is for a continued deepening of the radicalization and for new waves of struggle."

Rose noted the belief held by most Americans that the war will soon be over. He said, "The antiwar movement must be prepared to respond if Nixon continues to reescalate the war, but the rapidly shifting course of the negotiations and the likelihood of a military cease-fire within weeks mean, in our opinion, that it would be incorrect to plan at this time for demonstrations in the spring." He emphasized that the YSA will continue to support the un-

conditional right of the Vietnamese to control their destiny.

In the coming year, Rose said, "we expect to see struggles breaking out over a variety of issues, and we anticipate opportunities for the YSA to fight alongside other militant youth in many different movements."

The political report projected plans for increasing the circulation of the monthly *Young Socialist*, for supporting the SWP candidates for state and city offices in the 1973 elections, and for sending teams of organizers into every part of the country.

The convention heard greetings from revolutionary-socialist groups in France, Sweden, Venezuela, Sri Lanka, Australia, India, Canada, and New Zealand.

Workshops and panels discussed various aspects of YSA activity. Doug Jenness, managing editor of *The Militant*, reported on revolutionary-socialist strategy in the trade-union movement. Another workshop discussed the defense of the YSA in Florida, where it has been declared a "subversive" organization and denied the right to function at any state-supported school.

In the organizational report, Laura Miller announced that the YSA has members on 200 college campuses, in fifty-seven high schools, five junior high schools, and two elementary schools. The YSA now has fifty-six locals, and members in 161 at-large areas.

Andy Rose and Laura Miller were reelected as national chairman and national organizational secretary, respectively, and Andrew Pulley was elected as national secretary. □

Way to Go, Fletcher!

Voter participation in the recent U.S. presidential election may have been the lowest in twenty-five years, but officially entered complaints of unfair campaign practices showed a promising jump. In fact, the records of the Fair Campaign Practices Committee, Inc., a nonpartisan "watchdog" agency based in the U.S. capital, showed a hefty 25 percent increase in complaints over the 1968 election.

One of the most common charges was that incumbent congressmen were illegally using their free-mailing privileges. The record-holder appears to be Georgia Representative Fletcher Thompson, who sent out a whopping 3.2 million messages—all delivered absolutely free—to citizens all over the state.

Schools Paralyzed by Teachers' Strike

Virtually the entire public educational system in the Dominican Republic has been paralyzed by a teachers' strike that began November 13. More than 500,000 students were affected by the strike as it succeeded, in its twelfth day, in encompassing the entire country. Some 10,000 teachers are involved.

The strike began in the country's second largest city, Santiago de los Caballeros (See *Intercontinental Press*, November 27, p. 1306). The teachers are demanding a salary increase, a wage scale guaranteed by law, and allocation of 30 percent of public expenditures to education.

The new secretary of education, Altagracia Bautista de Suárez, according to a United Press International dispatch from Santo Domingo printed in the November 26 issue of the New York Spanish-language daily *El Di-*

ario-La Prensa, "has said that the government plans to make the wage scale official during 1973 and to take up, in a relatively short period of time, the demands for a minimum wage for teachers on all levels, but the strikers said that they would not be satisfied with this."

They are demanding that the secretary convene the National Education Council, in which they have voice and vote, so that this body can rule on both demands. The secretary rejected this idea, claiming that the council has no authority in such matters because of its "eminently technical" character. The teachers, however, insist that it has.

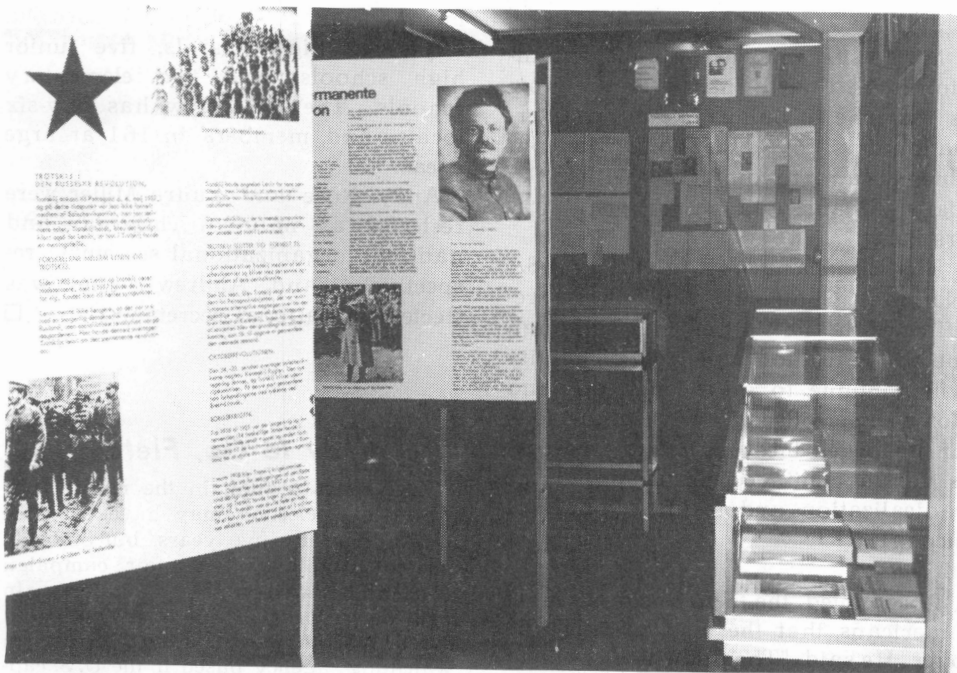
Several high schools in the capital of Santo Domingo have been occupied by the military, which has threatened to occupy the rest of them if the strike continues. The Federación de Estudi-

antes Dominicanos (FED—Federation of Dominican Students) has called street demonstrations in support of the teachers.

On November 28, the Dominican Professors Association (ADP—Asociación Dominicana de Profesores) agreed to enter into negotiations with the government starting on November 30. It called on the secretary of education to join in a "frank and sincere dialogue that will allow both parties in the dispute to reach a satisfactory solution to the conflict." A precondition for such a dialogue, it stated, would be "an end to police persecutions" of striking teachers.

According to a UPI report in the November 30 *El Diario*, the secretary of education subsequently visited the head of the national police, General Neit Nivar Seijas, "in order to obtain guarantees that no teacher who had joined the strike would be the object of any persecution by the authorities."

The educational crisis has been exacerbated by the virtually simultaneous decision of the Autonomous University of Santo Domingo (UASD—Universidad Autónoma de Santo Domingo) to expel hundreds of students in an attempt to undermine their struggle to force the government to allocate 5 percent of the national budget to the UASD. More than 800 students, from all schools in the university, have already been expelled. □



The fortieth anniversary of Leon Trotsky's famous speech on the Russian revolution November 27, 1932, in Copenhagen is being commemorated in the Danish capital in various ways. In addition to meetings (see *Intercontinental Press*, December 4, p. 1335), these include the above exhibition in Copenhagen's Folkets Hus, where the Archives and Library of the Danish labor movement are located. The exhibition, which is to be displayed in libraries throughout the country, consists of explanatory placards, newspaper clippings, and books from the period, as well as contributions from various Trotskyist organizations.

Coup Blocked in Egypt?

Egyptian security forces have blocked an attempted coup by right-wing officers and pilots in the air force, according to a dispatch printed in the December 4 *New York Times*.

The dispatch indicated that the group, which consisted mostly of colonels, had planned to oust President Anwar el-Sadat around November 15. The officers reportedly intended to set up a junta, with the ousted army commander and minister of war, General Mohammed Sadek, as figurehead.

The conspiracy was said to have been discovered when loyalist officers, who had been approached by the plotters, informed security agents. On November 11 some twenty-five to thirty top-ranking officers were arrested on charges of having been involved in the coup attempt. Some were questioned briefly and released. Further investigation is said to be in progress.

At least three generals are reportedly among those arrested: Mustafa Mehrez, Ali Abdel Khabir, and the chief of military intelligence.

Situation in Mexico Four Years After Tlatelolco

By Ricardo Ochoa

Four years ago at Tlatelolco, behind a curtain of shrapnel, a chapter in the history of modern Mexico drew to a close. The tragic massacre of October 2, 1968, brought to an end a long chapter that began with the 1910 revolution and that saw the birth, development, and consolidation of present-day capitalism in Mexico.

The period that began in 1968 has been a favorable one for extending class struggles. From the point of view of the short-term aims of the Diaz Ordaz government, the October 2 repression proved completely ineffective. The government that succeeded his, that of Luis Escheverría, has had to contend with a situation in which student struggles have been more effective in awakening the working masses, especially outside Mexico City. Escheverría was able to get a clearer picture of the nature of the present period during the events surrounding the June 10, 1971, armed attack on a mass student demonstration in Mexico City by the right-wing gang, the Halcones [Hawks]: Not only did the people of Mexico City and the rest of the country refuse to be intimidated, but the popular indignation that erupted has since reached even higher levels. In a political sense, this period is an extremely favorable one for revolutionists and the mass movement.

Since October 2, 1968, a wave of political jolts has continued to shake the entire country, occasionally developing into deep crises. The students in the interior—in Sinaloa, Nuevo León, Oaxaca, Puebla, and other states—have upset the artificial class equilibrium in their areas just as the student movement of the Federal District did for the nation as a whole in 1968.

Stirred into action by the example of the capital in 1968, the students of Sinaloa, Nuevo León, and Oaxaca have carried their role as a temporary vanguard of social struggle to an even higher level through involving sections of the working class and the peasantry in political struggle. Although the stu-

dent movement in the provinces lacks the ability to exert the kind of national influence that the centralized hegemony of life in the capital gives to the student movement of the UNAM [Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México—Autonomous National University of Mexico] and the IPN [Instituto Politécnico Nacional—National Polytechnic Institute], it has been able to join forces more rapidly, on a regional level, with sectors of the working class, and especially of the peasantry.

The kind of bureaucratic cushion that helped soften the blow of the 1968 crisis in the capital does not carry the same weight in the states. As a result, the student rebellion there has been able to cut through it more quickly by linking up with (and thereby becoming part of) the workers' insurgency. Ayotla, in the state of México, the struggles of the Monterrey miners, the militancy of the STERM [Sindicato de Trabajadores Electricistas de la República Mexicana—Union of Electrical Workers in the Mexican Republic] throughout the entire country, and the appearance, with a newly acquired importance, of organized *vallajismo** among the railroad workers are decisive stages pointing the way toward the coming proletarian rebellion.

