

## 100,000 in Washington Roar, 'Get Out Now!'



Part of the crowd of angry and outraged Americans who marched in Washington January 20 to protest Nixon's barbarous bombings of Vietnam and to demand an immediate end to the war.

## Canada's Inferno

Despite a population of only 100,000 persons, Sudbury, Ontario, is among the front-runners in the international pollution race. Patrick Wallace, in a special report in the January 19 *Wall Street Journal*, says: "So complete is the environmental devastation that U.S. astronauts used the area to practice moon-walking."

When atmospheric conditions are right, Sudbury's nickel and copper smelters pour "huge amounts of sulphur dioxide gas and other pollutants onto the ground, roasting local flora to a crisp." Sudbury citizens call these incidents "fumigations."

"Dante," Wallace writes, "would appreciate the nightly inferno of clanking rail cars disgorging their molten fire-red slag, expanding the huge black mound of nickel-smelter residue that stretches along the highway into town. . . . Within a 25-mile radius, there is practically no vegetation, just thousands of dead tree stumps left over from widespread timber-cutting of the late 19th Century. Whenever it rains, mucky silt washes into the city streets from the denuded hills. Dust-puffing smokestacks create a reddish-brown pall over the area."

A brochure put out by International Nickel Co. of Canada Ltd. (Inco) describes Sudbury less poetically: "Rocky, barren and—to the uninitiated—rather strange-looking."

Public pressure finally won a government order to reduce the emission of sulfur dioxide by 1978. As an interim measure, Inco had to build "what turned out to be the world's largest smokestack, a 1,250-foot-high, \$26 million structure designed to disperse the gas over a larger area."

The company claims that this has given Sudbury "better ground-level air quality than any other industrial community in Ontario."

An official of the steelworkers union, Gilbert H. Gilchrist, doubts it: "There really hasn't been that much improvement. All the stack does is spread the stuff just enough to keep everything dead." □

### In This Issue

FEATURES	88	After the International Recession —by Ernest Mandel
ECOLOGY	66	Canada's Inferno
ANTIWAR	67	100,000 in Washington Roar Protest Against War
	70	Thousands Join Local Protests in U.S.
	72	Thousands Throughout World Protest War
INDOCHINA WAR	68	Saigon's Prisoners Face Torture
	69	Life Under the Bombing in North Vietnam
	71	Heath's Complicity in Bombing of Vietnam
	87	Hanoi Reported to Expect New Bombing
ISRAEL	73	Jewish and Arab Political Prisoners Tortured
	74	Matzpen-Marxist Answers Regime's Attacks
	75	Against the Government Repression!
	76	We Accuse! Torture in Israeli Jails
U.S.A.	77	Nixon's War Against Freedom of the Press —by Fred Feldman
	78	Phase 3—More of the Same—by Ed Smith
ARGENTINA	80	Socialist Electoral Campaign Gathers Momentum
	80	A Slate of 2,200 Candidates in 12 Districts
	80	Two Union Leaders Head Cordoba Slate
	81	Campaigners Seized by Police at Rally
	81	New Forces Join Socialist Front Against Bourgeoisie
	82	Communist Party Responds With Stab in the Back
	83	Campaign to Free All Political Prisoners
FINLAND	83	The Class Struggle in Finland 1968-72 —by Pekka Haapakoski
PUERTO RICO	86	Nationalists Liven Things Up
IRAN	89	Shah Executes Seven More Iranians
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	96	Czech Writers Speak Up for Political Prisoners
DOCUMENTS	90	Ten Years—History and Principles of the Left Opposition—by Max Shachtman
	90	The Theory of Socialism in One Country
	92	The British General Strike of 1926
	94	The Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution
PHOTOGRAPHS	65	Part of crowd at January 20 Washington antiwar demonstration—by Ellen Lemisch
	70	Workers' quarter of Hanoi hit by U.S. bombs
	72	100,000-strong antiwar action in Utrecht
	79	George Meany
DRAWINGS	67	Richard Nixon; 76, Golda Meir—by Copain

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## 100,000 in Washington Roar Protest Against War

Washington, D. C.

More than 100,000 persons assembled here January 20 in a march and rally protesting the carpet-bombing of Indochina in December that struck the world with horror.

The chants of the vast throng of demonstrators could be heard in the reviewing stands a half-mile away where 20,000 persons had gathered to watch the swearing-in rites for America's No. 1 war criminal for another four years.

In preparation for the antiwar action, federal authorities mobilized 1,000 National Guard troops in addition to 1,000 Washington, D. C., cops. Mounted police, poised for action, were much in evidence. During the afternoon they broke up small groups of youths who had drifted away from the rally and gathered around the Washington Monument. Throughout the day, police helicopters circled the gathering.

So great was the outpouring of protesters that it took well over two hours for the main body to march the short distance from the Lincoln Memorial to the Washington Monument, where the rally was held. Outrage and bitter anger set the tone of the "March against Death and for Peace in Vietnam."

The size of the demonstration was particularly impressive, coming as it did in the wake of a halt in massive U. S. bombing raids over North Vietnam and a new flow of promises from the White House propaganda machine that "peace is at hand." Although the marchers were for the most part youthful—some of them so young as to be participating in an antiwar demonstration for the first time—they represented a broad spectrum of the U. S. population.

The protest demonstration, both in size and mood, contrasted in the sharpest way with the celebration of the rituals at the inauguration. The presidential parade was a color extravaganza designed for television. Floats were decorated with messages like "Spirit of '76" and "Parks for the People." Bands played martial music. The Republican "fat cats," who paid



"KING RICHARD": A coronation more than inauguration in opinion of many.

steep prices for seats in the stands, applauded dutifully.

Among the small groups who watched from the sidewalks, a number of persons held up antiwar posters for the television cameras.

The massive antiwar protest was initiated by the National Peace Action Coalition and cosponsored by the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice. NPAC's slogan was "U. S. Out of Southeast Asia Now!" PCPJ's slogan was "Sign the Treaty Now."

Dr. Sidney Peck, a leader of PCPJ, told the crowd, "The People's Coalition is building a National Emergency Network to respond—even if an agreement is signed—to any violations of that agreement by Richard Nixon.

"You will be enlisting in a still more protracted struggle," he continued. "For even if the accords are signed we know that Richard Nixon will try to run the same war by more quiet, less visible methods."

As an immediate task, Peck proposed "a network of organizations on the local level" to "pressure Congressmen" into forcing Nixon to sign the agreement.

Jerry Gordon, one of NPAC's co-

ordinators, said: "There are more Americans here at the Washington Monument saying 'No' to the war than there are a half-mile away at the inauguration saying 'Yes' to Richard Nixon. And that's the real measure of the way things stand today in the USA."

Gordon said that NPAC "would warmly welcome a halt to the bombing, which has been going on for eight and a half years. We have demanded and would welcome a withdrawal of the remaining U. S. troops from Vietnam. We will be glad to see POWs on both sides returned home.

"But the antiwar movement remembers the previous cease-fires in Vietnam. Each time the cease-fire broke down, the fighting resumed, and the war raged on more violently than ever. . . .

"The U. S. will see to it that South Vietnam's repressive police and military apparatus remain intact. Hundreds of thousands of political prisoners will still remain in South Vietnamese dungeons. Thousands of so-called U. S. civilian advisers—many of them West Point graduates—will be swarming all over South Vietnam. The staggering military might of the U. S. will still be on the scene. Hundreds of U. S. warplanes will still be in Thailand and the Seventh Fleet will still be off the Vietnam coast—poised and ready to resume bombing operations at a moment's notice.

"No, the signing of the cease-fire will not mean that the U. S. has disengaged from Southeast Asia. . . .

"So we serve notice today that our struggle for a total U. S. withdrawal from Indochina will continue—whether or not a cease-fire agreement is signed. Our demand remains what it always has been: For the immediate and unconditional removal of all U. S. military forces, warplanes, ships, military bases, and advisers from Southeast Asia. This includes a cut-off of all funds for the Thieu dictatorship and all other U. S.-imposed regimes in Indochina."

Gordon asked the audience to participate in a February 23 march to the capitol to demand "Out Now." The

march is scheduled for the opening of a national antiwar convention called by NPAC for February 23-24. On February 25, the Student Mobilization Committee will hold its national conference.

Speakers at the rally included Madame Twa Nguyen, a Vietnamese whose brother is a political prisoner under Thieu; Abe Feinglas, international vice-president of the Amalgamated Meat-cutters and Butcher Work-

men; Andrew Pulley of the Socialist Workers party; Jarvis Tyner of the Communist party; Dr. Barbara Roberts of the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition; Vernon Bellecourt, a leader of the American Indian Movement; Franklin Kameny, a leader of the gay liberation movement in Washington; the Reverend Philip Berrigan; Senator Philip Hart (Democrat-Michigan); and Representative Bella Abzug (Democrat-New York). □

cages, deeper and narrower than the old ones, and totally blacked out.

*Le Monde* gives some examples of repression of prisoners:

"Fifty persons were gravely wounded on May 4, 1971. In September 1971 a prisoner, beaten by the guard Buu, died (in Pham Can's Camp No. 2); two persons were seriously wounded on January 27, 1972 (Cell 2, Camp 4). Last August a student, Nguyen Viet Hung . . . was assassinated by two "specialists," Tu Phuc and Ba Dang (twenty-eight others were tortured). In Camp No. 6 on September 9, 1972, a prisoner died from an illness; he had already served his sentence but had not been freed. There was a protest demonstration, and then repression (thirty persons were wounded); then there was a hunger strike. After sixteen days, more than 500 prisoners were transferred; many have since disappeared."

The island of Phu Quoc has 28,000 prisoners of war. Saigon tried to get them to defect from the liberation forces. Most, *Le Monde* reports, refused and were "subjected to abominable tortures—or else they fell ill. In 1971 there were thirteen known instances of repression (147 killed); 125 persons died because of lack of medicine between January 1, 1971, and May 1972. One example of repression: The prisoner Le Kong Son (Section 4-A) died after one Lieutenant Hach hammered nails into his body.

"Especially noted were cases of collective repression: February 14, 1972 (seven dead, fourteen wounded in Section A-10); March 3 (two dead, four wounded, Section C-9); May 8 (thirteen dead, 148 wounded by machine-gun fire in Section B-8); June 27 (one dead, one wounded in Section A-2); September 12 (200 killed or wounded, Section C-7)."

All this information came from South Vietnamese sources who do not belong to the National Liberation Front. *Le Monde* notes that most of the cited cases involve large and rather far-flung prisons from which escape is relatively easy. It is much more difficult to get news from the more compact provincial prisons, although the U. S. command doubtless has all this information on file, since a good part of the "aid" provided the Thieu regime goes to maintenance of the prison system. □

## 'Le Monde' Receives New Information

### Saigon's Prisoners Face Torture

At the Chi Hoa prison in Saigon "you don't die under torture as at Poulo Condor or under a hail of machine-gun bullets as on Phu Quoc Island. You die slowly, as a result of a policy aimed at destroying the prisoner little by little, not only morally, but physically too."

The testimony comes from "an inside witness," and was quoted in an article on Saigon's political prisoners in the January 10 issue of *Le Monde*.

"We have just received some information from privileged sources about the prison system in South Vietnam," the Paris daily wrote. "When added to recent revelations from various quarters, it can only sharpen uneasiness about the current situation, especially that of the political prisoners."

Uneasiness is hardly the word. It might better be said that the new reports confirm fears that General Thieu is preparing the mass elimination of the prisoners. This is especially true in that *Le Monde's* information relates almost exclusively to the period before the Kissinger-Tho accords were announced last October; that is, it deals with a time during which the Saigon regime presumably expected to be holding the prisoners indefinitely, before they became an issue in the negotiations.

Between April 25 and May 9, 1972, *Le Monde* reports, Saigon troops arrested some 1,250 persons in the villages of Phu Da and Phu Ho (Phu Thu district), Thuy Phuong and Thuy

Phu (Huong Thuy district), Vi Gia (Phu Vang district), and in Phong Dien, Huong Dien, and Quang Dien districts in Hue Thua Thien province. Between May 6 and June 8 they were transferred to the prison at Poulo Condor.

Most of the prisoners were old people, children, and women, many of whom were immediately separated from their very young children. The prisoners were lodged in Poulo Condor's Camp No. 2. Their rations consisted of about 600 grams (about one and a third pounds) of rice and a little rotten fish each day. In protest they went on a hunger strike. A fifty-five-year-old woman died, and the prisoners demonstrated in protest for three days. About 290 persons, among them fifty women and fifty new-born babies, were transferred to Chi Hoa. On August 20, they were sent to an unknown destination. Nothing has been heard of the other 920 prisoners.

*Le Monde's* report describes one section of Chi Hoa, Cell OG-3. In it there are eighty-four persons, among them paralytics, victims of tuberculosis, and "graduates" of the tiger cages at Poulo Condor.

At Poulo Condor itself, there are now 8,945 inmates. The daily rice ration was recently reduced from 600 grams to 450. The prisoners receive no salt, meat, fish, or vegetables. About 300 to 400 persons in Camp No. 8 are being held in new tiger

### Life Under the Bombing in North Vietnam

[Near the end of December, Nguyen Minh Vy, assistant head of the North Vietnamese delegation to the Paris negotiations, was in Belgium to inform the public on the situation in his country. While there, he was interviewed by Jan Van Kerkhven, a member of the Political Bureau of the Ligue Révolutionnaire des Travailleurs (LRT — Revolutionary Workers League), the Belgian section of the Fourth International. The following section of the interview dealing with the resistance to the U.S. bombing raids was published in the January 5 issue of the LRT's weekly, *La Gauche*, from which it has been translated by *Intercontinental Press*.]

\* \* \*

*Question. Comrade Nguyen Minh Vy, please explain how life is organized in North Vietnam so as to be able to carry on the resistance in spite of the bombings.*

*Answer.* There are four very important factors involved: political education, active defense, passive defense, and the maintenance of communications.

First of all, political education. This is very important for reinforcing the morale of the people. The population must have confidence in our response and be convinced that victory against this war of aerial destruction is possible. This is accomplished, among other ways, by a very intense cultural life. It is by singing that the thunder of the bombs is drowned out. During the bombing raids, cultural life, and education too, are intensified. This is very important.

Obviously, we have had to reorganize every aspect of life in order to cope with an air war like this. But in order to understand how we were able to successfully implement such a reorganization, one must first of all realize that ours is an agricultural country. Industrialization has not proceeded anywhere near as far as it has in Europe, and the bombings thus take less of a toll.

The reorganization of all aspects of life has been carried out according to the principles of people's war: Everyone, including both the young and the old, is mobilized to take part in the defense effort.