The mobilizations in Chihuahua and Cuernavaca perhaps best express the special features of the current stage of the Mexican political crisis—a crisis that is inexorably preparing the way for an even deeper social crisis.

In Chihuahua, a popular mobilization grew out of widespread indignation at the killing last January of three guerrillas who had carried out a bank expropriation. Although the masses lacked the leadership of any party, and although the student movement there is relatively weak in comparison to other areas, a rich tradition of

struggle existed. An ad hoc Popular Defense Committee was formed that assumed responsibility for leading the struggle.

By extending its influence from the capital to other cities in the state (Cuautémoc, Jiménez, Juárez, and Delicias), this organization was able to develop deep, democratic roots, making it a very timely model for struggles in other states.

Furthermore, the broad political thrust of this committee has allowed it to take on tasks of a national character and to organize the National Popular Tribunal, which is putting the repressive policy of the government on trial. The tasks that this committee has been carrying out have led some Marxist observers to speak of it as a parallel power or as an embryonic form of a power that could confront the ruling bourgeoisie, giving rise to a situation of dual power. Such an assessment would appear to be correct. It would, in any case, be in keeping with the historic period that began in 1968 and that the Consejo Nacional de Huelga [CNH—National Strike Council], with its democratic organization and its independence from the bourgeoisie, has so well epitomized.

The Cuernavaca mobilization took place on a clear class basis. There had been no student movement in the city. There were no real precedents there of activity by opposition groups. And its role as a tourist center for the bourgeoisie of the capital and for well-to-do North Americans temporarily immunized it against the air of rebellion that stirred the petty bourgeoisie during the 1960s.

But today Cuernavaca is different—the struggle there is referred to on the front pages of the newspapers as the most typical of the struggles of a new working class. Its working class is the product of a rather appreciable industrial development, promoted by the government of the state of Morelos as a result of the drop in tourism (through the construction of the highway to Acapulco, development in the

*Demetrio Vallejo is a militant railroad workers' leader who was jailed in 1959 and not released until more than a decade later, in July 1970. — IP



Right-wing goons calling themselves "Halcones" (hawks) attacked Mexico City demonstrators on June 10, 1971. Date was turning point in Mexican politics.

Oaxtepec-Cuautla zone, etc.), and has in large part moved onto the scene as a mass force during the last five years.

Its struggles against the despotism and official stranglehold of the trade-union bureaucrats have been aided by the appearance of a progressive sector within the Roman Catholic hierarchy.

Indeed, as a center of liberal Catholicism under Bishop Sergio Méndez Arceo and of the modernizing experiments of Ivan Illich and Lemercier in the fields of teaching and psychoanalysis, Cuernavaca provided a protective liberal atmosphere for the bold challenge of a young working class. The bureaucrats, especially those of the CTM [Central de Trabajadores Mexicanos—Mexican Workers Federation], headed by Fidel Velázquez, have been dealt a heavy blow and have looked with concern at the breach opened up in their monolithic control.

Although the mobilization of the peasantry has been more complex, it has occurred on no less significant or visible a scale. It has been particularly impressive in Sinaloa and Tlaxcala, invading ranches, dismissing mayors from office, and freeing political prisoners. The current wave of struggles by the peasantry, which is still numerically the major force

within the country, will tend to drive the political crisis in Mexico to higher levels.

The crisis is a deep one. It has jolted bourgeois and reformist formations as well as the revolutionary movement. In order to survive the new conditions that prevail, the government has had to come up with a "new style," with the policy of "openness," which basically can be defined as an attempt to preserve the system essentially intact by implementing only those political and economic changes that are most urgently required if the economy is to be able to continue functioning well. In reality, then, this policy is a by-product of the 1968 mobilization in the sense that the concern that it brought about in the ruling circles has prompted them to make some changes.

This concern has been based on the appearance of the guerrilla movement in the state of Guerrero. In spite of the heavy blows that have come down upon it, it continues to remain active and to increase its effectiveness and its popular support. Today its influence is felt throughout virtually the entire country. While this influence is ideological, it is no less worrisome for the government, which has dispatched thousands upon thousands of troops to combat it at its source.

The results of the shifts occurring in the current political situation have been very contradictory, with liberal sectors moving to the right, government sectors becoming "liberalized," and sections of the left, because of a failure to properly grasp the present conjuncture, going off into adventurism.

Following the June 10, 1971, events, the government had to "sacrifice" those officials most closely linked to the past. In fact, the June 10 events remain the hardest test for the new regime and its policy of "openness." To a large extent, the answer to the question of whether Echeverría's approach will open up a new, modernizing course or will remain little more than "good intentions" will depend on whether or not an investigation of the massacre by the Hawks is carried out.

The team in the official party, the PRI [Partido Revolucionario Institucional—Institutional Revolutionary party], associated with Díaz Ordaz has been replaced by a "modernizing" team headed by Reyes Heróles and González Pedrero. The new winds blowing through the government party are emanating directly from the president's office and are intended to provide Echeverría with a broader base of support and to regain the prestige (and the time) that Díaz Ordaz lost—in short, to prepare the way for a transfer of authority from the old bureaucrats like Fidel Velázquez to new, more prestigious leaders.

The present conflict among the leaders of the PRI makes it unlikely that repression will be used against revolutionists with the virulence of the Díaz Ordaz days, and it provides the masses with a respite that they must take advantage of to get organized and to prepare for the inevitable struggles to come.

The PAN [Partido de Acción Nacional—National Action party] has also experienced a shift, clearly opportunistic in nature, toward more liberal positions. This was demonstrated by its behavior during the June 10 events, when it denounced a number of actions and provided documentary evidence regarding the activities of the Hawks. But this party will not be able to make any definitive gains because of its connections to some of the most backward capitalist elements, upon whom, in its final analysis, its very

existence depends. Whenever the PAN comes out openly against the government, it always limits its criticisms to mere matters of form. Lacking aggressiveness in even bourgeois-democratic terms, the PAN has not been able to take advantage of the radicalization of broad layers of the middle class, which up to now has provided its base. It would not be unfair to refer to it as a political corpse.

In the case of both the other "opposition parties," the PARM [Partido Auténtico de la Revolución Mexicana—Authentic party of the Mexican Revolution] and the PPS [Partido Popular Socialista—Popular Socialist party], the same conclusion must be drawn: They are front men for the PRI. So abject has the PPS been in giving left cover to the PRI that it remains only a shadow of what it was during the final years of its late leader, Vicente Lombardo Toledano.

Lombardo Toledano's final favor for his boss in the National Palace was nothing to sneeze at: In 1968 he published an article attacking the developing movement as counter-revolutionary. With his customary liberal-Stalinist theoretical window-dressing, Lombardo justified the Díaz Ordaz massacre, with the result that the PPS followed suit. PPS deputy Sánchez Cárdenas joined in at the time in praising the "democratic president, Díaz Ordaz."

The PPS still uses crude Stalinist-type clichés about a "patriotic front" with the bourgeoisie and "national unity," and it is practically the only political group in Mexico that sees fit to go on attacking "Trotskyists" as "agents of imperialism and CIA provocateurs."

Following the death of Lombardo Toledano, a group left the PPS that was headed by the former leaders of the Partido Obrero-Campesino [Worker-Peasant party] during the 1950s: Sánchez Cárdenas, Alberto Lumberras, Miguel Aroche Parra, and others. Their group, the MAUS [Movimiento de Acción Unificada Socialista—Movement for United Socialist Action], has not abandoned the traditional Stalinist concepts of "democratic revolution," the need for an anti-imperialist front without class content, and of support to the "national" bourgeoisie. As a result, it was quite logical that it should converge with the Cardenist group headed by the liberal Heberto

Castillo and César del Angel, Demetrio Vallejo, and Cabeza de Vaca.

By setting up the "Comité de Auscultación Nacional" [Committee for New National Alternatives], Heberto Castillo and his compañeros hope to create a nationalist party and movement like the defunct MLN [Movimiento de Liberación Nacional—National Liberation Movement] of the 1960s. Guided by a far from negligible political sense and correctly appreciating the nature of the liberal atmosphere that Echeverría is attempting to introduce, this current is prepared to follow its class interests right into the "opening" he has made. This political tendency, which enjoys a certain social base among the peasants and sections of the working class that identify with Vallejo, has been evolving in a rightward direction, drawing toward the Echeverrist political power.

If the 1968 crisis hit the bourgeoisie and the liberals hard, it had an even bigger impact on the radical left, where terrorist posturing and the infantile sickness of ultraleftism have wreaked havoc. While the liberals have assessed the needs of the system with considerable accuracy, the reaction of the left has generally been rather low-level and emotional in character.

The common starting point for the vast majority of the groups on the Mexican left, the PCM [Partido Comunista Mexicano—Mexican Communist party], had never politically prepared its cadres and members for such an abrupt turn in Mexican political life. Realizing, especially after June 10, that the ultraradical mood among vanguard elements made them responsive to verbal excesses, the old and crafty Stalinist party easily adapted. Thus began a stage in which the very same leadership responsible for the PCM's reformist and opportunist course prior to 1968 unleashed an attack on all tendencies opposed to its absurd ultraleftist stance as "opportunist" and "playing the government's game." Resorting to the traditional Stalinist method, it made an amalgam between revolutionists and liberals.

The about-face of the PCM reflected a built-in bureaucratic need to preserve its position within the Mexican revolutionary movement. Despite all

its leftist posturing, it has used this position of preeminence in a fundamentally opportunistic way.

The PCM has been an important obstacle to achieving any clarification on the left as to what to do in the present situation. Its mechanical approach has led it to regard Echeverría and his regime as an unaltered continuation of the Díaz Ordaz regime. ("The presidents have changed, but the system remains capitalist.") The leaders of the PCM have forgotten that as the class struggle unfolds, the capitalist system adopts different political regimes, tactics, and ruling teams to meet changes in the situation, and that the proletariat must also adapt to changes in the forms of capitalist rule.

Of course, the urge to manipulate is not the only explanation for the ultraleftist stance of the PCM. Its ranks, and especially those of its youth organization, the JCM [Juventud Comunista Mexicana—Mexican Communist Youth], have been very much affected by the student radicalization. Since 1968 this radicalization has wreaked havoc in the JCM, with sizable groups in the provinces and in the Federal District breaking away and heading off on a suicidal course of *foquismo*. While it has adopted ultraleftism, the leadership of the PCM nevertheless knows just how far it can go before its policy backfires and the members it has whipped up are lost.