First of all, there is the active defense. Everybody shoots at the American planes with whatever he can get his hands on. Shooting down the planes is not only the job of soldiers equipped with missiles or those in anti-aircraft defense units. It is everybody's job. Everyone is also involved in spotting planes. There is no siren warning system, and the planes fly at 1,200 [kilometers] an hour. We have networks of drums. Everybody warns everybody else when he sees planes coming.

Everyone is also educated in how to arrest a pilot. Every village has its anti-aircraft battery. Naturally, these are only machine gunners. Everyone has a gun. But it is very important that even these weapons be used to fire at planes. You can shoot down a Phantom with a gun. It requires courage; they come from very high up and come down to about 300 meters in order to drop their bombs. The people have to be educated to have the courage it takes to shoot at a Phantom when it is right in front of them, 300 meters away, and just before it drops its bombs.

But there is another reason why everybody fires: When they do, the planes do not dare to fly so low. They fly low to escape the missiles and to avoid being detected by radar. By shooting at the planes, even if they are not hit, we chase them higher up, where they become targets for the missiles. We use nature to hide the missiles. The Americans say that they have bombed big missile bases in our country. This is not true. Missiles are set up all over the place in small numbers.

*Q. Why are the American authorities now admitting that a number of their planes have been shot down over North Vietnam?*

A. The supremacy of the B-52 is a myth. We had already shot down some giant B-52 bombers in the past, but the American authorities didn't want to admit it. During the recent escalation they sent so many, and we shot down so many, that it is no longer possible for them to deny it.

The American army has some 200 B-52s in Southeast Asia, about half of which are operational. We have shot down approximately one-third of the operational B-52s, since we have shot down about thirty. At the moment, the American authorities are forced to admit that more than ten have already been shot down over our country.

We also attack these American planes from the air. Our pilots have worked out certain tactics of aerial guerrilla warfare: They do not fly in formation, and they attack without warning.

The result of all this is that when the American pilots enter our air space, they are in a state of great nervous tension. They can be attacked from all sides: by our fighter planes, our missiles, our anti-aircraft units, and our guns.

*Q. Criticisms have been made of the fact that the workers' states were not giving you enough modern matériel. Has there been any change in this area that might explain your recent military successes?*

A. I can't say anything on this point. I don't know. I can only say that we are still asking for more international support; and then our principle is to count on our own forces. Let me give you an example. The Soviet missiles that we have acquired have been adapted by us to meet the needs of the Vietnam war. We have made them much more mobile. Thus, our people are constantly coming up with new methods for defending themselves. It is by counting on our own forces that we will be in a position to request even more international aid.

But let me go on to the second aspect of the defense effort, passive defense. I am referring to the dispersing of all aspects of life—decentralization, as we say. We began this policy in 1965, at the beginning of the air war. At that time, our industries were concentrated in the cities, just as they are

here. We scattered all of our industry. Even an industrial complex was split up into different places.

On April 8, 1972, the American army announced that it had bombed the big textile complex in Hanoi. But they had only bombed the shell of the factory. Factories are now set up in natural grottoes or even underground. In some cases this is impossible, as with thermal power plants. We defend these installations very well. One power plant has already been bombed more than a hundred times, and it still continues to function. Such factories are reinforced and surrounded by anti-aircraft batteries.

But, of course, decentralization of this kind poses enormous problems, above all because of the fact that the leadership must be centralized. We decentralize everything. The university is sent into the countryside. Why should the ministry of agriculture remain in the city? Why should the forestry ministry remain in Hanoi? They are sent where they really ought to be in the first place. This is an improvement. This is why Pham Van Dong once said: "Thank you, Mr. Johnson, thank you for reorganizing our economy!" For this decentralization is not, for us, only a measure taken as a result of the war. What is involved is a long-range reorganization of our country, for we believe that it is better to decentralize all aspects of life and keep only the nerve center in Hanoi.

And then there is the problem of communications. This is of vital importance. Everyone is responsible for maintaining the roads and tracks. Every village is responsible for a section of road. If a road is bombed, it will be repaired in 45 minutes by those villagers who are responsible for this aspect of the defense effort, while the rest will be taking part in active defense.

In addition to this, all villages have the responsibility of increasing the number of roads and bridges. When we multiply the number of routes between villages, the bombing raids never succeed in cutting them off from one another. Thanks to this kind of organization, we are able to continue to supply the front even during saturation bombing raids.

I repeat: Everybody is involved in



Photograph published in West German weekly *Der Spiegel* shows workers' quarter in Hanoi after visit by U.S. bombers during December 1972.

this defense work. Those who do not know how or are no longer able to shoot have work to do in transpor-

tation or something else. Like my wife, for example, who goes from house to house collecting salvageable scrap. □

## Thousands Join Local Protests in U.S.

About 7,000 persons in Chicago, Illinois, demonstrated January 20 against Nixon's December bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong. The demonstration, cosponsored by the Chicago Peace Action Coalition (CPAC) and the Chicago Peace Council (CPC), marched behind a banner that read: "January 20 United Mobilization." Immediately following this was a CPAC banner with the slogan "Out Now!" and a CPC banner saying "Sign the Treaty."

Steve Clark, a coordinator of CPAC, spoke at the rally that followed the march. "The history of this war is strewn with broken treaties, broken promises, and outright lies," he said. "The only peace plan is a one-point peace plan that calls for immediate withdrawal of every soldier, bomber, and piece of military hardware from Southeast Asia."

Chants of "One-point peace plan—Out Now!" dominated the gathering.

Angel Moreno, a member of the Raza

Unida party who is a candidate for Congress from Illinois, told the predominantly young demonstrators, "Ask the Chicanos and Indians about treaties. We realize that Vietnam is not a mistake. What the U.S. is doing in Vietnam, it has been doing to Chicanos in the U.S., to people in the Dominican Republic, Mexico, and Latin America for over 100 years. Vietnam is not an exception—it is the rule of U.S. foreign policy."

Additional speakers at the rally were Lester Davis, editor of *Chicago Teacher*, the newspaper of the striking teachers' union, and Neil Bratcher, president of District 19 of the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees.

The Chicago action was one of many held on the same day as the massive Washington march. About 1,000 marched in Houston, Texas; 5,000 in Los Angeles, California; and 7,000 in San Francisco, California. On January 19, 5,000 participated in a protest in Boston. □

## Heath's Complicity in Bombing of Vietnam

In an article in the January 12 issue of the British pacifist weekly *Peace News*, Ben Crow presents impressive evidence on the complicity of Prime Minister Heath in Nixon's Christmas-season carpet-bombing of Vietnam.

"One month before Christmas," Crow reports, "three weeks before the start of the bombing, residents of Newbury and Thatcham in Berkshire began to complain that American planes taking off and landing from the USAF [U.S. Air Force] base at Greenham Common were unusually and excessively noisy. Had we but made the connections, the sleepless nights that those people suffered could have given warning of the most massive bombing campaign in the history of the world . . .

"The USAF Third Air Force headquarters even admitted that their largest cargo planes were being used to ship armaments from their munitions base at RAF Welford."

Among the facts pointing to Southeast Asia as the destination of the munitions was the use of the C5A, the world's largest military cargo plane: "All these C5As are based in the USA and are regularly used to fly supplies to South East Asia."

Despite protests from residents about the noise caused by the flights, which began December 1 and ended on December 3, "it was not until December 6 that a USAF spokesman was willing to give any confirmation of the flights."

This is not the first time that secret bomb shipments from Britain to Vietnam have come to light: "James Fenton, writing in the *New Statesman* of June 30 [1972], revealed that large quantities of 750lb bombs were being moved through Sheerness via Zeebrugge, to Vietnam. The government, after several days' incompetent stalling, finally admitted that these bombs were being moved for use in Vietnam. Anthony Howard then wrote, 'I am grateful to the government for admitting that 21,000 standard 750lb bombs have left the country for use in Vietnam, and that they couldn't give a damn.'

"The similarities between the May/June shipments and this latest one are eerie: both were closely linked to major offensives . . . In both cases US spokesmen claimed that the shipments were normal 'refurbishment and replacement' of munitions; in both cases the shipments only came to light after the sleep of local residents had been disturbed (in the first case by lorries, in the second by planes), followed by fuss from a local councillor—and in both cases the armaments came from the USAF munitions store, RAF Welford."

Crow's article estimates the tonnage of bombs transported: "The planes started arriving at Greenham Common during Friday, December 1, and continued through Saturday and Saturday night, only ending on Sunday evening. During Sunday the planes were arriving at about 1-1/2 hour intervals. . . . If we assume that one plane arrived every three hours on average during a 60-hour period, something like 1,500 tons of bombs were shifted. . . . Unconfirmed reports (the *Daily Telegraph* and *The Times*, December 20) suggest that 3,000 tons of bombs were dropped by B-52s in one day. On a very rough estimate, it seems that half the tonnage of bombs dropped on North Vietnam in one day around Christmas came from a store in Britain."

"The question remains," Crow concludes, "how much the British Government was aware and a party to Nixon's appalling decision. If, as seems most probable, the explosives were transferred by road from RAF Welford to Greenham Common, then the Ministry of Defence will have known of the transfer. These were American bombs, but subject to British laws on transporting explosives. Until the Cabinet Papers are released for this period we will not know whether the Government knew at cabinet level. However, it seems a fair bet that British complicity has been much more significant for the fate of Indochina than we can easily understand." □



## Thousands Throughout World Protest War



DUTCH PROTEST: 100,000 demonstrate in Utrecht January 13.

Demonstrations were held all over the world on January 20 to protest the U. S. war in Indochina.

One of the largest protests was in Dortmund, West Germany, according to United Press International. The police put the number of participants at 10,000. Marchers chanted "End the murder-terror" in Vietnam, and the organizers called for U. S. government leaders to be tried for genocide.

UPI also reported on demonstrations in Paris, Berlin, Stockholm, Tokyo, and New Delhi.

"In Paris, a police van and several private autos were set ablaze, and the riot police clashed with leftists, who hurled gasoline bombs. The war protesters, wearing helmets and wielding iron bars, tried to stage their demonstration outside the United States Embassy on the Place de la Concorde, but the police prevented them from reaching the area."

Some 5,000 marched through downtown Stockholm, according to UPI, chanting "Long Live the National Liberation Forces!"

In Berlin, a rally of 1,000 persons

was staged outside the United States Information Agency's cultural center.

Photos of Nixon were burned outside the U. S. embassy in Tokyo at the end of a march by 1,200.

In New Delhi, 500 demonstrators at a rally in front of the United States Information Agency chanted "Nixon the killer" and "Americans, get out of Vietnam."

In Mexico City, 300 demonstrated, according to Associated Press.

Other demonstrations were scheduled to take place in Australia, New Zealand, London, Glasgow, and Edinburgh.

The January 20 demonstrations followed on the heels of a series of antiwar demonstrations throughout Europe during recent weeks. In Milan, a demonstration of 30,000 took place in the afternoon of January 13, followed by an evening rally in a sports stadium. The next day, another demonstration of 30,000 occurred in Bonn, filling the city's Münsterplatz.

Between December 19 and 31, thousands were mobilized in cities throughout France by the Front Solidarité

Indochine (Indochina Solidarity Front).

Although the dock workers in Aarhus and Copenhagen have decided to postpone their boycott of U. S. goods, the antiwar protests in Scandinavia appear to be continuing full steam. Some 2,000 marched through Malmö, Sweden, on New Year's Day. And the massive Swedish antiwar petition campaign had brought in 679,254 names by January 12. Ulla Rosengren, who is in charge of the petitions for the Riksdag (parliament), believes that the goal of 2 million signatures by February 1 will be surpassed. Almost everybody who is asked signs, according to a report in the January 14 issue of the Stockholm daily *Dagens Nyheter*.

At 12:30 p.m. January 3, work stopped on *Dagens Nyheter* and *Expressen* while hundreds of workers on the two papers held an antiwar rally in the composition room of the former. The local of the printers' union at the newspapers called the meeting to express solidarity with Vietnam. North Vietnam's ambassador, Nguyen Huu Ngo, and the head of the Provisional Revolutionary Government's information office in Sweden, Tran Hieu Kha, attended the rally.

A resolution was presented by the local's representative and adopted. In part, it stated:

"The bombs have stopped falling on Hanoi. But nothing says that the most horrible terror of our time cannot begin anew against this densely populated community. . . .

"The superpower USA wants its terror bombing of cities, hospitals, and the civilian population to force a small people to surrender and accept peace on its conditions. We who also live in a small country and who value neutrality and national independence have reacted strongly. As a result of the USA's ruthless acts, a massive protest movement has sprung up that is surpassing all bounds.

"If public opinion is to have an even greater impact, it must gain a foothold in the workplace and be pressed forward by the unions of both blue- and white-collar workers.

"The union movement in Sweden, and even in the USA, must express its solidarity with Vietnam's suffering and fighting people and take the initiative to help force the USA out of Vietnam." □



## Jewish and Arab Political Prisoners Tortured

The Zionist regime in Israel has launched the most ominous witch-hunt in the country's short history. The method is frame-up and torture; the target is the entire Israeli left, and especially the anti-Zionist left.

The opening salvo came on December 7, when Amir Peri, superintendent of police in northern Israel, announced that twenty persons, sixteen of them Arabs, had been taken into custody on suspicion of participation in a Syrian-led "espionage and sabotage network." The arrest of Arabs under trumped-up charges is not uncommon in Israel. But this time four Jews, three of them native-born, were among those seized. All are allegedly members of Red Front, an anti-Zionist organization. Police gave their names as Ehud Adiv, a student at Haifa University, David Vered, a teacher at a vocational school, Yehezkel Cohen, an Iraqi-born hotel clerk, and David Kupfer, a construction worker.

One of the Arabs arrested, Daoud Turki of Haifa, was accused of being the Israeli-based head of the "network." Turki is reportedly a member of the Israeli Communist party (Rakah). Sason Nuriel, chief superintendent of the Special Duties Branch of the police in northern Israel, promised more arrests. They were not long in coming.

On December 11 seventeen more persons, apparently all Arabs, were taken in by the police. Then, on December 26, two more Jews were arrested. One, Rami Livneh, is the son of a Rakah delegate in the Israeli parliament (the Knesset). Livneh is a member of the Revolutionary Communist Alliance (frequently known as Struggle, the name of its newspaper), a group from which the Red Front had split. He was charged not with having been part of the "spy ring," but with having known of its existence and not informing the police.

Besides the nearly forty people being held in connection with the spying charges, many more have been held for "questioning."

Questioning involves more than mere query and response. On Janu-

ary 9 Rami Livneh's father, Abraham Lewenbraun, charged that his son had been tortured by the police. In their efforts to get Livneh to "confess" that he had known about the "spy ring," authorities beat him, threw freezing water on him, and subjected him to electric shock. When this procedure failed to do its job, the police confronted Livneh with several of his Arab friends, each of whom had been severely tortured. Livneh was told that they had already confessed and that if he did not do so as well, he would receive even worse treatment.

At that point Livneh "confessed." He later repudiated the confession, and explained to his father and his lawyer the circumstances under which he had given his statement to the police. Livneh also charged that the other prisoners had been tortured.

The case marks the first time in Israel that Jews have come in for the torture treatment hitherto reserved for Arabs. As such it marks the beginning of a new drive by the Zionist state to destroy all anti-Zionist opposition. Particular targets have been Arabs involved in cooperative activities with Jews who are either anti-Zionist or at least hostile to the present regime. The Zionist press has focused its witch-hunt campaign on anti-government Jewish citizens. Typical was *Maariv*, the paper with Israel's largest daily circulation. It complained that "we are all to blame" for anti-Zionism among Israeli-Jewish youth and insisted that the growth of anti-Zionism resulted from the regime's failure to fully indoctrinate children born "in the first generation of national redemption" (that is, since the founding of the Israeli state in 1948).

The timing of the government attack seems deliberate. With the prolonged period of "peace" on the borders of Israel, domestic social conflict has been on the rise. In 1971 the cost of living increased by 12 percent. In 1972 it rose 16 percent. Real wages in 1971 fell by 1 percent, in 1972 by 3 percent. At the same

time, Israeli banks made 80 percent more money in 1972 than they had in 1971; industrial profits rose by 23 percent.

Israeli workers have challenged this state of affairs with an unprecedented number of strikes. During 1972 there were ninety partial walkouts, a 40 percent increase over 1971. More than 200,000 work days were lost, 85 percent of them in the public sector of the economy.

The strike wave has continued in 1973. On January 4 dockers went out on strike; 30,000 engineers have threatened to walk out if a new wage scale is not agreed to by January 29. In Israel, such strikes take on a special significance. The workers have no real union—the Histadrut, supposedly a labor federation, is the largest employer in the country and is a pillar of the state apparatus. The majority of strikes are therefore against the regime and against the "union" leadership.

Besides the new labor militancy, the government has also faced increasing protest from the Sephardic sector of the population, Jews originating from Arab countries.

But Israel is not merely a "normal" capitalist state. It also has a particular character as a state for world Jewry, that is, as a Zionist state based on the denial of national rights to the Palestinian Arabs. Whatever the intensity of labor militancy, it does not become truly radical unless it develops in a consciously anti-Zionist direction. It is just this possibility that the regime is trying to definitively eliminate through the political—and perhaps physical—liquidation of the anti-Zionist vanguard.

We reprint below three initial responses to the government terror. The first is a statement by the Israeli Socialist Organization (Matzpen-Marxist), a group in sympathy with the Fourth International and the most significant anti-Zionist organization.

The second, "Against the Government Repression," was signed by five groups: the ISO (Matzpen-Marxist), the Israeli Socialist Organization

(Matzpen), the Revolutionary Communist Alliance, the Avant-garde Group (of Lambertist persuasion), and the Arab Students' Union at Hebrew University in Jerusalem.

The third is an advertisement charging the government with torture, which was signed by about 100 persons, including several prominent members of the Black Panthers, a militant Sephardic group.

The anti-Zionist movement in Israel is as yet quite small. Alone it cannot stand up to the Zionist state apparatus. The ISO (Matzpen-Marxist) has issued an urgent appeal to world public opinion to intervene in order to stay the hand of the Meir regime. The group has called on people to send protest messages to Golda Meir. Copies should be addressed to the ISO (M-M) at Post Office Box 2234, Jerusalem, Israel. □

patently absurd. We do not accept it. True, there are political and programmatic differences between the ISO and the Red Front. The articles and critiques of the two organizations have been published in their respective journals. But their world view is based on socialism and Marxism. And in no way can socialism and Marxism be compatible with the "individualist terror" and "spy networks" that the government has accused members of the Red Front of engaging in.

\* \* \*

But this is not the main question. The crucial question is: Should the struggle against Zionism be purely an Arab struggle?

The whole existence of the Zionist regime is based on national discrimination. After establishing the Israeli state on expropriated land, after transforming the Palestinians into a landless people, into residents of miserable refugee camps, Israel continues to maintain a regime whose basic principle was and still is national discrimination against Arabs.

The Israeli Arabs are victims of systematic oppression: expulsions, expropriations, administrative arrests, confinements, discrimination in all spheres of life, explicit and implicit racism. These are just a few aspects of the national oppression suffered by Palestinians under Israeli rule. According to the racist logic of the Zionist state, the simple fact of being a Jew grants one a certain immunity, even if one is a member of a revolutionary organization. Arab and Jewish members of the *same* organization are treated differently by the government. The former are arrested and confined; the latter go free.

Up to a point it is permissible for a Jew to be against the Zionist regime. Only when that point is exceeded does brutal repression come down. (Recall the expulsion orders and preventive arrests used against the Israeli Black Panthers, the back-to-work orders, court procedures, and even military trials used against striking workers—all in accordance with the infamous Emergency Security Regulations.)

But this is nothing compared with the brutal oppression that comes down on Arabs who participate in political

## We Will Not Be Deterred From Our Path!

# Matzpen-Marxist Answers Regime's Attack

[The following editorial appeared in the January 1973 issue of *Matzpen*, monthly organ of the Israeli Socialist Organization (Marxist).]

\* \* \*

Witch-hunt would be an understatement in describing the hysterical McCarthyite campaign now being conducted by the Israeli press after the discovery of what it calls "the Jewish-Arab Spy and Terror Network." Contrary to the general opinion, we believe this hysteria to be *real*, not fictitious and artificial.

For the first time since statehood, newspapers are filled with sensationalist reports claiming the active participation of Israeli-Jews in the Palestinian liberation struggle. It is clear that if all the detained were Arabs, the Israeli press and public would not have so panicked over the matter. The arrest of tens and hundreds of so-called saboteurs and terrorists (the current terms used by journalistic charlatans) and their detainment for long years in prison shocks nobody and does not make front-page news.

The fact that Israeli-Jews *together with* Palestinian Arabs have been accused and arrested by the government is the factor that accounts for the Zionist establishment's panic.

The sole source of the "facts" released to the public is the regime—and its oppressive tools, Shin Bet (the secret police) and the police. We do not accept these "facts" and we do not believe them. Moreover, the obvious con-

traditions in the reports from "official sources" make it clear to all who are not blinded by "the new patriotic blaze" that the Shin Bet has engineered a first-class frame-up and provocation. The police spokesmen boast that Shin Bet agents had penetrated the "network" from the beginning and vigilantly observed its actions. Only observed?

It is well known that in other countries, when "security agents" have penetrated extremist groups, they have not been mere passive observers. On the contrary, these provocateurs have been the most "extreme," the most "militant"; they have planted incriminating "evidence" and afterwards become the chief accusers and state witnesses. So it was in Germany with the Baader-Meinhof group and in the United States with the "Weatherpeople" and the Black Panthers. And in Israel?

We know of at least one Jewish provocateur who over many years has seriously harmed anti-Zionist left organizations. This instigator, who issued calls to "action" and urged "picking up the gun," openly slandered many of Matzpen's members, claiming that they were Shin Bet agents, and confused many naive youngsters who were taken in by his "revolutionary" banalities. In recent months he has been seen circulating around the Red Front and now, while his friends are in prison, he is walking around free, giving interviews to journalists and continuing his vile farce.

Moreover, from the political viewpoint, the government's accusation is

struggle against the regime. To realize the extent of discrimination and political oppression, it is enough to recall the case of the 800 Rakah (New Communist List) activists who were detained just prior to the 1969 elections, and the fact that the majority of Arab members of anti-Zionist organizations are detained and administratively confined.

The "principle" is clear: *What is permitted the Jew is forbidden the Arab*, even in relation to anti-Zionist political organizations.

On the other hand, it is "natural" for Palestinians who have been expropriated and oppressed under Israeli rule to fight against Zionism and for national liberation. But when Jews who were born and raised in this country and who have been forced by Zionist poison spit it up, rise up, and declare: We are fed up with Zionist Israel. We are tired of oppression. It is up to us to abolish the Zionist regime that oppresses and expropriates the Palestinian Arab nation and leads the Israeli-Jews into the death trap of eternal war against the Arab masses—then the government and the Zionist establishment, imprisoned by their racist logic, simply cannot understand.

The mere idea that a common struggle of Jews and Arabs against conquering and oppressive Zionism is possible—even where a given organization may have an incorrect political line—makes the establishment shudder.

Then government spokesmen, "liberals," and the palace guards of the Zionist left all band together in common denunciation of "Jews who have dared raise their hands against other Jews." The entire racist logic of Zionism is contained in this denunciation.

The government's hypocritical claim that "we should not generalize the actions of isolated individuals to all 'leftist organizations'" is not based on any liberal or democratic principle. Let's not fall into that trap. The slick strategies of the government are not designed to "cleanse" and vindicate the left. The purpose is to prove to the alarmed public that the detained Jewish suspects are "deviants." "If they are examined," declared Golda the Great, "it will become clear that they are insane." This automatic response is a necessity for her, as it is for the entire Zionist establishment, both right

and "left." For without this "truth," a horrible danger for them rears its head: the threat of a common Jewish-Arab revolutionary struggle. If an organization like the Red Front jolted the Zionist camp out of its arrogant indifference it is easy to imagine the danger and threat that would confront them in a *mass* Arab-Jewish struggle against Zionism, imperialism, and Arab reaction.

\* \* \*

The violence of the oppressed against the oppressor is just, and therefore we support it. The struggle against oppressive and expropriating Zionism is just, and therefore we support it without reservation. However, every justifiable method is not necessarily an effective method. We have repeated time and time again that victory in the anti-Zionist struggle will be achieved only through revolutionary struggle, that is, through the *conscious* struggle of Jews and Arabs for a Socialist Arab East.

Today the Arab masses and even more so the Jewish masses are far from realizing this. Confronted with arrogant, seemingly victorious Zionism occupying the conquered territories and supported by the most powerful imperialist force in history, confronted with the decline of revolutionary consciousness in the region, some naive youths fed up with the horror, the "deviance," the oppression, and the expropriation are no doubt looking for a "shortcut." They are looking for a way to substitute the action of isolated individuals for the *conscious* action of the masses. But every shortcut hinders and obstructs the real anti-

Zionist struggle. Against the violence of isolated individuals, the Zionist regime will always come out on top. Not only is the regime easily capable of defeating such actions, it also uses them for its own interests by stirring up the public against the whole anti-Zionist left and by strengthening "national unity" consciousness.

But with the revolutionary violence of the masses rising up against the aggressors and exploiters, the situation is completely different. Against this, even the strongest, most predatory regime with the most sophisticated means of oppression at its disposal cannot stand. The revolutionary objective must be the building of the only instrument capable of realizing the revolutionary potential of the Arab and Jewish masses of the region—the building of the regionwide Leninist party, which is the indispensable instrument for a victorious struggle against imperialism, Zionism, and Arab reaction.

This is a long and difficult path. It is the path we have chosen and from which we shall not be deterred. In spite of the witch-hunt being carried out against leftist groups in general and against Matzpen and Siah [Israeli New Left] in particular; in spite of the outcries of the institutional "left," and in spite of the terror campaign currently being carried out among the Arab population against anyone not ready to become a submissive servant of Zionism, we will intensify the anti-Zionist struggle and the efforts to build a Jewish-Arab proletarian party—the irreplaceable instrument for the defeat of imperialism and its local lackeys—for the victory of the socialist revolution in the Arab East. □

## Against the Government Repression!

[The following statement on the current repressive campaign being waged by the Israeli government was released by five Israeli organizations.]

\* \* \*

The government aspires to destroy the organizations of the left and is utilizing provocations to this end. After the discovery of what it called a

"sabotage and spy ring," the regime struck at the Revolutionary Communist Alliance (Struggle) by arresting Rami Livneh and Melli Lehrman. It is obvious what will come next: the well-known domino method. After Struggle, others will be hit. Against the Black Panthers the government used frame-ups about "domestic terrorism" and "Molotov cocktails"; against the organizations of the left

it is now using the obvious provocation of "spying and sabotage."

The government does not intend to stop there. By announcing that 100 more arrests are expected, the regime is preparing the ground for arresting more political militants and destroying more political and workers' organizations. The charge that members of an open political organization "had contact with agents of the enemy" is only a beginning.

The government that has for years been expropriating and expelling Arabs, that has for years been engaged in class oppression and racial discrimination, is in need of renewed "national unity" because of the strike wave and price rises. It needs new "security" grounds to justify its militarism and the continuation of oppression.

The Israeli regime cannot tolerate the joint political organization of Jews and Arabs, and it uses all its weapons, from the security services to the courts, to destroy all such activity.

We place no trust whatsoever in the information released by the police and

We have heard that they will be tried before closed military courts on the basis of the 1945 Defense and Emergency Regulations.

Yesterday the regime claimed that striking workers were "saboteurs"; today it attacks political organizations and claims they are "enemies"; tomorrow it will destroy workers' councils by claiming that they "endanger national unity." The government attacks freedom of political organization and at the same time prepares the laws that will enable them to send striking workers to jail.

*Let's stop them now!*

Yesterday they declared the villages of Ikrit and Biram "closed areas"; tomorrow they will prohibit demonstrations against "excesses" and all forms

of neighborhood and school organizations.

*Let's stop them now!*

Don't let them outlaw any political organization.

*Let's stop them now!*

*Let's fight for the democratic right of all people to organize according to their opinions and conscience.*

We urge all organizations and individuals to support this call.

Avant-garde Group

Israeli Socialist Organization  
(Matzpen-Marxist)

Israeli Socialist Organization  
(Matzpen)

Revolutionary Communist Alliance (Struggle)

Arab Students' Union — Hebrew University, Jerusalem

## We Accuse! Torture in Israeli Jails

[The following paid advertisement was passed by the Israeli government censors and scheduled for publication in the January 12 issue of the Tel Aviv daily *Ha'aretz*, Israel's most widely circulated morning newspaper.]

\* \* \*

We accuse the Israeli authorities and the secret police (Shin Bet) of torturing the following Israeli citizens:

Rami Livneh (of Tel Aviv), Shanki Hativ (Dir Hana), Mohammed Dasuki (Taibe), Ahmed Mahmoud Hauri (Tarshiba), Subhei Naarani (Busmat Tivon), Fauaz Turki (Haifa), Rasan Agbria (Um el-Fahen), Simon Hadar (Iblin), Eli Samlie (Arab el-Samniye), Hana Savit (Tarshiba), Salam Jabrin (Um el-Fahen), Meli Lerman (Kiron), and others, by the following methods:

Slaps in the face, beating on all parts of the body, treading and trampling on the prisoner while he is forced to lie on the floor, stripping the prisoner naked for long periods of time, splashing ice-cold water on the prisoner's naked body, forcing the prisoner to stand on one foot for long periods of time, sometimes on a table and sometimes on the floor, forcing the prisoner to stand against a wall while forbidding him to lean on it, torture by electric shocks on all parts of the body, especially genitals.