This basic inability to understand the principles of Marxist strategy is not found only in the PCM and the numerous *foquista* groups, but also in the populism associated with Maoism.

The Liga Comunista Espartaco [Spartacist Communist League] was dealt a mortal blow by the 1968 movement. It broke up into a movement of "brigades" in which a primitive populism and a complete lack of political perspectives led hundreds of activists to dissipate their energies in a sterile "march to the people." Other Maoist groups, such as the Movimiento Marxista-Leninista de México [Marxist-Leninist Movement of Mexico], were also unable to survive the 1968 upheaval and, in disappearing from the scene, added forces to other populist currents.

The Frente Socialista [Socialist Front] could be considered the group-

ing that most clearly represented this unrest and this desire on the part of populist political activists to put forward a more coherent political line. Credit for its ephemeral and discreet existence (1970-1971), as well as its rather uneventful disappearance, must go to the bizarre "revolutionary nationalism" theories of one of its leaders, Víctor Rico Galán. By viewing the current stage of the Mexican political process as one of preparing for a presocialist revolution of a "nationalist," "democratic" character, this current watered down its approach with liberal positions with which it in fact agreed.

Within the broad range of ultra-leftist groups that alternate between populism and spectacular actions by a small, vanguardist elite, a wide variety of tendencies coexist. Most typical on a national scale is the group that grew up around the struggle committees in what the PCM called the "June current" (in reference to June 10, 1971). What these groups share is a lack of historical perspective and an inability to come up with a program for action that takes the present conjuncture into account. They have no answer to the contradiction inherent in the government's new course, namely, that while the reforms it is attempting to implement will not solve the problems of the masses, the latter are still far from having reached the conclusion that revolution is the only way out. As long as this contradiction remains, most of these groups will tend to alternate between primitive populism and irrational adventurism.

The guerrilla movement in the southern state of Guerrero has arisen in response to conditions of an entirely different character. This area, with its blatant forms of exploitation, oppression, and despotism, has not yet been touched by the new policy of the Echeverría regime. Peasant rebellion there has traditionally taken the form of guerrilla struggle ever since the time of Guerrero and Juan Alvarez.

The armed struggle in Guerrero has been going on since 1968, the year that Genaro Vázquez Rojas was freed from Iguala prison. His tragic death did not have the result that the government was hoping for: The guerrilla movement has continued under Lucio Cabañas, and, according to newspaper reports, the struggle has increased in intensity to the point

where the state is practically occupied militarily.

The courageous struggle of these southern fighters is not a mere *foquista* or leftist adventure. The example of Genaro Vázquez has already found its place alongside that of Che in the eyes of the new vanguard. Together they point out the only road to victory—the road of determined struggle to the end against the inhuman and criminal system of capitalism in its death agony.

Historically speaking, the generation that made and led the great movement of 1968 remained on the threshold of developing into a national, revolutionary alternative for the Mexican people. There are many reasons for this, one of the most important being the fact that during the period leading up to 1968 not even the embryo of a revolutionary-Marxist nucleus capable of attracting and providing leadership for the best elements of this generation had been formed.

In 1968 a layer of activists, leaders of struggle committees, and of the National Strike Council attempted to build a Movimiento Comunista Internacionalista [Internationalist Communist Movement]. This project could not be entirely carried out. The repression and vicissitudes that dogged it reduced the ambitious project to the modest formation of a group that first met in October 1968, following the massacre. The Grupo Comunista Internacionalista [GCI—Internationalist Communist Group], as an organization adhering to the positions of the Fourth International, was made possible because some activists from previous Trotskyist organizations linked up with it, thereby introducing its members to the principles of revolutionary Marxism.

Since 1969, the GCI has sought to overcome the basic shortcoming of the Mexican left—its lack of any strategic perspective on a national and international scale. It has undertaken the task of "nationalizing" Marxism with a deep conviction that it is impossible to understand the revolutionary struggle in Mexico without internationalizing it, that is, without seeing it as an integral part of the struggle throughout Latin America and the world against imperialism and against the Stalinist deformations that have accumulated during the course of the twentieth century.

In 1971, for the first time an attempt was made to regroup various revolutionary tendencies within the student milieu. The project, dubbed *Perspectiva* [Outlook], arose under auspicious circumstances. It aimed at overcoming sectarianism, at bringing forces together in joint actions (for democracy inside the student movement, for solidarity with workers' struggles, for a clear, nonmanipulative policy within the revolutionary student movement, etc.), and at discussing the situation in the student movement since 1968.

The forces involved in *Perspectiva* extended their influence on a national scale as a result of the days of solidarity with the STERM at the end of 1971 and with the struggle of the students in Sinaloa at the beginning of this year.

The struggle of *Perspectiva* has earned the spite and calumny of the Stalinists. The GCI participated in it with the aim of helping it become a vehicle for bringing about a regroupment of revolutionary cadres that could provide the basis for a Marxist party.

Perspectiva also constituted the first attempt by the new vanguard forces to reach broad layers of the population with their propaganda by publishing a newspaper with a press run of several thousand copies. It made it possible to determine what forces the revolutionary student movement had behind it, which was not an unimportant contribution. As *Perspectiva* developed not only as an "independent student body," but as a group that had to deal with political questions in general, it became a part of the debate over political and ideological questions raised by the present situation in Mexico.

The GCI has actively participated in this debate, and by taking head on the Stalinists in the PCM, it has made *Perspectiva* into the embryo of an organized alternative. It hopes to lead the nucleus in *Perspectiva* to a higher level, that of a group that collaborates with others already in existence in building the Leninist party.

It is the duty of revolutionists to take political and organizational advantage of the present conjuncture to strengthen themselves and end their isolation. Any failure to do so would be unforgivable. □

Murder and Destruction in the U.S. Mining Industry

The court-ordered election for the top officers of the United Mine Workers of America (UMW), to be held in December, has attracted more attention than any union election in U.S. history. The reasons for the election, the peculiar circumstances under which it is being held, the issues involved, and some of the social forces at work in it are described and documented by Brit Hume in *Death and the Mines*, published before the court order for the election.

Hume, an associate of columnist Jack Anderson, records some important and related events in the coal industry in the United States between November 20, 1968, and December 31, 1969. On the first date an early-morning explosion occurred 600 feet below ground on the "cateye" shift at Consol No. 9, Farmington, West Virginia, killing seventy-eight miners. This mine was owned by the Consolidated Coal Company, largest coal producer in the nation. It had 375 employees, an annual yield of 2 million tons, and was among the company's eight largest mines. Company officials called it "safe," implying that the explosion was an unavoidable accident. The head of the mine workers' union seconded this, as did the governor of West Virginia and an assistant secretary of the U.S. Department of the Interior.

Thirteen months and eleven days later three more people died, murdered. Shortly after one o'clock in the morning on December 31, 1969, three hired assassins shot to death Joseph A. Yablonski, his wife, and their daughter in their home in Clarksville, Pennsylvania. In an election for president of the union held earlier that month Yablonski, a member of the international executive board of the UMW, had been defeated by the incumbent, William A. ("Tony") Boyle.

Hume seeks to prove that there is a "relationship between the Farmington mine disaster, the black lung uprising, and the Yablonski candidacy—a related chain of developments, each growing out of the one before

it." The 1972 UMW election is an extension of that chain of developments.

In order to establish the indisputable connection between the two most

Death and the Mines—Rebellion and Murder in the UMW, by Brit Hume. Grossman Publishers, New York, N. Y., 1971. 280 pp. \$7.95.

dramatic events—the mine explosion and the Yablonski assassinations—the author supplies factual information about the history of the coal mining industry, the recent history of the UMW, the coal industry's control of local, state, and national politicians, the protection of coal profits and disregard of safety in the mines by state and federal officials, the terrible toll of the "black lung" disease among miners, the movement for reform in the coal fields, and the response of the miners.

The book's title could just as well have been "Murder And The Mines," for mining is a murderous business. Farmington was not the first nor the greatest nor the last of mine disasters.

Within the memory of most miners, the explosion at the Orient Number 2 mine at West Frankfort, Illinois, four days before Christmas, 1951, killed 119 men. Hume reports that "by this time more than 114,000 men had been killed in coal mines since the official death count was started in 1839. An average of 119 men—the number that perished at West Frankfort—had died every seventeen days since 1900. There had been twenty-five disasters in which more than a hundred miners were killed."

Not included in this book is a major disaster that followed the 1969 explosion at Farmington. In the mountain country near Wootton, Kentucky, an explosion at the Finley Brothers Coal Co. mine on December 30, 1970, killed thirty-eight miners. It occurred exactly one year to the day after enactment by Congress of the Coal Mine Health and Safety Act. It once again dramatized the murder that goes on

incessantly in the mining industry.

There are plenty of examples in Hume's book of the callous disregard of human life by government officials and mine owners. They never fail to betray their indifference, even in the most tragic circumstances. All joined in to excuse the mine management at Farmington, including UMW president Boyle. The same unseemly performance was repeated two years later at the Finley Brothers mine in Kentucky. This mine was last inspected under the new federal safety law on November 23, 1970, and was cited for "imminent danger." It continued to operate until the fatal day, December 30.

Why this mine, in "imminent danger," continued to operate for more than a month until it exploded was no mystery to anyone there. The Kentucky Department of Mines and Minerals was headed by a mine owner, Herald N. Kirkpatrick. The U.S. Bureau of Mines was headed by a friend of mine owners, Dr. Elbert F. Osborn. Osborn expressed the attitude of the coal mining industry when he said, "This disaster was not unexpected. We've had two good years since the last disaster at Farmington (W. Va.), and I think we can almost expect one of these a year."

Such attitudes do not come naturally. They must be conditioned and developed, as soldiers are trained to kill and assassins are hardened by the conditions of their lives to ply their grisly trade.

This ready acceptance of death as necessary and inevitable is common throughout modern industry. The mining industry happens to show most clearly the raw wounds, and here the human tragedies are sudden and more dramatic; so the greed of the owners and the cynicism of their agents in government are more shocking than in other industries.