In face of these crimes, it is almost

irrelevant to mention insults, spitting at prisoners, threats against the prisoners and their families, and other degradations.

The prisoners have testified in detail to their lawyers and families about the tortures they have undergone. This was done in the presence of the authorities, who did not even bother to deny the allegations. On January 8, 1973, the prisoner Meli Lerman pointed out one of his torturers to his lawyer, Felicia Langer. The man was then standing in the courtyard of the Yagur (Jelamy) prison, dressed in civilian clothes and accompanied by two other men. When the lawyer demanded the man identify himself, he refused to do so, and the two men accompanying him ordered police to remove the lawyer from the premises.

We appeal to the Israeli public and to world public opinion to join our strong protest.

In every civilized state a confession obtained under pressure of torture loses all moral and legal validity.

We demand that the prisoners be immediately released on bail in order to prevent the continuation of torture.

We demand that those who committed these crimes be brought to justice.

We appeal to every civilized person who has not lost all humanity to join our protest.

We warn: What happened to these prisoners today could happen to you tomorrow!



GOLDA MEIR: Thinks anti-Zionist activists must be "insane."

the security services — they are intended to create a lynch atmosphere. Various charges raised toward this end have already been disproved (and some of the accused have been freed already).

We know that many of those imprisoned have been badly tortured in the course of interrogation, in the highest traditions of such methods.

# Nixon's War Against Freedom of the Press

By Fred Feldman

On December 18, as Nixon ordered the Christmas season carpet-bombing of Hanoi, the director of his Office of Telecommunications Policy, Clay Whitehead, opened a fresh attack on freedom of the press in the United States.

In a December 18 speech to the Indianapolis, Indiana, chapter of the Sigma Delta Chi journalism fraternity, Whitehead urged all local broadcasting stations affiliated with the big networks to "correct" news coverage that deviates too far from the administration's standards of "fairness" and "objectivity."

"Who else but management," Whitehead told his audience, "can or should correct so-called professionals who confuse sensationalism with sense and who dispense elitist gossip in the guise of news analysis?"

He said that the administration planned to introduce legislation to assure that broadcasting stations comply with administration standards. "Station managers and network officials who fail to act to correct imbalance or consistent bias in the networks—or who acquiesce by silence—can only be considered willing participants to be held fully accountable . . . at license renewal time."

Such a threat was sure to have an impact on the networks and their local affiliates. Every television broad-

casting station is licensed by the Federal Communications Commission (FCC), whose members are appointed by the president.

The proposed legislation embodies a carrot-and-stick approach to the networks. Broadcasters will be required to provide "balanced" presentation of controversial issues. They must show that they have been "attuned to the [viewers'] needs and interests." These criteria are not intended to open up the airwaves to critical views. The aim is to establish "self-censorship."

By way of compensation, the proposed law would extend the term of each license from three to five years, make challenges more difficult, and strengthen monopoly control of broadcasting.

Whitehead's threat paid off immediately. During the holiday-season bombings, television news coverage was even more circumspect than usual.

In the January 15 *Newsweek*, an anonymous network chief (his very anonymity is a tribute to Whitehead's effectiveness) was quoted as saying: "That speech was an interesting example of intimidation. I'd say you'd have a tough time getting local stations to clear an instant documentary on the renewed bombing of Vietnam right now. Not that I know of any such documentary currently in the works, but if there were, this would

be a major deterrent to getting it aired."

This is not the first time that administration attacks on the news media have coincided with major developments in the Vietnam war. Just prior to the big antiwar demonstrations of November 1969, Vice-President Agnew attacked the networks, claiming commentators were expressing disapproval of Nixon's policies "by the expressions on their faces, the tone of their questions, and the sarcasm of their responses." Besides lambasting the grimaces of the newscasters, Agnew charged the media with devoting too much time "to the minority of Americans who specialize in attacking the United States."

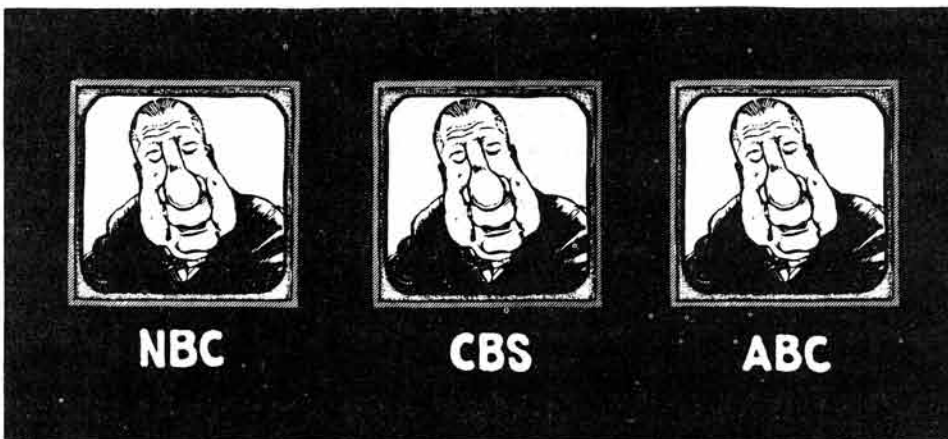
"They can make or break by their coverage or commentary a moratorium on the war," Agnew said. The networks, which had been none too sympathetic to antiwar actions before that, got the message and reduced their coverage of the November 15 mobilizations still further.

Within weeks after Whitehead's attack, four challenges were filed with the FCC against Florida television stations owned by the Washington Post Co. The *Washington Post* was guilty of revealing that the bugging of the Democratic National Headquarters was part of a full-scale espionage effort against the Democrats by Nixon's campaign committee.

Three of the challenges were filed against WJXT-TV, a Jacksonville, Florida, television station. The fourth involved WPLG-TV in Miami. Both had taken stands on various questions that were likely to antagonize Nixon. WJXT, for instance, had exposed the racist record of Harold Carswell, a Nixon appointee to the Supreme Court whose nomination was subsequently rejected by the senate. WPLG criticized the terror bombing of Hanoi and Hai-phong.

Among those challenging the Jacksonville station's license were George Champion Jr., who was financial chairman of Nixon's campaign effort in Florida, and Fitzhugh Powell, northeastern Florida coordinator of George Wallace's primary campaign. Edward Claugthon Jr., who is contesting the Miami station's license, let Spiro Agnew use his home during the 1972 Republican convention.

Administration aides were quick to deny any role in the challenges. But



Wright—Miami Daily News

**'The President and I are happy to announce that the Justice Department has broken the vicious network monopoly over TV programing. Stay tuned for an hour of martial music followed by a stirring two-hour discussion by the Secretary of Agriculture'**

the January 9 *Washington Post* reported that "Glenn J. Sedam Jr., general counsel of the Committee for the Re-election of the President and currently deputy general counsel of the 1973 Presidential Inaugural Committee, was in Jacksonville Dec. 26 instructing Powell, Champion and other local businessmen on how to go about challenging the WJXT-TV federal license renewal."

These are not the only moves aimed at restricting news coverage. Recent decisions of the Nixon-packed Supreme Court have approved legal reprisals against reporters who refuse to disclose the names of confidential news sources. (See *Intercontinental Press*, November 13, 1972, p. 1250.)

In recent months a number of reporters have been jailed or threatened with jail for refusing to give such testimony. William Farr, a reporter for the *Los Angeles Times*, was imprisoned for forty days on an indefinite sentence for this "offense."

According to the January 15 *Newsweek* article, "Relatively few reporters have suffered from the crackdown, but then relatively few reporters engage in serious investigative work. Those who do say some of their sources are already drying up. . . . some reporters—including Jack Nelson of the *Los Angeles Times*—have taken to destroying their records once a story is finished."

Senator John McClellan, an Arkansas Democrat, is preparing legislation that will make it a crime to "knowingly" use classified information "in a manner prejudicial to the safety or interest of the United States." Under such a law, reporters and editors of the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post* could have been prosecuted for publishing the Pentagon Papers.

An additional measure with ominous implications for freedom of the press is a 127 percent increase in second-class postal rates to be imposed over the next five years. This rise in costs threatens the existence of small newspapers and magazines. These publications are generally the most independent-minded.

Nixon is trying to create a government controlled press. Many reporters have been influenced by the antiwar, Black, Chicano, and feminist movements. Despite many obstacles, they

often tell at least part of the truth. A major theme in Whitehead's attack on the media was the need to impose tighter discipline on such reporters.

Nixon also aims at bottling up differences in the capitalist class over his policies. He found the criticisms voiced in papers like the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post* over his tactics in Vietnam highly irritating. Publishers of papers that express differences with Nixon resent his efforts to impose "self-censorship."

Nixon's view of the role that ought

to be played by the news media, as reported by *Newsweek*, was succinctly stated by presidential speechwriter Patrick Buchanan: "If I got together with Bill Buckley and Jack Kirkpatrick [ultrarightist columnists] and began showing Viet Cong atrocities on TV for a week, we could turn things right around."

"Asked whether it is really that easy to change public opinion," *Newsweek* continued, "Buchanan replied: 'Yes. Drip by drip by drip. It wears them down.'" □

## U.S. Wage Freeze Won't Be 'Voluntary'

### Phase 3—More of the Same

By Ed Smith

[The following article is reprinted from the January 26 issue of *The Militant*, a revolutionary-socialist weekly that reflects the views of the U. S. Socialist Workers party.]

\* \* \*

JAN. 15 — President Nixon's "Phase 3" program of economic controls is billed as a big change. Mandatory controls are supposedly replaced by voluntary controls. Business can raise prices and workers can raise wages. This is a fraud.

The administration's new economic control program is aimed at holding back wage increases in 1973. More than five million workers will be involved in contract negotiations this year, including the electrical, rubber, trucking, rail, and auto industries.

These settlements will take place under government pressure to keep wage increases within limits set by the newly created Labor-Management Advisory Committee.

Treasury Secretary George Shultz told a White House news conference that the government retains "an ability to bring the stick out of the closet. . . . people who don't abide by the program may get clobbered."

And it is workers, not industry, who will get "clobbered" under the new program. Its key provision allows corporations to change the base years

in determining profit margins for permitted price increases. Under the Phase 2 program companies were prohibited from raising prices if the resulting profits exceeded an average of the best two of three previous fiscal years ending before Aug. 15, 1971. This period included recession years in which many companies had lower profits.

The Phase 3 program extends the period to include the best two profit years of 1968 through 1972. Corporate profits reached record highs in 1972 and were generally high in 1968 and 1969.

"Surge of Price Increases Forecast by Businessmen" was the headline of a front-page *New York Times* article Jan. 13. Many prices were being raised within a day of President Nixon's announcement of the new plan. General Motors announced it would wait maybe a month, but not much longer, before putting through price increases averaging \$107 per car.

The Phase 3 program explicitly excludes raw food prices, although they are increasing at the most rapid rate in 26 years. It also relaxes controls on supermarket prices, "in line with what the stores wanted," according to the Jan. 14 *New York Times*.

Phase 3 merely exhorts landlords to pursue "excessive restraint" in raising rents.

Phase 3 looks the same or worse to workers because the monopolists who

rule this country have the same aims now as they did before. The aims are to make American workers pay for the problems of increased competition in world markets. This requires diminishing the gap between the wages of American and foreign workers.

The greatest hope of the Nixon administration for the success of this stepped-up attack on living standards is the newly appointed Labor-Management Advisory Committee. This is the 10-member panel selected by Nixon to keep wages in check while prices skyrocket and the bosses turn the screws to increase productivity.

Members of the committee are equally divided, five from the highest circles of finance and industry and five carefully selected union bureaucrats. The management spokesmen are bona fide and will faithfully promote the class interests of the employers.

They represent powerful concentrations of capital: James Roche for General Motors, R. Heath Larry of U. S. Steel; Stephen Bechtel for shipping and construction; Edward Carter of the Broadway-Hale retail chain; and Walter Wriston, chief of the powerful First National City Bank.

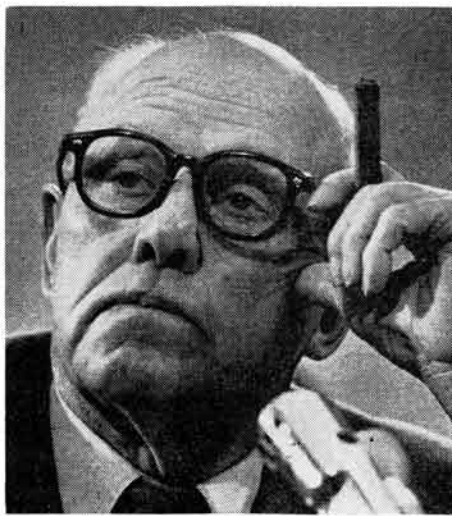
The other five advisers are supposed to represent the interests of workers. Nixon selected them from the highest rungs of the union bureaucracy with an eye to their proven dependability to negotiate "statesman-like" wage settlements.

They are AFL-CIO President George Meany, Teamsters President Frank E. Fitzsimmons, Auto Workers President Leonard Woodcock, Steelworkers President I.W. Abel, and newly arrived Nixon toady Paul Hall, who is president of the Seafarers International Union.

Unlike their counterparts, who are authentic representatives of the employing class, these five do not profess to represent the interests of the working class. They only claim to represent their unions. In practice they try hardest to protect their own privileges as union bureaucrats, and after that, the interests of the union bureaucracy as a privileged group.

The composition of this Nixon-appointed Labor-Management Advisory Committee dictates the agreements it will reach and the advice it will give.

The substantive decisions will actually continue to be made by the Cost of Living Council with a new



MEANY: Calls Phase 3 "step in right direction." Workers may disagree.

director, John T. Dunlop. This Harvard economics professor has gained esteem in financial circles for his role in heading the Construction Industry Stabilization Committee (CISC).

"In the past year," according to the Jan. 13 *Business Week*, "the CISC brought down construction union wage settlements to levels not far out of line with those in other industries, at times ordering cuts of up to \$1 an hour in settlements."

Dunlop is supposed to repeat this achievement for the ruling class on a bigger scale.

The union bureaucrats have been pulled in only to fill chairs and nod approval after the decisions have been made by Dunlop's council. "Meany Calls Phase 3 Plan Step in the Right Direction," was the headline of Meany's newspaper, the *AFL-CIO News*, Jan. 13. Meany expressed the hope that the changeover "will result in an equitable and fair method of combating inflation," said the newspaper.