John L. Lewis, who served for four decades as president of the miners' union, always considered himself a "coal man." He understood the indus-

try and thought he knew better than the mine owners how to develop it. He urged the modernization and unrestricted mechanization of coal mining; and this created a new relationship between the mine owners and the union, leading to the willful destruction of nature and men in the mine fields of Pennsylvania, Virginia, West Virginia, Kentucky, Ohio, Tennessee, and Alabama. It also destroyed the union in many of these districts. This degenerative process is better described by Hume than by most others who have observed and failed to understand it. He tells how Lewis, in 1950, "negotiated a new contract, in private for the first time, with a newly organized, industry-wide bargaining unit. It was signed without a strike on January 18, 1951. From that day forth, Lewis allowed the big companies a free hand in a process of mechanization and consolidation that would see more than 300,000 men lose their jobs. Thousands of small mines closed down, unable to meet the twin imperatives of automation and industrywide labor contracts. Besides allowing the larger coal companies a free hand in mechanizing their operations, Lewis encouraged them to borrow from the National Bank of Washington, which the UMW controlled. During the 1950s, the union bank loaned millions to coal companies to assist them in their modernization."

The results were devastating. Hume describes them in terms of human want and despondency. "Thousands of impoverished ex-miners, used up and cast aside by the coal companies, could be found in scores of dismal Appalachian towns that lay along the railroad tracks and polluted streams running through the flatlands and hollows around the big mines. Out of work and out of luck, there was little they could do, for mining remained the region's only industry. Some tried to return to the subsistence farming that had supported the region in the days before the coal barons came, but the soil was black with coal dust and the crop yield was meager. So most just sat on their front porches and gazed at the steep highland slopes that had once been scenic but now were scarred by strip mining or obscured by huge smoking slag heaps — the trademark of an industry that,

for all its new machinery, remained remarkably primitive."

This was the social condition created by the ravenous coal industry. Profits for the big companies soared. Never before had they realized such returns on their investments. They were able to buy off state legislatures, to intimidate or ruin those politicians who were not bought.

Many sincere people who are aghast at the terrible destruction wrought by the seemingly senseless U.S. bombardment of Vietnam try to tell themselves that the American people permit "their" government to pursue such a criminal course only because it takes place far away and the consequences are not readily seen. But the American ruling class has not hesitated to wreak similar destruction within its own national borders.

What has been happening in Appalachia has seemed like a natural catastrophe to many of the victims there. But others knew better. This wanton destruction of a whole region extending through several states — polluting rivers, killing off wild life, scooping away whole mountain sides, converting forests to desolate wasteland, causing floods and vast mud slides — this, by 1960, had become a minor national scandal. Very low key. Some influential members of the ruling class were alarmed and thought that only the federal government could halt the process. Hume mentions President Kennedy for one. But there was no will within the government bureaucracy to challenge the destructive march of king coal.

Top officials of the miners' union were by this time blind to the consequences of their alliance with the coal barons. They forgot that they were supposed to represent the interests of the miners, became instead willing tools of the coal companies. Whenever legislation was introduced to protect miners' lives the union officials were there to oppose it.

A miners' health bill had been introduced in the West Virginia state legislature in 1969 and meetings of miners were called to rally support for the measure. At one such meeting in Mingo County a UMW field representative, Elza Johnson, had tried to dampen support for the health bill. This book captures the mood of the miners and their relation to UMW officials.

"My name is Earl Stafford and I'm a coal miner," he said angrily. "I've mined coal with Mr. Johnson, and things *is* pretty good . . . for fellows like Mr. Johnson. He's not up here digging coal now. He's not up here eatin' this coal dust. He was a good man one time, I'll say that. . . . He may be a good man in a way yet. *But he lacks about ten ton of weighing a nickel.*"

"One man was restrained as he tried to approach Johnson with a knife."

When the miners tried in 1964 to regain control of their own union at the UMW convention, the gang of officials headed by Boyle, who had already assumed the presidency, brought in hired thugs to beat down and silence the opposition. It was costly to the miners in many ways. Hume reports the immediate cash cost charged to the union treasury!

"Boyle's efforts to wrest a strong display of personal support from the convention delegates were not inexpensive. Aside from nearly \$400,000 spent on music, the international shelled out more than \$77,000 on souvenirs, including expensive portable radios that were given each delegate. The salaries and expenses for the convention committee members came to nearly \$640,000 and some of these hirelings went home as much as \$2,000 richer. Another \$24,000 was spent on photographs. The expenses for guests came to more than \$16,000. In all, the convention cost more than \$1.4 million . . . approximately \$900,000 more than the previous one."

The same performance was repeated at the 1968 convention, only this time the ever-present hired thugs were less conspicuous.

The miners, many unable to work any longer in the pits, began to organize independently but in conjunction with their union to win health care, safety measures in the mines, and compensation for those crippled beyond recovery from their work behind the new underground machines that claw and pulverize coal.

The victims of modern mining methods suffer from "black lung," which was not recognized as a disease by government health agencies and most "medical authorities" until 1969, after the West Virginia Black Lung Asso-

ciation was organized. Hume explains the reason:

"Woodrow Mullins, a cheerful miner . . . in 1954 had been diagnosed by a doctor as having a disabling degree of silicosis. At the time, however, the men in the union district office urged him not to apply for compensation because there was an agreement between the union and a number of West Virginia coal companies that the company could fire a miner who received a compensation award for disabling silicosis. This was a boon to the companies because silicosis, like pneumoconiosis (black lung), usually worsened. If a miner was still on the job, he would be entitled to further compensation. In West Virginia, the compensation payments came from a fund supported by the companies and their premiums were set in proportion to the number and amount of awards made to their employees. Thirteen years later, virtually unable to breathe, Mullins was examined by Dr. Rasmussen in Beckley (W. Va.). The diagnosis was pneumoconiosis, but the compensation commission would not accept it and Mullins was left with no way to support his family."

Hume credits three dedicated doctors with having started the movement for health and safety legislation. Drs. Buff, Rasmussen, and Wells first organized the "Physicians for Miners' Health and Safety." They were able to enlist the support of others, including some local West Virginia politicians. They soon learned that not much could be done without the miners, and it is to their credit that they encouraged the miners to organize the Black Lung Association, which was formed in conjunction with locals of the UMW although without the cooperation or approval of the union's district officials. These officials quickly bent every effort to stamp out the Black Lung Association, charging it was a "dual organization."

The president of BLA was a local UMW official, a good man for the job, says Hume. "Arnold Ray Miller, president of the 192-man local of the Bethlehem Steel Company's mine at Kayford, was an exceptionally alert and articulate man in his forties who would long since have become a district or international officer in most other unions. He was personable and soft-spoken, and his white-grey hair



Miners in southwest Pennsylvania aid coworker injured in November 20, 1968, explosion that trapped seventy-four underground. Such "accidents" are common.

and clear eyed, keen expression gave him a distinguished appearance. He wasn't a big talker or a braggart, but his fellow miners knew him as a man who could be counted on to do anything he said he would do."

Miller's UMW local and two others contributed the first \$2,500 to get BLA started as a functioning organization. It began a campaign for a state mine health and safety bill which was opposed by officials of the UMW, the coal owners, and local medical societies. But the campaign drew attention and through it BLA was able to get some expression of official concern from the federal government and a reminder that the U. S. Public Health Service had previously estimated that pneumoconiosis "affects conservatively more than a hundred thousand soft coal miners."

Among those to become interested at this time was consumer-advocate Ralph Nader, who undertook to investigate these health conditions and the effects of coal mining on the ecology of Appalachia. According to Hume Nader was instrumental in persuading Joseph A. Yablonski to challenge Boyle for the presidency of the UMW.

Yablonski at fifty-nine had been a top official of the UMW for twenty-seven years, eight of them as presi-

dent of District #5 in the Pittsburgh area. A member of the international executive board since 1942, he drew a salary of \$26,000 a year plus expenses, and had been lavish in his praise of Boyle after Boyle became president of the union in 1963.

The chapters of this book that report the Yablonski campaign are informative. Hume tells about the men in the coal fields who organized Yablonski's campaign and brought out the vote for him. Arnold Miller, president of BLA, was among them.

Miller is now challenging Boyle for the presidency of the UMW in the court-ordered 1972 re-run election, having taken up where Yablonski left off when the assassins' bullets cut him down. The other men at the top of the Miners For Democracy slate, Mike Trbovich and Harry L. Patrick, were also active in the Yablonski campaign. There are many other miners introduced in Hume's book, and thousands more not mentioned, who made the Yablonski campaign different from any election in the mine workers union since John Brophy and the Save-the-Union Committee challenged Lewis in 1925. (Brophy won that election but Lewis remained president because his men counted the vote.)

The descriptions of meetings for Yablonski in mine towns are exciting,

but Hume gives the impression that in that election the really important action was in Washington. Everything would have been different if Joseph Rauh Jr., a prominent liberal attorney who had served as an adviser to Yablonski throughout the campaign, had been able to persuade Labor Secretary George Shultz to curb the illegal acts of Boyle's henchmen, if only the government had supervised the election and prevented voting irregularities, or if the Justice Department had protected Yablonski's personal safety.

It is true, as Hume demonstrates beyond doubt, that the 1968 election was a fraud. It is also true that government intervention might have changed the outcome of that election. It probably would have thwarted the assassination of the Yablonskis.

It is doubtful, however, that the relationship between the mine owners and miners would have changed very much as a result. *A change in these relations will not be brought about by government intervention in the affairs of the UMW, but only by the intervention of the organized miners in the affairs of the mining industry.*

When it comes to a question of who will control the industry, the government is always on the side of the owners and against the miners. Yet this is the fundamental question in the coal industry today—who will control the mines?

The present owners have such a record of destruction, they are so geared to the process of hogging out coal regardless of consequences, that they will fight like tigers against any changes. The present methods of mining coal are the most profitable yet developed. Millions are invested in existing equipment. But meeting the miners' needs will require new capital outlays for safety equipment now totally lacking, bigger payrolls to flesh out the present skeleton work force, reduction of the work day to six hours. When these changes are made, miners will gain the right to live. But mine owners will suffer a loss of profits.

Under existing conditions, which guarantee high profits, there are no safe mines. If the federal Coal Mine Health and Safety Act were strictly enforced, most mines would be closed.

Coal mining is a murderous business, dramatized when underground

explosions snuff out the lives of trapped miners. But the murder is incessant, taking the lives of miners daily. Most die from want of oxygen. Their lungs are loaded with fine particles of coal and they can no longer breathe. That is murder, too.