Woodcock said that "voluntary restraint on prices and wages has long been a goal of the UAW," according to the Jan. 12 *Chicago Sun-Times*.

The game involves some negotiations at the Advisory Board level, much like the negotiations that management and the union bureaucracy conduct on a continuing basis in such major industries as auto and steel. The immediate job of this new government-appointed labor-management committee is to negotiate a wage pattern that can then be imposed on the five million workers whose union contracts expire this year and who are

expecting wage increases to offset the rising cost of living.

Meany and his "labor" associates on the Labor-Management Advisory Committee are preparing to come before the union movement, as they did last year when they were on the government Pay Board, and argue that they are doing their best "on the inside" to get a fair shake for the workers.

Union men and women will gain nothing from their efforts. They have no need of "inside" agents who seek to help solve the economic problems of the employers by providing a stable and docile work force.

The union movement was organized to defend the working class against the attacks of the employers. It has no need of "inside" operators. What it needs is leaders who will fight now to break the back of the government wage-control system, to defend the right to strike for higher wages, and to demand an escalator clause in every contract as a guarantee that wages will rise automatically with every jump in the cost of living.

This is not a fight that can be successfully conducted by individual unions in different industries, isolated from the power of the combined union movement. It is a fight that requires mobilizing all unions.

The central purpose of the government's Labor-Management Advisory Committee is to prevent such a mobilization. The first step to bring the forces of labor together in their own self-defense is to mobilize to get these "inside men" out.

## Senate Mail Runs Against Bombing

The volume of mail received by senators from Nixon's own Republican party has been running heavily against his carpet-bombing raids on Hanoi and Haiphong, according to columnist Clayton Fritchey in the January 18 *New York Post*.

For instance, Hugh Scott of Pennsylvania, leader of the Senate's Republican minority, reported that his mail was running 3 to 2 against the bombings. Richard Schweiker, the second Pennsylvania senator, said nine-tenths of his letters were against bombing. Other Republicans said opposition was running as high as 30 to 1.

Fritchey writes, "Not even the most hawkish Senators reported a majority in favor of the bombing. The Conservative Party's Buckley (N. Y.) described his mail as 'virtually all against.'"

## Socialist Electoral Campaign Gathers Momentum

[Taking advantage of an opening provided by the elections scheduled for March in Argentina, the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers party) has sought and won official status on the ballot. It has placed some 75 percent of the slots it receives on the ballot at the disposal of candidates of the newly formed Frente Obrero (Workers Front), a united front of working-class candidates. (See *Intercontinental Press*, January 15, p. 29.)

[Some 2,200 candidates will be running on the ballot space of the PST,

many of them recognized and respected militant trade-union leaders. The national ticket will be headed up by Juan Carlos Coral and Nora Ciapponi of the PST, who are running, respectively, for president and vice-president, Coral is a nationally prominent socialist figure in Argentina and a leader of the PST. Ciapponi is a former union leader in the textile plants and is currently a full-time party worker.

[The initiative of the PST and the Workers' Front in offering a genuine revolutionary alternative in the elections on a nationwide scale is bearing

fruit, as the following articles demonstrate. They also report on efforts by the police of the military regime to obstruct the activity of the Front and on the way Argentine revolutionists are using the elections to fight against the injustices of the Lanusse government, and in particular to campaign for the release of all political prisoners.

[The articles are taken from the January 12 issue of the PST's weekly newspaper, *Avanzada Socialista*. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

### A Slate of 2,200 Candidates in 12 Districts

By the time the deadline arrived for obtaining official status for lists of candidates, the Socialist Workers party had put up candidates in twelve districts: the federal capital and the provinces of Buenos Aires, Córdoba, Chubut, La Pampa, Mendoza, Misiones, Neuquén, Río Negro, San Luis, Santa Fe, and Tucumán. A total of around 2,200 candidates are running for the various offices. Many of them are not affiliated with our party but are representing the Workers' Front or the Socialist Front.

In the provincial elections in Neuquén, the party is running in an alliance with the Partido Demócrata Progresista [Progressive Democratic party], which, on a provincial level, accepted workers' candidacies, voted a socialist program, and is opposing the candidacy of Manrique.

As we went to press, we still did not have exact statistical data on the number of candidates running in all districts. At the moment, we can report the composition of the tickets in the following districts:

In Córdoba, the candidate is the leader of SITRAC [Sindicato de Trabajadores Concord—Concord Workers Union], José Páez, together with the leader of the teachers union in private education, María del Carmen González. Another leader of SITRAC, Domingo Bizzi, is a candidate for na-

tional deputy, and an official of SITRAM [Sindicato de Trabajadores Materfer—Materfer Workers Union], Raúl Suffi, is running for mayor of Córdoba.

In the province of Buenos Aires, the ticket consists of Jorge Mera (a leader of the bank workers and a former general representative of the workers at Banco Nación) and Adela Mayer (the first woman to be elected a delegate in the CAP). The candidate for mayor of La Plata is Alejandro Bustos, the general representative of the workers in the State Printing Works, and for mayor of Bahía Blanca, Doctor Luis Dragunsky.

In Santa Fe, the gubernatorial candidate is a telephone worker, José Martín; and for lieutenant governor, an accountant, Carlos Mayola. A construction worker, Oscar Gallo, is running for mayor of Rosario.

The candidates for the governorship of San Luis and Río Negro provinces (where the lieutenant governorship is not an elective post) are, re-

spectively, Doctor Jorge Manzur and René Casamiquela, a teacher.

Finally, two doctors, Arturo Brandt and Vicente Díaz, make up the ticket in Misiones, where the first announced candidate for national senator is a leader of the light and power workers, Lorenzo Fernández.

In La Pampa, the candidates for governor and lieutenant governor are workers: Roberto Zapata, a railroad worker, and Leonide Romero, a construction worker.

Heading the list of candidates for municipal posts in the federal capital are Eduardo Sorans, leader of the Chrysler strike (representing the Workers' Front), Francisco Fontana (PSP), and bank workers' leader Héctor Alvarez (the Workers' Front). Heading the list of candidates for national deputy are Radamés Grano, former leader of the retail clerks, and Alberto Lissarrague, general representative of the insurance workers and a compañero of the PSP. □

### Two Union Leaders Head Cordoba Slate

In the cradle of the Cordobazo, the parties of the bosses are attempting to channel the votes of the workers by putting up lists of candidates that

include persons who have earned reputations as "left wingers" and "fighters." They hope thereby to make the rest of their candidates palatable.



Thus, the gorillas and opponents of the workers in the Radical party are running as their gubernatorial candidate Víctor Martínez, who has a reputation as a "leftist."

Similarly, the presence of the "militant" Peronist Atilio López on the FREJULI [Frente Justicialista de Liberación — Justicialist Liberation Front] ticket is designed to get the workers of Córdoba to vote for Cámpora and Solano Lima, something it would be very difficult to get them to do with other candidates.

Nevertheless, the spirit of the Cordobazo will be present in the elections. It will be upheld by the candidates of the Workers' Front, leaders of the main struggles of the past two years.

Heading this list of candidates will be Páez, Suffi, and Bizzi—the main leaders of SITRAC-SITRAM. Without any doubt, they are part of the best trade-union leadership that we have seen in the past two years. The Front also includes leaders of the Córdoba teachers' unions that have waged important struggles this year—UEPC, ADIMAC, FADUC, and SEPPAC—as well as members of the strike committee of the public employees, of the provisional committee of the Shoeworkers Union, delegates of SMATA [Sindicato de Mecánicos y Afines del Transporte Automotor—Union of Mechanics and Related Workers in the Automotive Transport Industry], of light and power workers, of the bankworkers, of the meatcutters, and others.

### The Gubernatorial Ticket

At the head is José Francisco Páez. He is probably the most prestigious leader of SITRAC-SITRAM. In 1970, he, together with Massera, Flores, Díaz, Suffi, Bizzi, and others, won the leadership of the Fiat unions, replacing a promanagement bureaucracy. Led by a leadership they trusted, the 7,000 workers at Fiat succeeded in halting the exploitative offensive of the European bosses.

At the same time they waged this determined struggle, they called meetings of unions and union action committees in order to form a current capable of standing up to the traitorous trade-union leaders and of sweeping them out of office. This initiative was not able to bear fruit because in

September 1971 the "Holy Alliance" between the bosses, the government, and these union leaders intervened militarily in these unions, dissolved them, and persecuted and imprisoned their leaders.

Today Páez is continuing the struggle that he began by playing a very important role in the Fiat occupations in 1970 and January 1971, and in the occupation of the Ferreyra district—which was a prelude to the second Cordobazo. Today, together with Suffi and Bizzi, he is determined to reorganize his 7,000 former compañeros into a new union. He is attempting this in spite of the persecution of the repressive forces and in spite of having been arrested only days be-

fore the national convention of the Workers' Front was held.

The candidate for lieutenant governor is María del Carmen González, who is 31 years old. She has been a teacher for eleven years and was one of the main organizers of the Sindicato de Educadores Privados de Córdoba [Union of Private Teachers in Córdoba]. She is the secretary for social action for the union, which has 3,000 members. In this capacity she played an active role in the teachers' mobilizations that have occurred during recent years. An active defender of the rights of women, she has stated: "In the educational profession, most of the teachers are women, but most of the directors are men. And this must be changed."

## Campaigners Seized by Police at Rally

Córdoba

Some forty compañeros attended a meeting in the town of Villa María with José Páez and César Robles, members of the executive board of the Córdoba Workers' Front. When it was over and people were leaving the premises of La Fraternidad, where they had been meeting, the provincial police proceeded to arrest three of the participants. With this, a campaign of intimidation was unleashed against the activists, supporters, and sympathizers of the Front in this city. The campaign has taken the form of completely unjustified summonses and police searches. According to the Córdoba chief of police, the three who were arrested have been turned over to the federal court.

Coming on the heels of the arrests

of Páez and Flores, which also occurred recently, this incident constitutes a serious attempt to obstruct the activity of the Front and of the Socialist Workers party. Moreover, it is an outrage against the very laws laid down by the bourgeoisie, which its representatives, more than anyone else, have an obligation to respect.

All the organizations that claim to represent the working class and the people must step up their struggle for broader democratic freedoms and, immediately, for the release of all political prisoners that the regime is holding in its concentration camps. Our party will back any mobilization to achieve this, for it is a matter of principle to wage a common struggle against the repressive policy of the government and the bosses. □

## New Forces Join Socialist Front Against Bourgeoisie

On the basis of a political document signed on January 4, the Socialist Workers party and the Federal Capital Federation of the Partido Socialista Popular [PSP—Popular Socialist party] have formed a Socialist Front.

A preamble in ten points establishes the need to struggle against the "Great National Agreement" and to form a front of Argentine socialist forces that would be "open to all who agree on a clear, class-struggle. anti-imperialist

program for bringing about a socialist Argentina." The front considers it valid and essential to jointly intervene in the electoral process (even though this is not the way in which power will be won) in order to confront the liberal, populist and reformist parties. It was decided to attempt to win other organizations to the front and to approve the policy of the Front of Workers' Candidates as the best way to oppose the various bourgeois alternatives and to raise the need for indepen-

dent political action on the part of the workers.

Following the preamble, seven motions specify the nature of the front, urge that it be extended to the entire country, and set March 11, 1973, as the date when the term of its provisional leadership will expire. At that time, the relations between the participating forces and the actions they have carried out in common will be reevaluated. Both organizations will main-

tain their independence as far as their own activities are concerned and will put up a list of candidates with the Workers' Front. Nationally, the front will support the Coral-Ciapponi ticket.

The working out of this agreement sets an example for all socialist forces and shows that a fighting union of class-struggle and socialist forces can be achieved through the workers' candidates and the Workers' Front. □

## Communist Party Responds With Stab in the Back

On Monday, January 8, the Communist party announced that it would support the Alianza Popular de Centro Izquierda [Popular Alliance of the Center-Left] in the national elections. This represents a stab in the back to the thousands of Communist compañeros who, up to now, were convinced that their party was the best guarantee of struggle against imperialism, of the independent organization of the workers, and of unity between all forces on the left prepared to struggle for socialism.

### From Porto to Alende— The Same Policy

Our party has called on the Communists to join with us in organizing a strong workers' and socialist alternative in the election campaign—the only way to build what the Communist party claims to be working for: a powerful instrument for struggling against imperialism, the dictatorship, and conciliatory leaders. The CP leadership and many rank-and-file compañeros told us that "participating in the elections means swallowing the proscriptions and the GAN [Gran Acuerdo Nacional—Great National Agreement]." We said that inherent in this attitude were two dangers. Since no big workers' and socialist alliance exists, it would tend to favor the electoral formula of the dictatorship by allowing only candidates representing the bosses to run. In addition, it would inevitably lead to supporting some lesser evil discovered at the last minute.

The facts today confirm that the orientation of the Communist party

was wrong and conciliatory. Beginning with the ENA [Encuentro Nacional de los Argentinos—National Forum for Argentines]—whose self-imposed political limitations were designed to prevent the dispersal of the various bourgeois leaders associated with it, and whose lack of a clearly defined program aided the confusionist schemes of Porto, Cabiche, and Perón—the CP is now moving on to give unconditional support to the new "progressive bourgeoisie" represented by Alende and Sueldo. *They too are aiding the conciliatory schemes of Peronism* because, as they themselves have said, they will not offer an alternative to the FREJULI [Frente Justicialista de Liberación—Justicialist Liberation Front] and will consider themselves part of the same "National Movement." They have already hinted that they will support FREJULI in the second round, while "improving on its program."

### The Alende-Sueldo 'Platform'

There is nothing that can lead us to view this "center-left" (!?) front as a "force with candidates whose program, approach, and record can help to build the democratic national liberation front" that can make the revolution that will take us out of a state of dependence and lead us to socialism.

Their program is based on confusionism: Both Alende and Sueldo say that what they want is "National Socialism," but they obscure the fact that socialism means that the working class holds power and that the means

of production are collectivized, whereas this "national socialism," which was made fashionable in our country by Perón, is in the last analysis neither national nor socialist.

The CP says that the Alianza is putting forward "acceptable, concrete demands in the people's interest, especially as regards an energetic anti-monopolistic policy, the proposals on the agrarian reform, the taking of an independent international stance, and the standards proposed for organizing a stable democracy." Let's take a closer look.

Alende's "antimonopolism" was expressed in his urging, along with Frondizi, the surrender of oil resources, and in his unconditional support for the president of the "Argentine Revolution," Levingston, who was named to this post while he was working in the Inter-American Defense Commission—in the United States, of course. On the question of agrarian reform, Alende stands by the government fraud that in no way altered the ownership by the big landholders of the country's best land. As for an independent international stance, it would seem dubious coming from the likes of Alende, who as governor supported the break in relations with Cuba, or of Sueldo, who continues to remain on close terms with his co-thinker Frei, who has served as a trump card in the efforts of the reaction and the monopolies to halt the trend toward socialism in Chile. As far as upholding democracy is concerned, let's not forget that Alende was one of the most energetic defenders of the 1966 coup, that he supported the dissolving of the political parties, and that he then compromised himself with Levingston's plans to keep himself in office and put off holding elections as long as he had not organized his own official party.

Finally, the repudiation of the anti-Communist law strikes us as ironic, since at the same time Sueldo himself insists, in McCarthyite statements, on pointing out that the CP is illegal and on stressing that the Communists are supporting the Alianza "from the outside" and that they will not even be allowed to play a role in its support committees. Alende, for his part, was a traditional enemy of the Communists, whom he helped to persecute when he was in office.

## Let's Form an Alliance of Those Who Want a Socialist Argentina

We call on the Communist compañeros to demand that the resolution of the Central Committee of their party be corrected and that they break with this reactionary Alianza that has the blessings of Levingston and the church.

In issuing this appeal to the Com-

munist compañeros, we insist on the fact that there will be no national liberation as long as the anti-imperialist struggle is not headed by the working class guided by the ideas of socialism and internationalism. Along these lines, we invite them specifically to join with us in organizing support committees for socialism and the workers' candidates in every factory, neighborhood, town, and city. □

## Campaign to Free All Political Prisoners

Activity in many areas slowed down during the final days of 1972 and the first days of 1973. Not the repression, however.

The year's end shed no light on the case of the student Enrique Brandazza from Rosario. Brandazza disappeared in very murky circumstances while there was a warrant out for his arrest. The police and military authorities in Rosario issued contradictory statements, at first denying, and then confirming, the existence of this warrant. The investigation into the possibility that he had been kidnapped appears, like the Filler case, to have reached a dead end. Today not even the most optimistic persons hope ever to see Brandazza alive again.

There was absolutely nothing new or surprising in this case or in other things the military junta did. During the first week of the new year they announced that the state of siege would remain in effect. Some guerrilla attacks were taken as the excuse for thus going against repeated promises that the electoral campaign would take place without a state of siege. Continuing it involves banning public open-air meetings, suspending constitutional freedoms, and the possibility of holding prisoners without trial for an indefinite period of time—election-campaign provisions that are all obviously designed to insure smooth sailing for the Great National Agreement.

The year 1972 drew to a close with a hunger strike by political prisoners to protest against the inhuman conditions of their confinement: poor food, overcrowding, wretched medical care, lack of reading material and recreation, and inhuman visiting rules. The visiting room at Rawson has earned a sad reputation: The prisoners are

separated by bars and wire screens from their loved ones who visit them.

These conditions prompted the prisoners to decide to jeopardize their health and their lives in order to force the dictatorship to improve the treatment they receive. Going without food for twenty days, and without liquids on a revolving basis brought no improvements to the prisoners, despite the fact that some of them seriously compromised their health.

Nevertheless, in spite of the silence of the bourgeois press, their protest has had an impact outside the prisons. Various organizations, including our party, have joined together in de-

nouncing the situation and in coming out against the pernicious maximum security system, which is a legal device for covering up abuses.

Still, we believe that this denunciation is insufficient. It is not enough to say that the prisoners are being held under inhuman conditions. A joint, massive action must be initiated if the repressive abuses are to stop. Our party calls on *all* parties and coalitions participating in the elections to organize a public meeting against the repression. The meeting should demand *an end to the state of siege and repeal of the repressive laws. A public commitment should be made to struggle for the elimination of the maximum security system and to press the congress to pass as its first measure full amnesty for all those imprisoned for political and related offenses. Congress should be urged to set up an investigating commission to probe all kidnappings, tortures, and murders not yet cleared up.*

Only such a commitment will make it possible to prevent the next government from acting—even though it may treat the prisoners with less brutality—essentially as a new jailer of hostages. □

## A Balance Sheet

## The Class Struggle in Finland 1968-72

By Pekka Haapakoski

Helsinki

The second half of the 1960s was a time of big changes for the Finnish working class. Important modifications occurred in the workers' parties and trade unions as well as in the composition of the proletariat and the general conditions of the class struggle.

The largest working-class party, the SSDP [Suomen Sosialidemokraattinen Puolue—Social Democratic party of Finland], was driven into a blind alley by its extreme right-wing policy. Since 1963 it has had to shift its course to the "left" and look for new partners to replace the political right.

The other big workers' party, the

SKP [Suomen Komunistinen Puolue—Communist party of Finland], underwent a process of "de-Stalinization" in 1964-66 and moved towards the Social Democracy. These two parallel processes, combined with the needs of modernizing Finland's predominantly agrarian capitalism, led to a new kind of political solution, the establishment of a "popular front" government in spring 1966.

The solutions adopted on the political level very quickly came to influence the relationships within the trade-union movement, which was deeply split in the mid-1960s. The violent power struggle of the late 1940s had culminated in most cases

in a Social Democratic victory. The national federation, the SAK [Suomen Amattijärjestöjen Keskusliitto — Trade-Union Federation of Finland], and most of the biggest unions, e.g., the metalworkers' union, remained in the hands of the SSDP, while the Communists kept some strongholds, such as the building workers' union.

In the 1950s, however, the machinery created by the SSDP broke down as a result of its inner contradictions, and the SAK fell into the hands of a Social Democratic splinter group, the TPSL [Työväen ja Pienviljelijöiden Sosialidemokraattinen Liitto — Workers and Small Farmers Social Democratic League]. Soon after this, the "majority Social Democrats" founded a new, smaller union federation, the SAJ [Suomen Amattijärjestö — Trade Union of Finland], with a violently anti-Communist political complexion, which soon began to receive funds from the CIA. Many unions did not join either of these two federations, remaining completely independent. The overall trade-union membership fell sharply as a result of these splits.

When, with the help of the "new" SKP, the SSDP achieved a dominant position in the political arena, it began to seek the same status in the trade-union movement. The revelation in 1967 of the SAJ connections with the CIA fostered this development, drastically reducing the value of this organization for the SSDP. Another factor was the introduction of an incomes policy in 1968, which required a centralized trade-union movement. So, the coalition partners, the SSDP and the SKP, agreed to unite the trade-union movement, and a new unified SAK was founded in June 1969, with the SSDP taking about 60 percent of the leading positions, as against 40 percent for the SKP. Many former SAJ functionaries were also hired by the new organization.

The changes at the top level had many interesting effects on the rank and file. The struggle in the 1940s had created a real atmosphere of civil war between the Social Democrats and the Communists in the factories. This climate prevailed until the 1960s, and with the exception of the 1956 general strike it effectively blocked any hope of unity and common action. In the last decade, however, the objective situation began to change.

A major structural modification of the economy led to ever more massive concentration of capital in the industrial centers of southern Finland and in larger and larger units. Many older industries, such as the metal industry, underwent rapid growth, and completely new ones, such as petrochemicals, were started. These great quantitative and qualitative changes led also to a mass exodus of labor from the agrarian north to the big centers in the south. In general there was a massive recruitment of young labor into industry in these years and it is still going on.

The new generation of workers had not experienced the "internecine spirit" of the factories in the 1940s or the big defeats before and after the war. Moreover, they had a completely new need for unity in order to resist the rationalization plans of the big industries that were trying to solve their problems at the expense of the workers. So the rank and file generally reacted positively to the "unity talk" at the top echelon, and this tendency very soon began to lead to unexpected results and to come into more and more direct opposition to the kind of "unity" practised in the government. A new spirit of unity, unity in struggle, began to develop in the factories.

The real meaning of the "unity" at the summit began to become clear to increasing numbers of workers in 1968, when the popular-front government introduced an incomes policy and the new unified trade-union leadership tried by every conceivable means to stop strikes. The reaction was quick in coming. On the political level, it was expressed mainly in the rise of the "hard line" Stalinist opposition in the SKP. In the factories, there was a steep rise in wildcat strikes in the period from 1968 on. The international events of 1968 exercised a certain indirect influence also on this development, but to a lesser extent than in many other countries.

A picture of the quantitative growth of strikes from 1967 to 1972 is given by the statistics in the accompanying table.

Although these figures are eloquent as to the quantitative growth of strikes, they don't say very much about the qualitative aspects of these struggles. Many different stages and tendencies can be distinguished in

Year	Strikes	Strikers	Days Lost
1967	43	26,591	320,665
1968	68	26,843	282,287
1969	158	83,207	161,083
1970	240	201,556	233,173
1971	838	403,300	2,711,100
1972	429	202,130	527,600

(to 6/30)

these years. First there were the wildcat strikes of 1968-70. These struggles began in large factories, remained mostly local, and were generally victorious. They were launched primarily in opposition to the first two incomes policy agreements, the so-called Liinamaa accords, although local questions like layoffs and conflicts with foremen played a role in many cases.

In practice, the workers in the strongest industries won much higher raises through struggle than those guaranteed by the Liinamaa accords, and this fact has been used by the SSDP to launch demagogic attacks against these sectors of the working class, who, it claimed, "ruined the wage solidarity policy" (i.e., equal but minimal increases). The victorious outcome of most of these struggles was due partly to the continuing boom but also to the fact that they took the employers and the union bureaucracy by surprise.

Solidarity among the strikers was so strong that neither the maneuvers of the employers nor the attempts of the SSDP to rally its own supporters against the strikes were successful. The SKP leadership was taken just as much by surprise as the Social Democrats and was unable to do anything but try to maneuver between the workers and the government and hope that the movement would go away. Despite the initial successes of the strikes, their weaknesses very quickly began to become evident. The localized nature of the actions, their lack of a political leadership, and the absence of a nationwide opposition grouping in the trade unions made it easier for the "normalizers" to build up for a systematic counteroffensive.

The only political force to come out clearly in support of the strikes was the old-line Stalinist opposition in the SKP, but its support remained mostly verbal. It played no active organizing role and at no stage did it try to do anything to offer the movement

perspectives going beyond a resolute economic struggle. It did not advance political demands or organize a union opposition on a programmatic basis. Thus, when the boom began to turn into a recession in 1970, the state, employers, and the union bureaucracy got their chance to embark on an active policy of "discipline."

In the last three years, "operation discipline" has proceeded on many different levels. Both the stick and the carrot have been used. But the stick has come to predominate more and more. The most important tool in the campaign has been the state. The labor courts, already much in use in 1968-69, have recently been given the right to levy mounting fines on "rebellious" locals and even on whole unions. Compulsory arbitration has been under consideration for a long time, and a series of repressive laws, such as the 1970 "emergency law" and a law eliminating the right of state employees to strike, has been passed.

So far the most extreme instance of using the "stick" was the crushing of the longshoremen's strike in the summer of 1972. The employers themselves have turned to harsher methods in recent years. The use of blacklists has spread rapidly, and the recession has made it easier to purge "troublemakers." This can be done, for example, in connection with layoffs, factory closings, and capital transfers.

Since recovering from their initial surprise, the union leaderships have eagerly taken part in the "disciplining" operations. The method has been to expel "rebellious" functionaries or locals. The "discipliners" have resorted increasingly to old-fashioned, primitive anti-Communist witch-hunts in the factories, especially after the SKP left the government in the spring of 1971.

On the other hand, it must be said that use of the carrot has in no way been neglected. Both the state and the union bureaucracy have continually employed co-optation as well as repression. This can be very clearly seen from the two latest incomes policy agreements, which in a calculated way have been tied to various welfare and pension programs. It is also evident that the SSDP leadership in no way wants a total break with the SKP and is constantly trying by various maneuvers to get the support of the "ma-

majority wing." The talk about "participation" has offered a kind of "pie in the sky" for the workers, even though they have not proven very eager to eat it.

The dissatisfaction aroused by the first two Liinamaa agreements was so great that President Kekkonen himself had to intervene in late 1970 to push through the third incomes policy agreement (the so-called UKK accord). Even this "ace in the hole" proved ineffective, however, and the two largest unions, the SSDP-led metalworkers' union (after a vote) and the SKP-led building workers' union, decided to go out on strike.

The strikes were fought parallel to one another in February-March 1971. There were about 100,000 participants (the building workers' strike being launched only on the largest sites), making this the largest strike movement in Finland since the 1956 general strike. The work stoppages lasted seven weeks and the militancy and morale of the workers were very high. Nonetheless, these campaigns ended in contracts only slightly better than the general line of the UKK accord, and most of the strikers rightly considered the result to be a defeat.

The main reason for this unsuccessful outcome must be sought in the tactics of the union leadership, especially of the metalworkers' union leadership. Their objective was to teach the workers a lesson, to show them that going on strike is not worthwhile, to wear them out. Moreover, the leadership organized the strike in such a way that union reserves were used up long before those of the well-prepared employers, and they definitively blocked the use of higher and more effective forms of struggle. Also, through the strike, they tried to undermine the morale of the strikers by constantly calling new votes on terms almost the same as others the workers had already turned down and by constantly agitating for a return to work. Finally the metalworkers' union decided by a slim majority to return to work, and this also settled the fate of the building workers' strike.

So, in the spring of 1971 the union bureaucracy managed to teach the workers the "lesson" that big official strikes do not get results, and since then it has concentrated mainly in crushing wildcat strikes in cooperation with the employers. This line was

definitely accepted in the June 1971 conference of SAK, and since then the bureaucracy has gotten "tougher" both in word and deed. After 1970 the number of wildcat strikes declined relatively owing to the recession and layoffs but remained high nonetheless. Moreover, since a new boom was expected to begin soon, the strikers had to be given an effective lesson.

In the spring of 1972, as a result of the defeats of the previous spring, it was relatively easy to get even the biggest unions to accept the fourth incomes policy accord (the so-called H-L agreement). The reaction of the rank and file to the accord, however, was a stormy one. And when the longshoremen on Finland's west coast went on strike against the wishes of their union leadership, they were made into an example of what happens to "irresponsible" workers in the age of incomes policies. The first blow came from the leadership of the transport workers' union. It expelled the striking locals and formed new ones composed of stevedores "willing to work," i.e., scabs. Then a systematic campaign was started to crush the strike with the help of strikebreakers, police, and an extensive witch-hunt campaign. At the end of the strike, the SAK made an "arbitration proposal," guaranteeing the reinstatement of the strikers in the union and in their jobs. But when the strike was crushed it became clear that all the arbitration had been a bluff, and no promises were kept.

This "lesson" and the continuing recession and high unemployment seemed in the fall of 1972 to have had a certain effect in discouraging strikes, but the Finnish working class has still not suffered a decisive defeat. Continuing the struggle, however, and raising it to a higher level require new objectives and methods, as well as a conscious political leadership. And so we should take a brief look at the main tendencies and perspectives of the recent strike struggles as well as the principal political forces influencing them.