Young men will not go into the mines if they can escape. Some born in the mine districts must first get a taste of mining before they leave for good. Hume tells about two young miners trapped in "Consol Number 9" when the explosion came. They were among the few rescued. Jerry Davis, father of five, moved to Akron, Ohio, and got a job as a truck driver. Mezer Vandergrift found a job in a steel mill. The pay is less. But these two ex-miners are no longer subject to murder as a condition of employment.

This is one of the contradictions of the mine owners. They cannot operate the way they are and keep control of their work force. And this accounts for the interest of the government in reforms within the UMW. The employing class fears a miners' revolt that can go beyond their control.

The miners can change the conditions of their lives and probably will. Coal mining is an essential industry, one of the main sources of energy. It can be reorganized. It can be made safe. The wastelands of Appalachia can be reclaimed. But this will be done only when the miners are organized to do it. They will do it in

struggle against the mine owners, and against the government that many of them today think of as their ally.

Whether those who have inherited the mine union reform movement that cost Joseph Yablonski his life can go on to organize a movement against the mine owners remains to be seen, and their success will depend upon factors beyond their control.

One thing in their favor, as Hume unintentionally reveals, is their experience as miners and as members of the miners' union. This has conditioned them to be skeptical of any association with mine owners or their agents. If they are to win the election and then succeed in withstanding the pressures that the mine owners will put upon them, much more active participation by tens of thousands of working miners in the coal mine health and safety movement will be required. A change in UMW leadership that puts the union squarely behind that movement can be a great help at this juncture. But if Miners For Democracy fails in the election, the health and safety movement will continue despite what will surely appear to be a setback.

Although *Death and the Mines* provides few clues as to how coal miners will reorganize their own ranks, it is a useful source of information about how they were disorganized by a gang of corrupt union officials in cahoots with the mine owners.

— Frank Lovell

'The Origin of the Family'

The development of the women's liberation movement has stimulated renewed interest in Frederick Engels's classic work, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State*. This new edition (Pathfinder Press, New York, N. Y., 1972, 192 pp., \$2.25, £0.95) should therefore be most welcome.

Elaborating on the work of the American anthropologist Lewis Henry Morgan, Engels demonstrated that the fundamental institutions of contemporary society are not permanent features of human nature, but are constantly changing expressions of self-created but objectively determined human history.

Engels's methodology stands in

marked contrast to most major trends of modern Western anthropology, functionalist, diffusionist, structuralist, etc., each of which adopts an ahistorical approach.

The Pathfinder edition includes an introduction by Marxist anthropologist Evelyn Reed, who relates Engels's findings to the current debate about whether the patriarchal family must be a permanent aspect of human life. She defends Engels's method against the dominant tendencies of present-day anthropology, and suggests some necessary corrections of Morgan's—and Engels's—terminology.

The book also includes Engels's essay "The Part Played by Labor in the Transition from Ape to Man."

The Mandel Case—A Sovereign Right Denied

[The following article, titled "Mandel: A sovereign right denied," is reprinted from the November issue of *Rights*, magazine of the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee (NECLC). Its author, David Rosenberg, is the attorney who acted on behalf of the NECLC in the case of Ernest Mandel.]

* * *

If for no other reason, the Nixon-Burger Court will be remembered for its efforts to make the courts run on time. For it was in relentless pursuit of this goal that the Court struck a staggering blow to the First Amendment in its recent decision of *Kleindienst v. Mandel*, decided on the last day of the official 1971 term, June 29, 1972.

Mandel was an action brought by several American university professors on behalf of the nation's community of scholars and students challenging Attorney General Mitchell's refusal to grant a visa to Dr. Ernest Mandel, a Belgian Marxist economist and scholar. Dr. Mandel had sought the visa in 1969 for the purpose of attending a series of academic meetings at a number of major universities in this country. Although the government was fully aware that extensive plans had already been made for Dr. Mandel's participation in these meetings, neither Dr. Mandel nor his American hosts were advised of the Attorney General's exclusion order until after it was too late to attend the meetings. As a result, several of the meetings were abruptly canceled, while others proceeded on a revised format in his absence.

Efforts to mediate the problem were rebuffed or ignored by the Justice Department, which steadfastly refused to lift the exclusion order. Concern in the academic community generally became widespread as its members were alerted to the fact that their freedom was seriously threatened. The question all were asking was: Why should the Attorney General have chosen to disrupt undeniably peaceful classroom

and lecture hall meetings? That question was at the heart of the litigation that followed, but it was never answered. Indeed, almost to the very end of that litigation the Attorney General maintained that he was obligated to justify his action to no one and to no court. Finally, under pressure, the Attorney General advanced a patently frivolous and disingenuous reason for his action, but at that point the infection of Nixon appointees on the Court had so completely undermined its commitment to First Amendment liberties that it was unable to respond to the challenge.

The Attorney General predicated his action upon certain provisions of the infamous McCarran-Walter Act of 1952.¹ Essentially, those provisions authorize exclusion, at the Attorney General's discretion, of any alien who at any time has advocated or taught "the economic, international, and governmental doctrines of world communism," or has ever written, published, circulated, distributed or displayed literature containing such advocacy or teaching. While the act provides that a visa may be recommended by the Secretary of State, the Attorney General is nonetheless free to reject that recommendation. In Dr. Mandel's case, as will be discussed more fully, the Secretary of State not only recommended a visa but strenuously objected when the Attorney General unceremoniously disregarded it.

Nothing Attorney General Mitchell did was actually contrary to either the spirit or the letter of the McCarran-Walter Act. As the Supreme Court once rather dispassionately noted, that act was designed to legislate as "toward a closed society."² Its supporters in Congress candidly acknowledged that the measure was a device by which to implement the federal power to bar entry to "any alien for any reason whatsoever, such as the government's

dislike of the alien's political or social ideas . . ."³

Nor had prior Attorneys General conceived of their power as anything less than autocratic. Within months after the act became effective, President Truman's Attorney General moved quickly to exclude more than a dozen of Europe's most prominent scientists and intellectuals. This action was vehemently condemned by American scholars as "a serious threat to the progress of American science and learning."⁴ Einstein, Bethe, Urey, Compton, and Aron, among others, sharply protested the exclusions in statements published in the October and December 1952 issues of the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*. Nothing turned the Attorney General from his course—a course consistently followed by his successors.⁵

In June 1971, a three-judge district court in Brooklyn decided the *Mandel* case.⁶ The Court, with one judge dissenting, declared the challenged provision of the McCarran-Walter Act invalid under the First Amendment and enjoined the further exclusion of Dr. Mandel. Long-standing judicial neglect and, if the truth be told, callous indifference in this vital area of immigration law, was thus dramatically reversed.

Breaking with a hundred years of judicial acquiescence in some of the most invidious legislative schemes ever enacted by Congress, and with a "volume," as Justice Frankfurter once described it, of cases sustaining a policy of anything-goes-where-aliens-are-concerned, the District Court ruled

3. House [of Representatives] Report Number 136, House Committee on the Judiciary, 82nd Congress, 2nd Session, page 6 (1952); see also 98 Congressional Record, pages 4302, 4315-4316 (1952).

4. Report of the President's Commission on Immigration and Naturalization, "Whom Shall We Welcome," page 69 (1953).

5. See generally, Comment, *Opening the Floodgates to Dissident Aliens*, 6 Harvard Civil Rights-Civil Liberties Law Review 141, 143-149 (1970).

6. 325 Federal Supplement 620.

1. 8 United States Code 1182 (a) (28), (d) (3) (A).

2. *Harrisades v. Shaughnessy*, 342 United States 580, 588.

American citizens have a First Amendment right to hear and engage in discussions with an alien at university and other public forums in this country that cannot be denied at the Attorney General's unfettered discretion. Speaking for the Court in a moving and sensitive opinion that surveyed both contemporary First Amendment precedents as well as the historical roots to the freedoms that Amendment guarantees, Judge Dooling concluded that

the First Amendment is not in its primary and most significant aspect a grant by the Constitution to the citizens of individual rights of self-expression but on the contrary reflects the total retention by the people as sovereign to themselves of the right to free and open debate of political questions . . . The concern of the First Amendment is not with a non-resident alien's individual and personal interest in entering and being heard, but with the rights of the citizens of the country to have the alien enter and to have him explain and seek to defend his views; that . . . is of the essence of self-government.

All that was wrought, all that was promised by the decision was thoughtlessly but thoroughly undone by the Supreme Court, 6-3, in the final hectic minutes of the last term. Based on its prior performance, one might have expected the Nixon-Burger Court simply to reject the district court's First Amendment approach and to restore "order" in the law of immigration. Certainly there was ample precedent for the proposition that the sovereign power to regulate immigration will not submit to judicial review. In that sense the Nixon-Burger Court would be less at fault than its predecessors. For the sad legacy in this area of law was not of the present Court's making, although no one can now doubt that it would have been had the Court been given the chance. A century of Supreme Court endeavor had made clear that constitutional rights vest in an alien only when he is in the country. And those rights usually have turned out to be illusory when courts have been called upon to enforce them.⁷ It neverthe-

less was firmly settled that aliens beyond our borders may claim no rights, real or imaginary.⁸ The Court's decisions followed one another in unbroken line, affirming the government's policy of excluding all but white, right-thinking aliens, with limited exception for those others permitted to enter under strict quota for industrial exploitation.

But that was not the route followed in *Mandel* by the Supreme Court. Rather, the Court in a startling departure from its predecessors announced its full recognition of the First Amendment right to hear alien speakers. Justice Blackmun, speaking for the majority, declared that the "First Amendment right to 'receive information and ideas'" is firmly embedded in Constitutional law and "'nowhere more vital' than in our schools and universities." He rejected the government's argument that no one who could read or listen to tape-recordings would be deprived of either Dr. Mandel's ideas or their rights. With some irony, Justice Blackmun reminded the government's counsel, who was a former Dean of the Harvard Law School, that his argument "overlooks what may be particular qualities inherent in sustained, face-to-face debate, discussion and questioning."

But one should not be misled by this seemingly staunch support for First Amendment liberties. Justice Blackmun was writing in parody, not in praise, of the Warren Court and its First Amendment rulings. The Justice wasted no time in making it perfectly clear that the Court was going nowhere at all.

Speculating that it would be a different case if the Attorney General had no valid reason for excluding Dr. Mandel, Justice Blackmun assured his readers that such was not presently

without question, innocently, belonged to the Communist Party for 2 years.

One noted exception was the decision in *Graham v. Richardson*, 403 United States 365 striking down an Arizona statute barring aliens from applying for welfare unless they have resided in the state for at least 15 years.