Fundamentally the Finnish strikes of 1968-72 represented a struggle against the incomes policy, and their main objective was to break out of the narrow wage guidelines imposed. In 1968-70, when considerable margins for reform existed and the enemy was unprepared, this fight was

largely successful. As these conditions have gradually faded in 1972, the picture has changed radically. The recession has created a situation where it is much more difficult to win wage raises, and the most pressing need has become a struggle against unemployment, layoffs, cuts in production, and capital transfers.

It is very clear that in order to be successful the struggle must go beyond the limits of economic demands and be directed toward winning a workers' veto over moves by the capitalists that are harmful to the working class. This must be widened into a struggle for control over all essential working conditions. And the fight must be given the perspective of winning power in society as a whole. A necessary step in this, of course, is building a nationwide red trade-union opposition on a programmatic basis. Unless these conditions are achieved in the coming years, there is a danger of the present weariness deepening into complete demoralization and leading to really decisive defeats.

It is very clear that there exists a certain instinctive consciousness of the need for new perspectives among the workers. The best proof of this is the spontaneous occupation strikes in Lievestuore in 1971 (against closing the factory), in Jyväskylä in the same year (against layoffs), and in Simpele in 1972 (against cutting production)—and all these in a country that has no tradition of occupations or struggle for workers' control. There is also a certain awareness of the need to fight for objectives going beyond "pure union demands." Proof of this can be seen in the strikes in 1972 against right-wing attacks on the head of the radio network and against the Finnish free-trade agreement with the Common Market. The problem is certainly not one of any lack of "objective need" for such struggles. The difficulty lies rather in the tradition of the Finnish working class, which is militant but primitively economist in both its methods and aims, and in the Stalinist character of the trade-union left, which not only keeps strictly to this economic framework but even idealizes it.

The struggle against this tradition and the kind of political leadership that feeds on it is made especially difficult in Finland by the "special relationship" with the Soviet Union and

the unique political atmosphere created in the country by it. But despite the subjective difficulties of the struggle, it is absolutely necessary to get

this fight under way if the Finnish working class is to avoid still graver defeats in the 1970s than in 1918, 1930, and 1949. □

## Seated in Puerto Rican Legislature

### Nationalists Liven Things Up

In the session of the Puerto Rican legislature that opened January 2, independentists were represented for the first time in twelve years. Rubén Berrios was elected to an at-large Senate seat. Two other members of the PIP [Partido Independentista. Puerto-riqueña—Puerto Rican Independence party], Carlos Gallisa and Luis Angel Torres, were seated in accordance with the constitutional provision guaranteeing representation to minority parties winning more than 5 percent of the vote in general elections. The PIP got 5.5 percent of the November gubernatorial vote.

The small separatist delegation quickly proved an irritant in the "commonwealth" legislature. "They [the PIP representatives] took the oath under protest, Berrios said," according to the January 3 *San Juan Star*, "because they could not swear allegiance to the U.S. Constitution 'nor to a colonialist constitution such as that of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico.'

"'It was a formality,' Berrios said of the ceremony, 'in the same sense that the signing of the [certification] papers was a formality. The important thing is that the Puerto Rican people elected us to represent them.'"

Shortly after being sworn in, the PIP legislators walked out of the inauguration ceremonies in protest against the presence of Joaquin Balaguer, the president of the Dominican Republic elected in 1966 after his country was occupied by U.S. troops. Berrios said: "Balaguer is the heir of [the dictator Rafael Leonidas] Trujillo. He has jailed thousands of Dominican patriots and permitted the murder of dozens of members of the opposition. It was immoral of the Governor to invite Balaguer to the inauguration."

Despite this note of dissent, the nationalist representatives did not prove as "offensive" as some had feared.

"The independentistas, who dressed prim and proper on the first day of the sessions, in the standard tie and jacket (instead of the *guayaberas* so many people expected them to use out of pure orneriness), were less prim although no less proper in the resolutions they introduced that day," Ismaro Velázquez wrote in the January 11 *San Juan Star*.

"One PIP resolution would tell the Navy to get out of Culebra. Puerto Ricans have been telling the Navy that for ages. It's just that we don't have the power, as a country, to do anything other than tell them. We can't force them." (Another resolution introduced by the PIP, which Velázquez found more presumptuous, called for U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam.)

In fact, the most jarring note at the inauguration was given by Balaguer and his bodyguards. In the January 3 *San Juan Star* Connie Arena described the scene:

"A silent group of demonstrators stood on the hilltop facing the Capitol Tuesday holding banners reading, 'Balaguer Murderer,' 'Balaguer, Fascist.'

"Dominican President Joaquin Balaguer sat impassively on the platform of the Capitol steps watching Gov. Hernandez Colon take the oath of office.

"Gold-braided Dominican security officers, their faces like storm clouds, unsnapped the holsters of their revolvers."

Balaguer's bodyguard apparently did not take very well to the less "disciplined" atmosphere at Puerto Rican political functions:

"Suddenly there was a commotion at the entrance, a flash of gold braid. In the center, Balaguer—a small almost fragile, gentle-looking man. Newsmen rushed up hoping for a statement. Black-suited guards came

running, arms flying, pushing, shouldering bystanders aside.

"They formed a flying wedge and charged through the crowd, bearing the Dominican president along in the center.

"Inauguration guests and government officials alike got knocked aside.

"'What's wrong? What happened?'" people asked.

"The flying wedge reached the elevator. Balaguer was shoved inside, along with some of his guards. Those left behind whirled around and began to run through the passageway back to the rotunda. A local newsman got knocked against the wall and, angered, pushed back. Heated words were exchanged, and the guards kept running.

"A woman guest waiting to greet the Governor got knocked against a column.

"'Listen, you're not in Santo Domingo now, this is Puerto Rico,' she shouted angrily. The guards kept running, reaching the Capitol steps. Three cars, motors running, waited in the driveway beneath to carry the Dominican party to a helicopter waiting at El Morro.

"The guards jumped down and into the cars. The cars began to move.

"A woman was pushed down in the driveway, and was pulled to safety by a Commonwealth policeman."

On the other hand, Balaguer did not exactly get the V. I. P. treatment usually accorded the chief of state of an independent "republic." His reception, in fact, was more suited to a petty satrap.

"The president of the neighboring republic was received at the National Guard airport by a limited representation of local dignitaries and with a minimum of security measures," the San Juan daily *El Mundo* commented in a January 5 editorial. "When he arrived there was the irritating incident that forced President Balaguer to wait fifteen minutes in his plane until the airport authorities were able to bring up an exit ramp. It was irritating to Señor Balaguer and his party that more importance was not accorded to their official visit."

"Somebody apparently forgot to order a ramp," Connie Arena noted in the January 3 *San Juan Star*.

The colonialist Puerto Rican politicians showed similar clumsiness in

handling the problem of the nationalist delegation in the legislature. After the PIP representatives were certified elected and formally sworn in, the majority Popular Democratic party decided to suspend one of the three, pending the report of a special investigating committee, on the grounds that he did not meet the age requirement. At twenty-four and a half, Luis Angel Torres was six months short of the minimum age stipulated in the constitution.

The argument that Torres was "underage" went hand in hand with a challenge to the system of proportional representation. The PDP claimed to be scandalized that the young nationalist, who personally got only 127 votes, should be seated, while the far more well-known former governor, Roberto Sánchez Vilella, who got more than 60,000 votes, should be denied a place in the legislature.

The PIP legislative leader, Carlos Gallisa, pointed out that both he and Torres had been seated to represent thousands of Puerto Ricans who had

voted for the nationalist program and that their personal vote was irrelevant. He noted: "Don Roberto Sánchez Vilella personally received more votes than 90 per cent of the representatives seated here today."

Senator Rubén Berrios questioned the PDP's zeal for "strict" interpretation of the age clause in the constitution:

"If the PDP is capable of altering the age of one of its representatives in order to validate his election, it is also capable of violating the Constitution written by the party itself." Berrios was referring to the case of former Senator Luis Alfredo Colón, who was sworn into office in 1945 before reaching the required age of thirty.

"During the debate," Connie Arena noted in the January 12 *San Juan Star*, "Gallisa quoted records indicating that the party later went to court to have Colón's birthdate changed from 1916 to 1915, apparently to validate his election." □

## Hanoi Reported to Expect New Bombing

North Vietnamese authorities are concerned about the possibility that new bombing raids might be ordered if the negotiations in Paris do not go the way Nixon wants them to.

One indication of this was the urgent telegram sent by Premier Pham Van Dong on January 6 to Bertil Zachrisson, a member of the Swedish Riksdag (parliament), asking him to head up a "study group" to investigate the destruction done by the U. S. bombing raids in December and to inform the world public. Dong reportedly asked Zachrisson to have a commission in North Vietnam at the latest by January 13.

"The request by the Vietnamese that the commission quickly get to Hanoi can be interpreted in various ways, says Zachrisson," according to the January 11 issue of the Stockholm daily *Dagens Nyheter*. "It is quite clear that the Vietnamese are very worried about new bombings and want to get observers into the country during a period of lull when transportation is still possible."

In addition to Zachrisson, the mem-

bers of the study group, which is scheduled to spend approximately a week in North Vietnam, are the following: Andrew Brewin, foreign policy spokesman for the New Democratic party of Canada; Ola Ullsten, another member of the Swedish Riksdag; Leif Skau, representative of the Norwegian metalworkers union; and an Italian bishop.

On January 17, the North Vietnamese Communist party newspaper *Nhan Dan* announced the halt in U. S. bombing of the North. It then warned that in the past "the imperialists have already stopped their attacks against the DRV only to launch them again with greater intensity."

"Public opinion is kept on guard," reported *Le Monde* January 18, "and officials seem to fear a sudden and even more violent escalation of the air war during this apparently very difficult stage of the discussions."

Radio Hanoi warned January 17 that "the population must remain very vigilant and be ready to answer any attack." □

## After the International Recession

By Ernest Mandel

The international capitalist recession seems to have ended. All the imperialist countries, except Italy, foresee accelerated growth in 1973. The three key countries of the international capitalist economy—the United States, West Germany, and Japan—are experiencing a clearly ascending phase in industrial production. The time has therefore come to sketch out a preliminary balance sheet of the 1969-72 recession, to examine its specific features, and to deduce some general tendencies in the comprehensive development of capitalist economy.

### The Most Serious Recession of the Postwar Period

The 1969-72 recession was undoubtedly the most serious experienced by the postwar capitalist economy. The volume of trading on the Wall Street stock exchange fell by 40 percent in anticipation of the recession. This time, in contrast to the preceding recessions that have occurred since 1945, nearly all the imperialist countries, except France, were drawn in. Also unlike earlier recessions, recovery came very slowly, especially in the United States and Great Britain, and was accompanied by a persistent and even accelerated inflation.

Certainly, the recessions in the United States, West Germany, and Japan were not completely simultaneous. There was a space of about six months between the bottoming out in the United States and the beginning of the downturn in Germany. International capitalism had great need of these six months; without them, the situation would have been much more serious than it finally was.

Moreover, if the recession was serious in the United States, it was less so in West Germany. The decline in employment suffered by the West German economy during the 1971-72 recession was only about half what it had been during the 1966-67 recession. Nevertheless, the slowness of recovery in the United States was such

that most capitalist countries felt the effects of the West German recession before the effects of the American recession had faded away. Hence the persistence of economic difficulties and of unemployment in Great Britain, Italy, the Netherlands, Sweden, Belgium, and Australia, to mention only a few of the countries affected by the repercussions. It is only now, when the United States is reaching full production and when recovery is under way in West Germany that the situation is beginning to ease up.

The deepest causes of the recession have been described many times. The central motive forces of the postwar capitalist boom drew to an end. Productive capacity expanded beyond the consumptive capacity created by "effective demand" (that is, the buying power determined by the relations of class antagonisms under capitalism). Conditions of excess capacity have appeared in a series of key sectors: coal, steel, shipbuilding, natural and synthetic textiles, electrical home appliances, and no doubt also in the automobile and electronics industries. These branches now experience only shorter and shorter periods of expansion, interrupted by increasingly persistent periods of stagnation and decline.

The long period of expansion bolstered the militancy and organizational strength of the working class. The workers are not prepared to pay the cost of rising inflation, the only way for the capitalist system to avoid a very serious crisis. Hence the exacerbation of on-the-job conflicts, the proliferation of strikes, of higher and higher wage demands to keep pace with the rapid rise of prices. Because the employers have not succeeded in definitively breaking the workers' militancy, the rate of profit has been eroded by two factors: by the decrease in the rate at which capacity is utilized and by the stagnation of the rate of exploitation of the working class.

A long-term decline in the rate of profit coinciding with an unfavorable

conjuncture usually results in bankruptcies and spectacular crashes. So it was this time. Penn Central, the largest U. S. railroad; Rolls Royce, the symbol of English capitalism; Montedison, the Italian chemical giant—all went down the drain. A few other "showpieces" of international capitalism, such as the U. S. aircraft companies Lockheed and Boeing, the "greats" of the Italian electrical appliance industry, and most of the German metal trusts, came within a hair's breadth of crashing. Only the big banks continued to steadily increase their profits.

### Trade War and Export of Inflation

As is always the case during an international capitalist recession, inter-imperialist contradictions were exacerbated during the 1969-71 period. Above all, the West European powers and Japan made serious inroads into positions held by American imperialism since the second world war, both in trade and finance. Then, beginning with Nixon's August 15, 1971, speech, American imperialism passed to the counterattack.

Did the counterattack succeed? In the monetary field, the competitors of the United States were unable to get together and organize a collective response. On this level American imperialism therefore scored some points. Nixon exported inflation. It declined in the United States and increased in the rest of the imperialist world.

Paradoxically, in the area of trade, success was elusive. The deficit in the American balance of trade is greater than ever. American imports continue to increase faster than exports. The short-term chances for a leveling off of the American balance of payments deficit are hardly propitious.

Under these circumstances the resistance of the USA's partner-competitors to accepting "devalued dollars" as payment for this American balance of payments deficit will increase. The dollar is less and less suitable for the role of world currency. "Confidence" in it has been badly shaken.

American imperialism will continue its trade-war offensive, which will take on a pronounced protectionist character in several areas. Nevertheless, inflation continues at full steam, and with it the attempts to gain some advantage by adjustments in the rate of exchange (that is, by devaluations).



This growing disorder in the international monetary system threatens to halt extension of credit and of international trade. The imperialist powers will have to react. Freedom to manipulate national currencies will become increasingly limited. Already, European currencies have been "floated collectively." The tendency is thus toward a system under which the independence of national governmental decisions on questions of monetary and credit policy will be subject to greater and greater constraints, which will accentuate the tendency to return to an industrial cycle marked by simultaneity in all countries.