8. In one of its more generous moods the Court pronounced: "Whatever the procedure authorized by Congress is, it is due process as far as an alien denied entry is concerned." *Krauff v. Shaughnessy*, 338 United States 537, 544. With that the Court sustained the exclusion of the alien wife of an American citizen without any hearing or statement of reasons.

the case, and given the unreal justification the Court proceeded to accept, it became evident that there would very likely never be such a case. The "reason" Justice Blackmun was referring to was in fact nothing more than an accusation made in a letter from the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) to plaintiffs' counsel that Dr. Mandel had violated visa conditions during a prior visit.

That "reason" was branded as pure "sham" by the three dissenters, Justices Douglas, Brennan and Marshall. The dissenters pointed to the government's own failure to assert this "reason" at any prior stage in the litigation, although constantly urged to justify this position. They also noted that the "reason" advanced was merely an assertion, no more than an accusation; no evidence had been offered and none had ever been placed in the record to support the government's claim. The majority Justices frankly conceded the dissenters' points and implicitly acknowledged that in reaching beyond the record for a basis to support their position, they were violating the cardinal principles of due process.

Procedure was not the only fundamental error committed by the majority. The "reason" was itself wholly devoid of substance. The Attorney General's claim was that Dr. Mandel had attended a meeting during an earlier visit which was not on the itinerary he had attached to his visa application. The allegedly errant conduct apparently concerned an address Dr. Mandel gave to a gathering at a dinner meeting. He spoke about the events in France during May and June 1968. Later in the evening posters by French students were auctioned to aid the legal defense of the students who were under criminal charges for their actions in those events. Dr. Mandel did not participate in the fund raising.

Dr. Mandel's attendance at this meeting initially led the Secretary of State to refuse to recommend a visa. But, after investigation into the facts, the Secretary of State concluded that Dr. Mandel had not been advised at the time his prior visa was issued that a condition of its grant was strict adherence to his stated itinerary. Because of this fact, Dr. Mandel's assurances of compliance with future conditions, and as the Secretary stated, "the interest of free expression of opinion and exchange of ideas," the Depart-

7. See, e.g. *Galven v. Press*, 347 United States 522 sustaining the deportation of an alien who had resided here for 35 years because he had voluntarily, but

ment of State recommended that the visa application be granted.

Despite the Secretary's findings, the Attorney General denied the application, as the INS letter asserts, because of Dr. Mandel's "flagrant abuse of the opportunities afforded him to express his views in this country. . . ." How technical violation of his visa conditions, of which he was unaware, can amount to a "flagrant abuse" was never explained by the government. Nor did the Attorney General at any time suggest or attempt to demonstrate that the State Department's consular officials in Brussels, whose duty it was to properly advise Dr. Mandel of his visa conditions, had mistakenly concluded that they had not so advised him. And no reason was ever given by the Attorney General as to why Dr. Mandel's assurances that were acceptable to the Secretary of State were unacceptable to him.

Yet, the Court ruled that where as in the *Mandel* case the Attorney General's exercise of discretion rests on a "facially legitimate and bona fide reason, the courts will neither look behind the exercise of that discretion, nor test it by balancing its justification against the First Amendment interests of those who seek personal communication with the applicant." To hold otherwise, the Court said, would be to burden the courts with innumerable challenges. Furthermore it would require the courts to make their determinations "on the basis of factors such as the size of the audience or the probity of the speakers' ideas. . . ."

But there is no evidence that permitting review in cases like *Mandel* would increase the burden on the federal courts to any significant degree. In fact, in the past five years no more than 43 aliens have been denied visas in Dr. Mandel's category. Moreover, it has never been thought until now that citizens can be denied a remedy for violations of their First Amendment rights solely because the courts are too busy. It is apparently the new doctrine that the federal courts are principally concerned with disposing of cases, not with the enforcement or protection of constitutional rights.

And as for the "factors" relevant to judicial review, no one ever suggested that it should be the province of either the Court or the Attorney General to decide which meetings to sanction and which to prevent on the basis of the contents of what would be said. Rath-

er, the relevant "factors" were those supplied by the Court itself when it spoke of legitimate and bona fide reasons, which must, of course, be tested—not merely accepted. From the record, it was indeed plain that the Attorney General's rationale was not "facially legitimate and bona fide." But assuming the record was not so plain, it is clear that even where First Amendment interests are not involved, let alone a case where they are, the Court has never permitted mere allegations to foreclose the exercise of constitutional or other federal rights. What the plaintiffs were denied in *Mandel* was their day in court, a chance to be heard; never before have such basic elements of fairness been denied and such summary treatment of First Amendment rights been sanctioned by the Supreme Court.

Until *Mandel*, any restriction on First Amendment liberties had to be subjected to close scrutiny of its underlying factual basis,⁹ to be related to a "compelling interest,"¹⁰ and to be measured against less drastic means available to achieve the state's

9. See, e.g. *Pickering v. Board of Education*, 391 United States 563.

10. See, e.g. *Williams v. Rhodes*, 393 United States 23.

objective.¹¹ Those safeguards had been adhered to by the Court in every area of government control, including the most sensitive ones of national security and foreign relations. The Court never explains why those principles did not apply to *Mandel*. One gets the sense, after reading the opinion, that the Court simply did not want to take the time.

Mandel, although it arose in the field of immigration law where the Court had yet to make clear the First Amendment's applicability, indicates a retreat from what a few years ago seemed inevitable. The Court's signal is strong, and its repercussions may well be the defeat of challenges in other areas where First Amendment liberties have been treated as alien.

That the Court bartered away significant First Amendment rights at such a cheap and petty price is not so remarkable in view of its other decisions last term. Yet, in none of those decisions was the people's sovereign liberties so squarely at issue and so lightly dismissed; and, it is submitted, none will be so long regretted.

11. See, e.g. *United States v. Robel*, 389 United States 258.

Mandel's Letter to NECLC

[The following letter, dated September 9, was sent by Ernest Mandel to the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee (NECLC). It is reprinted from the November issue of *Rights*, bimonthly publication of the NECLC.]

* * *

Dear friends of the NECLC:

Now that Nixon's court has knocked us out, and my case has ended its juridical course, I should like to thank all of you, and especially Leonard Boudin, David Rosenberg, as well as the eight plaintiffs and Edith Tiger, for your efforts on my behalf.

I am sure that the wide support you managed to get among the most notable American academics, two thirds of the lower court judges, and one third of the Supreme Court judges, has something to do with the importance of upholding and defending a prin-

ciple, irrespective of the person who happens to suffer in a given case from its denial: the principle of free communication of ideas and of human beings.

We are living in an epoch of deep social crisis, when this principle is all too often trampled upon. As you are well aware, I take a definite stand in the social and political struggles which are developing in today's world. But I remain deeply convinced that whatever radical, revolutionary change is necessary to solve that social crisis, no useful purpose can be served by fighting ideas with attempts at suppression and repression. And those who feel threatened in their privileges by contemporary developments should read and ponder upon the lessons of history: no revolutionary change was ever prevented by trying to suppress the circulation of ideas. If anything, such measures of suppression in the end always hasten radi-

cal social change rather than stop it.

Please communicate my expression of warm gratitude to all those instrumental in bringing my case to the

Supreme Court and defending it there.

With my very best greetings,

Ernest Mandel

PSU Members Join Ligue Communiste

[A group of forty-seven members of the French Parti Socialiste Unifié—(PSU—United Socialist party) announced their decision to apply for membership in the Ligue Communiste, French section of the Fourth International, at a news conference October 28. The group includes eight who held positions of national responsibility in the PSU—among them two members of the National Bureau and three members of the DPN (Direction Politique Nationale—National Political Leadership). Fifteen, most of them involved in industrial plants, held positions of responsibility at the departmental level in twelve different departments. The group also included Jean-Marie Vincent, former editor of the PSU's weekly, *Tribune Socialiste*.

[We reprint below excerpts of a letter explaining the group's decision to affiliate to the Ligue Communiste. They were published in the November 4 issue of the Ligue's weekly newspaper, *Rouge*. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

The Ligue Communiste has grown: It is now a strong organization with close to 5,000 members; it is established on a national scale, and it has correctly extricated itself from the university milieu in which it was born. Nothing with any impact can be done on the far left today without the Ligue. . . . If one compares the actions since 1960 of militants affiliated to the Fourth International with our own activism in the PSU—leaving aside conjunctural errors and virtues on either side—generally speaking, from the beginning these militants were right and we were wrong.

The Mass, Revolutionary International

We think that it is an immediate and urgent task to build a mass, revolutionary international. It is not possible for revolutionists who subscribe

to the concept of permanent revolution and who recognize the interrelationship of different struggles . . . to tolerate a situation in which each individual does what he can in his own corner. . . .

It is this step that leads us today to request membership in the French section of the Fourth International. The fact is that we recognize a whole series of valuable qualities in the Fourth International—not only having passed on the heritage of Leninism and the lessons of the struggle of the left opposition to new generations, but also to having been able to understand in time the decisive importance of the development of the productive forces and the consequences this would have for the workers' struggles, the historic role of the Indochinese revolution, and the emergence of new vanguards from under the yoke of Stalinism.

But, for us, the Fourth International is not the mass, revolutionary international. . . . The process of regroupment will be complex, and will include forces originating outside the framework of the Fourth International that are evolving in the direction of revolutionary Marxism. This, moreover, is the attitude taken by the Fourth [International] toward the Groupe Révolution Socialiste [Socialist Revolution Group] in Martinique, as well as toward the Basque ETA [Euzkadi ta Azkatasuna—Basque Nation and Freedom].

We think that the Fourth International is a good instrument—the best, and the only instrument—for building a mass, revolutionary international.

For Revolutionary Industrial Work

The Ligue, in contrast to the ultra-left, has always maintained the need for coherent work in the trade unions. The now complete failure of the struggle committees and other "unionist nonunionist" committees as an ongoing form of workers' regroupment is sufficient to demonstrate the com-

mon sense of the positions taken by the Ligue. But it is not enough to "work in the unions." An important task of the moment is also to do what is necessary to develop a powerful revolutionary tendency that can confront the union bureaucracies. But what group is trying to do this, if not the Ligue? The way in which it is today dealing with this problem seems to us on the whole correct. It is, indeed, important to understand that there are advanced workers and revolutionists who do not feel the need for or understand the role of a party. What is necessary is not to give them an ultimatum but to work together with them around ideas and goals that we share on the basis of mutual experiences. . . .

Thus it [the Ligue] has been able to move toward an increasingly homogeneous intervention by its worker-militants within the unions and at the same time to build a workers' fraction within its organization in branch after branch of industry. Thus, of all the groups on the left, it alone is able to attempt to master the dialectical relationship between its key political campaigns and its daily work. . . .

The general orientation of the Ligue Communiste appears *perfectly* correct to us in terms of the slogans it puts forward in struggles, as well as in its approach to carrying out these struggles (linking together general meetings of the workers, strike committees, and support committees). . . .

It seems to us also that while quite properly reaffirming the priority of carrying out work in the CGT [Confédération Générale du Travail—General Confederation of Labor], the experience of the Ligue Communiste itself has made it possible for it to move ahead in its grasp of working within the CFDT [Confédération Française et Démocratique du Travail—French Democratic Confederation of Labor].

Finally, the Ligue Communiste has shown its ability to dedicate its organization as a whole to mobilizations mainly oriented toward the factories and to do so in such a way as to raise the class struggle to a higher political level and a higher level of centralization.

Building the Revolutionary Party

The Ligue Communiste is not the revolutionary party. And the latter

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will not come into being simply as a result of a gradual, continual strengthening of the Ligue Communiste; qualitative changes will be necessary. . . .

The conscious intervention into this process of an ideologically sound organization is a necessity.

Only the Ligue Communiste seems to us qualified to fulfill this role. For this requires an organization whose members all share a common experience—that of *revolutionary* Marxism—which is able, on this foundation, to undogmatically adapt its strategy to the given circumstances of the class struggle. . . .

Stalinism and Building the Party

The Ligue Communiste applies the tactic of the united front in such a way that it is always subordinated to the goal of building the revolutionary party: What is involved is an attempt to acquire the means to confront the PCF [Parti Communiste Français—French Communist party] in the main areas of its political intervention.

One of the most outstanding features of this tactic is participating in the key actions of the PCF. The opportunities for participating in any given action are, of course, open to discussion. Nevertheless, the general principles with which the Ligue Communiste approaches such a situation, and the way it applies them, are on the whole correct. . . .

Today, the results of the systematic policy of the Ligue Communiste in this area must be faced up to: It is the only group on the far left today that is in a position to take on the task of preparing a head-on confrontation with Stalinism. . . .

What Kind of Intervention?

From Gilles Guiot to Courbain, and from Burgos to the Joint Français support committees,* the Ligue Communiste has shown its ability to intervene in mass movements, and even to keep them going. At the present stage of its evolution, its field of action still leaves room for development. For we believe that the revolutionary organization owes it to itself to make

*Committees that built public support for the workers at the Joint Français plant in Saint-Brieuc, Brittany, during their two-month strike last April-May. — IP

its activities felt on all fronts where the working class is becoming conscious of its exploitation. . . .

For its part, the Ligue Communiste has stood aside from a series of important areas of struggle. In many cases, we think it has been wrong: This is especially true of the women's movement. But it has never developed any theories to justify its abstention, and it has never fallen into the primitive economism of certain revolutionary groups. . . .

We believe the Ligue Communiste is capable of offering solutions. The Ligue is not, for us, just one among others in the kaleidoscope of revolutionary organizations: It is the only one capable of moving qualitatively ahead in establishing links with the masses and becoming rooted in the class struggle. . . .

One could, to be sure, stick to the widespread stereotypes about the breast-beating of the Ligue Communiste. . . . Only, the Ligue realizes that other organized forces are actively involved in the process of building the revolutionary party, and it has begun to translate this realization into deeds by opening up discussions with Lutte Ouvrière. Some joint campaigns

SLL Slanders East Europe Conference

[On October 20-22, the Conference of Radical Scholars of Soviet and Eastern European Studies held a meeting in London. Attended by a wide range of political activists and scholars, it discussed various important issues in Soviet and East European politics.

[The conference appears to have aroused the ire of the Socialist Labour League (SLL), a sectarian British outfit that falsely claims to be Trotskyist. For the information of our readers, we publish below an attack on the conference that was published in the November 24 issue of *Workers Press*, the organ of the SLL.

[The *Workers Press* harangue is followed by a reply drafted by the conference organizers. It answers the SLL's charges and describes the actual work of the conference.]

* * *

The defence of victims of Stalinist repression in Eastern Europe is a

have already resulted from this, among them the campaign for equal pay raises for all. . . .

Finally, we must raise the problems facing the revolutionary current as we have defined it. It is with regard to the radicalized sectors of the mass movements that the balance sheet of the Ligue Communiste's activity has been weakest up to now. This fact can be explained by the very history of the evolution of the Ligue Communiste. It can also be justified by the correct priority that it has given to directly confronting Stalinism.

But today, the level the Ligue Communiste has reached, and the influence of the far left, make it possible to seriously envisage carrying out work oriented toward these layers: The response within the CFDT for some time now to the positions of the Ligue Communiste is one of the first indications of this. . . .

Today, building the revolutionary party no longer seems like a labor of Sisyphus. It is in the Ligue Communiste that we intend to do what we can to build it. For we are now convinced that in order to build the revolutionary party, today we must build the Ligue Communiste. □

class question which involves a principled struggle against Stalinism within the workers' movement.

Only on this basis can the working class in the capitalist countries aid its brothers in the deformed workers' states to prepare the political revolution which will overthrow the bureaucracy's rule.

This is not, however, the basis of an organization called Radical Scholars of Soviet and Eastern European Studies which held its second conference in London at the weekend.

This body is animated largely by academic supporters of the revisionist International Marxist Group (IMG), New Left and International Socialists. Its organizers describe it as 'a non-sectarian arena on the nature of socialism' and hope to publish a magazine called 'Critique' for this purpose.

Among the speakers at the weekend conference were Ernest Mandel, the leading Belgian revisionist, and Jiri Pelikan, former director of Czech-

oslovak television, now living in exile in Rome.

Pelikan is a supporter of the Alexander Dubcek wing of the Czechoslovak Stalinist Bureaucracy which wanted to introduce 'socialism with a human face' in the Prague Spring of 1968. He advocates working within the communist parties of Eastern Europe to 'push' their leaders to 'overcome and avoid certain deformations'. He told the conference: 'Some people criticize Dubcek for not having a clear programme, but how could such a programme exist?'

Mandel and his supporters naturally accepted this explicit attack on Trotskyism because they share Pelikan's hostility to the building of independent revolutionary parties both in the capitalist countries and in the degenerated workers' states.

Mandel considers the political revolution against Stalinism will be the 'spontaneous' act of the working class: 'From the moment the masses become autonomously and spontaneously active, the power of the bureaucracy seems to disappear like lightning,' he said.

The outcome of the 'spontaneous' action of the masses in Czechoslovakia, however, was the Dubcek regime, which even Pelikan admits 'accepted the logic of "normalization"' under the Warsaw Pact occupation.

The third element in this highly dubious amalgam of anti-Trotskyists is provided by the Communist Party of Great Britain. Monty Johnstone, the party's anti-Trotskyist specialist, was greeted at the conference in the friendliest manner by Pelikan and Mandel's supporters Tariq Ali and Robin Blackburn.

Johnstone is a long-standing political hack and Stalin-worshipper whose political credit is sustained entirely by anti-Marxists like Blackburn and Ali. Twenty years ago he was an enthusiastic supporter of the infamous Czechoslovak Slansky show-trial.

The revisionists acclaim this man as a 'radical scholar' of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, though he has not attempted to explain his slavish support for Stalin's crimes, even retrospectively.

Following the show trials of Dubcek supporters in July and August this year Pelikan wrote to the American Stalinist Angela Davis appealing for her to intervene with the Gustav Husak leadership on their behalf.

Davis adamantly refused and was rewarded with a VIP tour of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. Davis is still being built up by the British Communist Party as a heroine of the struggle against oppression. Yet the party is silent about her betrayal of the Stalinist victims in Czechoslovakia. Pelikan tactfully refrained from mentioning this instructive episode at the 'scholars' conference.

And the Conference Replies

The article in Workers Press, Tuesday, October 24, entitled 'A Strange Gathering', attacked by systematic distortion the Conference of Radical Scholars of Soviet and East European Studies, which had its second conference during the weekend of October 20th to 22nd. The organisers of the Conference and the editors of Critique choose to reply to this attack by means of an open letter sent to Workers Press, Socialist Worker, and Red Mole. We do this because we feel that given the attitude displayed in the article, Workers Press is most unlikely to print our reply, and that comrades of all Trotskyist organisations should have the opportunity to hear our reply and judge for themselves the value of our venture.

Before passing to the central purpose of this letter, which is to offer a report and an assessment of the conference we must reply to the fabrications of the article. Firstly, Monty Johnstone was not invited to speak, nor did he attend the conference. Workers Press chooses to ignore this and prints a picture of Johnstone before a microphone, a picture not even taken at the conference, labelling Johnstone as one of the main participants. Monty Johnstone was not 'greeted' at the conference in the friendliest manner by Pelikan and Mandel's supporters Tariq Ali and Robin Blackburn', nor do the so-called revisionists (presumably the organisers of the conference) acclaim Johnstone as a "radical scholar" of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. The only basis for these accusations is that Johnstone arrived on Sunday, after the final paper of the conference. Secondly, the conference was in no way anti-Trotskyist. The majority of participants clearly accepted the analysis by Trot-

The IMG men naturally did not mention it either—it might have upset their friend Johnstone. These people cannot fight Stalinism and their 'defence' of the victims of Stalinist repression in Eastern Europe is a liberal-humanitarian political fraud.

Pabloite revisionism led by Mandel's old friend Michel Pablo long ago distinguished itself as the running-dog of Stalinism.

sky of the Soviet Union as their point of departure. Thirdly, Jiri Pelikan was invited to present a paper at the conference because the organisers believe it is the duty of the non Stalinist left in the West to listen to those emigres from Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union who present a socialist criticism of those states even if we have important differences with them. We must listen to these people and discuss questions of the transition to socialism with them. Does the SLL advise its comrades to pay no attention to the work of Kuron and Modzelewski because they are not Trotskyists? Finally, it seems to us that the article in Workers Press proceeds from the central assumption that any organisation not controlled by the SLL must be attacked in the most vicious and unprincipled manner with no regard for accuracy.

The impetus for the founding of the Conference of Radical Scholars of Soviet and East European Studies originates from the desire of a number of left-wing lecturers and students in the field to stimulate a wide-ranging discussion of the social structure and social change in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe from a critical left-wing and Marxist viewpoint. The organisers of the conference feel that this function cannot adequately be fulfilled by either the 'orthodox' academic organisations and journals, nor Marxist journals such as New Left Review. The 'orthodox' academicians proceed with an empirical methodology; the established Marxist journals are concerned with a field too broad to allow concentration on the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. Further, if a discussion of the type indicated above is to occur, the organisers of the conference believe that this can-

not be done through an organisation which is under the control of any one left tendency. Neither can the discussion be sustained within the limits of analysis made in the 1930s and 1940s.

The conference held in London during the weekend of October 20-22 continued the work of an earlier conference held in Glasgow last January. The recent conference comprised six papers and discussions, covering various aspects of the Soviet and Eastern European political economy and political change. The conference heard papers on the History of the Polish Working Class (Jerzy Kolankiewicz), on Political Change in the Soviet Union Since the Death of Stalin (Mary McAuley), on the Soviet State (Ralph Miliband), on the Legacy of Czechoslovakia (Jiri Pelikan), on Marxist Theories of the Soviet Union (Hillel Ticktin), and on the Transitional Economy (Ernest Mandel). The dominating theme of the discussion was the complex and contradictory nature of the soviet political economy which raises considerable problems of analysis for a Marxist. In a letter of this length it would be impossible to summarize any of the contributions. The most important of these papers, in

particular those of Mandel and Ticktin, will be published at a later date by Critique, a journal founded to carry on the work of the conference. The first issue of this journal is to be published in December.

As a whole, the conference was a success, attracting a registration of over 400. The conference served an important function in bringing together people interested in developing analysis of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe along the lines indicated. Throughout the conference, it was recognized that this involved a discussion of the meaning of socialism and an evaluation of the Soviet experience as an element in the development of revolutionary practice. For example, Ernest Mandel, in discussing the transition period specified six essential prerequisites of socialism, and Jiri Pelikan discussed the Czechoslovak movement of 1968 in the light of these prerequisites.

In conclusion, we ask Workers Press to publish this letter as a reply to their article, and welcome anti-Stalinists of any tendency to our future conferences.

Yours fraternally,

Editors of Critique and Organisers of
the Conference of Radical Scholars
of Soviet and East European Studies

the recovery of captured US military-men.

Washington wants to make people believe that the US is not responsible for the rigging up of the Saigon power apparatus, that the end of all direct military intervention would mean complete US disentanglement from Viet Nam and total respect of her independence. Even for those who have not read the Pentagon papers, the trick is a rather clumsy one. What is the use of the billions of dollars which since 1954 have poured into South Viet Nam at the same time as huge shipments of arms, various American military and civilian missions and thousands of American advisers, if not to impose on the Vietnamese people an anti-national, anti-democratic government? Who has financed, equipped and commanded the Saigon army and police, all that apparatus for repression war, and "pacification," those "tiger cages"? Why did Washington unleash its "special war" from 1961 to 1965, land half a million GI's, pour 14 million tons of bombs and shells on Viet Nam? Why has Mr Nixon used such massive air and naval forces against both zones of Viet Nam, if not to save from disaster the regime installed by the US in Saigon?

After many months of massive bombing and blockade of the DRVN and of diplomatic manoeuvring, Mr Nixon has not been able to obtain the results he expected on the battlefield. Without the massive military protection of the US, the Saigon regime would have collapsed. Washington wants to obtain at the conference table what it cannot get by military means, as always by resorting to blackmail: accept the present government, don't lay a finger on it, or I will destroy the country. Mr Nixon wants to keep in hand that puppet army and police which will enable him to impose his will on the Vietnamese people. If he can just get a few months' respite, in order to get himself re-elected and prop up that apparatus so badly shaken by the offensive of the patriotic forces, Mr Nixon will be in a favourable position to invoke all kinds of pretexts and do what his predecessors had done, that is, to send in US military power each time that apparatus is again threatened.

Nixon's proposal will not therefore lead to peace, but to an indefinite

What Hanoi Said in September

[The following article appeared in the September 1972 issue of the *Vietnam Courier*, an English-language magazine published in Hanoi.]

* * *

The will for peace is so legitimate and so universal an aspiration that all words, all proposals of peace always find an echo: the worst warmongers know this and for 25 years successive American presidents have misused the word. Nixon is no exception. He proposes a cease fire under international control, the withdrawal of US troops in the four months that follow, and the release of captured American militarymen. Political settlement must be dissociated from military settlement, he says, for it is too complex and should be reached

through an agreement between the Vietnamese parties.

The proposal is an attractive one for a tired and anguished US opinion, for those who want peace "at any cost": Let the bombs stop falling, we'll see to the rest later. Let's take a closer look at things and see what will be the practical results. First, Mr Nixon will be able to present himself to the US electorate as having made peace, and, what is no less important, the Saigon regime can appear as the legal government of the country, all attempt to overthrow it being now a violation of the agreements signed, which might set in motion a terrible mechanism of reprisals. Mr Nixon will have won on both scores: to get himself re-elected and to consolidate the power of his placemen in Saigon, not to mention

prolongation of the conflict. US armed aggression against Viet Nam has definite political aims: to impose US neo-colonialist domination on the country. So long as there is no political settlement, so long as Washington does not give up its will to force on the Vietnamese people a government at the Americans' beck

and call, there will be no genuine peace. The Vietnamese people have already repeatedly refused to yield to the blackmail of destruction. This time, they will not give way. Peace will come only if the Vietnamese people's fundamental national rights are respected and consecrated by an adequate political solution.

never proceed beyond that point in political practice."

"Imagine Marx's indignation," he said, "at the spectacle of a so-called socialist party divided over which capitalist candidate to support. What a theme for satire!"

Novack told the audience of eighty persons, "Vietnam is a test case. Unlike many of his colleagues, Harrington now calls for the U.S. to get out of Vietnam. But he is not for the victory of the National Liberation Front as we are, because he fears this will bring about the installation of bureaucratic collectivism. . . . He is a sophisticated advocate of a nonexistent 'third camp' which claims to stand above both the imperialist and anti-imperialist forces contending for supremacy. . . . But, when the chips are down, he refuses to side with the actual struggle of the oppressed against their oppressors in Vietnam, and not only there."

Commenting on Harrington's claim to represent Marxism, Novack said, "He portrays a Marx that resembles himself far more than the original. He tries to remake Marx, the tiger, into a tabby cat, a moderate social-democratic reformist and gradualist who was unfortunately subject to fits of ultraleftism, as in 1850 when he projected the process and program of permanent revolution and in 1871 when he hailed the Paris Commune and the dictatorship of the proletariat." □

Michael Harrington and the SWP's 'Fantasy'

Debate on U.S. Road to Socialism

George Novack, Marxist scholar and a leader of the Socialist Workers party, debated Michael Harrington, a former cochairman of the reformist Socialist party-Democratic Socialist Federation (SP-DSF) at New York City's Queens College on November 14. They presented opposing views of "The Road to Socialism in America."

The author of *Socialism* (for a review, see *Intercontinental Press*, July 10, p. 811), Harrington is the best-known of the inveterate parliamentary cretins who make up the Socialist party's leadership. Since 1948, no leading member of the tendency he represents has agreed to debate a proponent of revolutionary socialism. But Harrington, whose firm dedication to liberal "democracy" places him in the left wing of U.S. anticommunism, broke with that precedent.

Last October Harrington resigned his cochairmanship of the SP-DSF in a dispute over the party's tepid endorsement of George McGovern's candidacy. Despite the SP-DSF's formal position, many party leaders favored the electoral stand taken by AFL-CIO President George Meany, who indicated his preference for Nixon by red-baiting McGovern. Harrington, an enthusiastic McGovernite, charged that the SP-DSF "is today doing the work of Richard Nixon." While reiterating his party's position of opposition to the workers states, he attacked the SP's policy of "supporting reactionary anti-Communists as an alternative to Communism—of backing Chiang, Batista, or French colonialism, Diem, and the generals in Indochina."

Nevertheless, Harrington said he would remain in the Socialist party

because "it is a member party of the Socialist [Second] International."

In the debate with Novack Harrington made little effort to defend his party or its record. He said he did not want to discuss "whether the Socialist Workers party or the Socialist party has best succeeded in creating a socialist cadre, a socialist sect, a group of socialists. If that were the debate, I would concede defeat at the outset."

Instead, he defended the view that "George Meany and the trade-union movement, on tax policy, on national health insurance, on full employment, on planning, on social security, on poverty, on all of these issues, represent the mass left wing of American society." This penetrating observation followed his characterization of the SWP's view of U.S. society as "fantastic."

Interpreting Nixon's landslide as a sharp rightward turn by the workers, he said, "I want to win them back to the Democratic party."

Attacking the SWP's revolutionary strategy, Harrington said, "As long as it is possible to have nonviolent parliamentary change, I think it is absolutely criminal to talk about going into the streets."

George Novack pointed out that the Second International, to which Harrington adheres, "embraces political personages such as Willy Brandt, Harold Wilson, Guy Mollet, and Golda Meir. . . . When in office, all of them have acted as caretakers of the capitalist regime and upheld private ownership and profiteering at the expense of working people. . . . In their most radical flights they are proponents of the welfare-warfare state and

Prosecutor Asks Life in Sallustro Case

The prosecutor in the Camara Federal en lo Penal (Federal Criminal Court) in Buenos Aires has asked for the penalty of life imprisonment against fourteen of the fifteen persons accused of involvement in the kidnapping and assassination of the FIAT factory manager Oberdan Sallustro.

The defendants facing life imprisonment for their alleged role in the guerrilla action by the ERP (Ejercito Revolucionario del Pueblo) that led to Sallustro's death in the spring of this year are: Angel Fausto Averame, Carlos Tomas Ponce de Leon, Jose Luis Da Silva Parreira, Guiomar Schmidt de Klachko, Mirta Adriana Mitidiero de Da Silva Parreira, Elena Maria Da Silva Parreira, Eduardo Adrian Menajovsky, Oscar Sigfrido de Benedetti, Andres Ernesto Alsina Bea, Jose Eduardo Beristain, Mirta Emilse de Menajovsky, Liliana Olga Montanaro, Silvia Ines Urdampilleta, and Marta Alicia Abrego.