### **Recession, Inflation, Class Struggle**

For the first time, the 1969-72 recession was accompanied by accelerated inflation on an international scale. More than ever, inflation remains the only way to halt the crisis at a certain level (that is the big difference between "classical" crises and today's recessions). But a stronger and stronger dose of inflation will be needed to do the job. The Republican Nixon, theoretical champion of the "balanced budget," could end the recession only by deficit spending at a record level in American history. In Great Britain industrial production picked up only after an increment on the order of 25 percent in one year in the amount of currency in circulation.

Why, under these conditions, has inflation been able to slow down in the United States? Basically because the American working class—under the pressure of the betrayal of the trade-union bureaucrats, who "went along" with the wage freeze imposed by Nixon—has allowed its standard of living to be reduced and has suffered massive unemployment. In capitalist Europe the workers' resistance to any form of incomes policy has been stronger and until now has prevented the bourgeoisie from making the workers foot the bill by raising prices.

But this situation will hardly last forever. With accelerated expansion, unemployment will no doubt finally decline in the United States. Then the workers will be able to take revenge for the "lean years" imposed on them by Nixon. As soon as unemployment seriously drops, outbreaks of strikes can be expected.

Thus, in the long term, Nixon will have succeeded in exporting inflation and unemployment only to import an upsurge of workers' struggles. Small comfort for U. S. imperialism!

In the rest of the imperialist world, inflation will remain at a high level, and with it the discontent and the related militancy of the workers. These will combine with the structural causes of class conflict revealed by May 1968—reaction against speedup, against intensification of exploitation, against the brutalization of assembly-line production, against management authority, and against the relations of capitalist production in general. All these phenomena have been accentuated since the recession. They will scarcely disappear with the end of the recession.

The prospects for the international capitalist economy are thus hardly optimistic. While it may be able to rely on some new openings in the Eastern countries, while the agricultural crisis has been somewhat ameliorated by the shortage of beef in West Europe and by the massive grain shipments to the Soviet Union and China, while the prospect of an "oil shortage" will stimulate investment in the energy industry, the currently beginning boom will not last very long. The pre-1967 situation will not reappear. Monetary, financial, and industrial difficulties will combine with the growing social tensions to make the 1970s as a whole a decade of slowdown of economic expansion and of multiplication of explosions of the class struggle.

January 7, 1973

### **Five May Have Been Kurdish Nationalists**

## **Shah Executes Seven More Iranians**

Two alleged members of an urban guerrilla group were shot January 11 in Teheran by one of the shah's firing squads. Only a week before, another firing squad in Sanandaj in Iranian Kurdistan shot down five persons. Both series of executions were ordered by secret military tribunals. No reports of the proceedings appeared in the newspapers until the sentences had been carried out, so neither protest nor appeal was possible.

The two alleged guerrillas, Mohammad Mofidi and Mohammad Bagher Abbasi, were charged with the assassination of police general Saeed Taheri, who was killed in Teheran on August 13, 1972, and with "other murders and subversive activities."

The government claimed that Mofidi and Abbasi were remnants of the Charik-haye Mujahedeene Khalg (People's Guerrilla Fighters), an organization that has supposedly been destroyed. Members of this group, who consider themselves devout Muslims, fought alongside the Palestinians. Many of them were imprisoned and

executed by the shah when they returned from this struggle.

The group executed in Kurdistan—Saleh Irani, Ali Sadeegi, Isa Majeedi, Lateef Hosseini, and Sadeeg Rahmani-Abidar—were accused of being Iraqi agents engaged in subversive activities. The only concrete "subversive" activity charged against them, however, was planting bombs in four locations. Reportedly only one of these exploded—in a state government building—and there was no account of the damage. The authorities also claimed that Isa Majeedi had fled to Iraq to escape prosecution for a murder he committed in 1969.

The regime's assertion that the five were Iraqi agents is not very credible in view of its past practices in such cases, when it has staged show trials or at least raised a big hue and cry. This time the authorities quietly and quickly disposed of the "foreign agents" only three weeks after their arrest. The circumstances suggest that the five were Kurdish nationalists, whose views and example the shah fears to publicize. □

## TEN YEARS— History and Principles of the Left Opposition

By Max Shachtman

[This is the second installment of "Ten Years—History and Principles of the Left Opposition," the pamphlet by Max Shachtman first published in 1933. Serialization began in our January 22 issue.]

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### The Theory of Socialism in One Country

The defeat of the September 1923 insurrection in Bulgaria and the October retreat in Germany, followed a few months later by the crushing of the Reval uprising in Esthonia, opened up a new period of development in Europe, replete with far-reaching consequences. The retreat in Germany gave the bourgeoisie the breathing space it sought and needed. A few months later, the enfeebled system of German capitalism was reinvigorated by the injections of gold it received under the Dawes plan. In England, the MacDonald Labor government came into power for the first time. In France, the liberal Herriot ministry was established and the immediate danger of a new "Ruhr attack" upon Germany receded into the political background.

Among the terrific effects of the fatal German retreat, could already be discerned the following: the big post-war tidal wave of revolution had definitely ebbed. A period of bourgeois democratic pacifism was opening up in Europe. In Central Europe, at the very least, the Communist movement was weakened by the defeats suffered: and these same defeats had given the social democracy a new lease on life.

None of these symptoms of the period was acknowledged by the Comintern leadership. When they were pointed out by Trotsky, who proposed that the International should direct its course in harmony with the newly created situation, he was simply attacked as a . . . liquidator. As late as the Fifth Congress of the Comintern, in 1924, Stalin, Zinoviev, Bucharin and all the other Trotsky-baiters proclaimed that the revolutionary situation was right ahead, that the October defeat was a mere episode and that the Opposition had lost faith in the revolution!

As the weeks extended into months, they threw a cold light upon this light-minded analysis. It became clear to all that the revolutionary wave had actually receded. In the minds of those who accused the Opposition of "liquidationism" arose the conviction that the revolution in Western Europe was postponed for a long, long time to

come. What remained to be done, thought the bureaucrats, was to consolidate what had already been conquered—Russia—and to cease expending energy upon a western European revolution which had dropped to the bottom of the agenda.

It is under these circumstances, and with this pessimistic frame of mind into which the Centrist and Right wing party bureaucracy worked itself, that the theory of "socialism in one country" was developed. According to this theory, which deals with the fundamental question dividing the Left Opposition from the Right wing and the Centrist faction in the Communist movement, a classless socialist society can be built up in one single country alone, the Soviet Union, even if the proletariat in the more advanced countries does not succeed in seizing power.

The mere formulation of the theory reveals that its authors could have produced it only if their belief in the world revolution was shattered. It is impossible to conceive that Russia will complete a classless society sooner than the workers of one country or another in Europe will seize power.

Losovsky, the head of the Red International of Labor Unions, only expressed what was uppermost in the minds of his associates at that time when he wrote that the stabilization of Europe would last for decades. (This was some time after the Dawes Plan, when even the Stalinists were compelled to acknowledge the advent of a precarious capitalist stabilization.) If that were the case, the Leninist dictum that we are living in a period of wars and proletarian revolution, no longer held good. In any case, the revolution was a long way off. Then what point is there in bending our energies upon revolutions outside of Russia which will not take place, especially when there is so much to be "done at home," and more especially, when "we have all the prerequisites needed to build up a socialist society by ourselves"?

Utopian socialists and nationalists have advocated the theory of socialism in a single country before this time. In Germany today, the theory of an "independent" national economy, which progressively diminishes its connection with world economy to the vanishing point—"autarchy," as it is called—is the reactionary ideal of Hitler's Fascists.

In the Communist movement this idea was never heard of until the fateful days of 1924. Marx and Engels specifically polemicized against the idea of a national socialist utopia in all their writings. Even Stalin was compelled to admit that the two founders of scientific socialism never entertained the idea, when he said that the possibility of building socialism in a single country was "first formulated by Lenin in 1915." (As will be seen, even the reference to Lenin is entirely unfounded.)

The program of the Bolshevik party under which it

carried out the 1917 revolution, does not contain a reference to this theory. The program of the Young Communist League of Russia, adopted in 1921 under the supervision of Bucharin and the Central Committee of the party, says that Russia "can arrive at Socialism only through the world proletarian revolution, which epoch of development we have now entered." The draft of an international program at the Fourth Congress of the Comintern in 1922, submitted by Bucharin and Thalheimer, says not a word about the possibility of building a socialist society in one country alone. The same congress, in its unanimously adopted resolution on the Russian revolution, "reminds the proletarians of all countries that the proletarian revolution can never be completely victorious within one single country, but that it must win the victory internationally, as the world revolution."

In 1919, Bucharin, one of the later prophets of the evangel of national socialism, wrote that "the period of the great development of the productive forces (to say nothing of completing a socialist society!—M. S.) can begin only with the victory of the proletariat in several large countries." Lenin asserted "in many of our works, in all our speeches and in the whole of our press that matters in Russia are not such as in the advanced capitalist countries, that we have in Russia a minority of industrial workers and an overwhelming majority of small agrarians. The social revolution in such a country can be finally successful only on two conditions: first, on the condition that it is given timely support by the social revolution of one or several advanced countries . . . Second, that there be an agreement between the proletariat which establishes the dictatorship or holds State power in its hands and the majority of the peasantry. We know that only an agreement with the peasantry can save the social revolution in Russia so long as the revolution in other countries has not arrived."

Stalin himself, who first formulated the theory of national socialism, wrote in the first edition of his "Problems of Leninism" that "the main task of socialism—the organization of socialist production—still remains ahead. Can this task be accomplished, can the final victory of socialism in one country be attained, without the joint efforts of the proletariat of several advanced countries? No, this is impossible . . . For the final victory of socialism, for the organization of socialist construction, the efforts of one country, particularly of such a peasant country as Russia, are insufficient. For this the efforts of the proletarians of several advanced countries are necessary."

It is only in the second edition of the same work, printed in the same year, that he turned this clear and definite conclusion inside out and presented the still cautious formula which has since been developed into an unrestrained nationalistic gospel: "After the victorious proletariat of one country has consolidated its power and has won over the peasantry for itself, it can and must build up the socialist society."

Nothing that has ever been said can refute our characterization of the origin and essence of this theory, born in the womb of reaction and conceived by a defeatist state of mind. The Left Opposition argued that to build a socialist society in the Soviet Union, the aid of the proletarian revolution in a more advanced country or

countries would be required. Together with Stalin and Bucharin, the international apparatus of the Comintern argued that a socialist society could be built up without the "state aid" of the workers in other countries—provided there is no military intervention from the foreign bourgeoisie! And to prevent this intervention, to act merely as frontier guards for the Soviet Union, has now become the principal task of the Communist parties. The emphasis is significant. Previously, the main task of the various parties was the revolution in their respective country, the victory of which is the highest guarantee for the victory of world socialism—including socialism in Russia. Now the Communist parties have been reduced to the position of "Friends" of the Soviet Union.

The "practical" significance of this theoretical dispute cannot be overstated. Socialism is not built in one day. Only petty-bourgeois anarchists believe that the "free society" will be established on the morrow of the overthrow of the bourgeois state. The Marxists know that "the road of organization," in Lenin's words, "is a long road, and the task of socialist construction demands a long-drawn-out, stubborn work and real knowledge which we do not possess to a sufficient degree. Even the next generation, which will be further developed, will probably hardly be able to achieve the complete transition to socialism." If it is argued, as Stalin does, that this long road will be travelled its full length "alone," before the workers in the other countries have overthrown their bourgeoisie, then the world proletarian revolution has been postponed—at least in one's mind—for an indefinite period.

The Opposition believed and declared: The proletarian revolution in the West is far closer to realization than is the abolition of classes and the establishment of a socialist society in Russia. If it is not closer, then the proletarian revolution in Russia is doomed!

This simple truth was repeated a thousand times by Lenin, who had not a grain of "pessimism" or "disbelief in the Russian revolution" in his makeup. "We do not live," he wrote, "merely in a state but in a system of states and the existence of the Soviet republic side by side with imperialist states for any length of time is inconceivable." This idea is permeated to the letter with realistic Marxian internationalism.

What is this internationalism? It is no mere loose sentimental addition of national links, uniting the workers of the world in a fairy-chain of phraseological solidarity. It arises directly out of the development of world economy. The imperialist stage of capitalism, its expansion on a world scale, the tremendous and vital importance of exports and imports for the maintenance of capitalism, monopolies extending to the ends of the earth, the mutual dependence of one country upon another—these are some of the phenomena of world economy.

Capitalism has not matured for the socialist revolution in this or that country, large or small, backward or advanced. It has matured for socialism on a world scale. This fact not only creates the basis for a living internationalism, but also for the transformation of the old society by the triumphant proletariat.

But if each country can build an enclosed socialist society by the efforts and resources of its own proletariat, then internationalism becomes a sentimental phrase for holiday resolutions. If it can be completed in backward

Russia alone, then surely it can be done in more advanced Germany, in France, in England, and certainly in the United States. What need then have the Communists for a highly centralized international of action of their own?

Furthermore: the development of all existing society up to now, and particularly of modern capitalist society, has been towards increasing world interrelations and interdependence. Capitalism reaches its highest stage of evolution, it develops to its most majestic economic heights, not by retiring into its national shells, but by projecting from each national territory those links which bind it inseparably to the rest of world economy. The economy of the United States, or of France, or of India, is merely the "national" manifestation of a world economy. The countries of the most backward culture, technique and living standards are those that play the smallest role in world economy; and vice versa.

Socialism assumes a vastly higher stage of development than that reached by capitalism in its most flourishing days, a higher culture, technique, and living standard. It means not only the abolition of classes, but the elimination of the difference between worker and peasant, between town and country, the abolition of agriculture by means of its industrialization. But this, in turn, means that a socialist society must develop much further along the economic and technical (that is, the cultural) road than capitalism.

The theory of socialism in one country implies (and its spokesmen state explicitly) that this is to be accomplished by rendering the Soviet Union entirely independent of the rest of the world. But this can be "accomplished" only by taking the road back from capitalist evolution which went in the opposite direction. The Marxists, in opposition to this reactionary, Utopian idea, declare that the road to socialism presupposes an increasing participation in world economy, not only in the future socialist world economy, but right now, under the conditions of the capitalist world market. For this capitalist world economy is one to which, according to Lenin, "we are subordinated, with which we are connected and from which we cannot escape."

Against the Stalinist theory, the Opposition put forward again the classical formula of Marx and Engels: the Revolution in permanence. This formula, first advanced by the founders of scientific socialism to express the interests of the proletariat at the time when the progressive bourgeoisie, having come to power, sought to establish "order" and bring the revolutionary advance to a halt, was first outlined by Trotsky at the time of the first Russian rev-

olution. In his conception, the approaching revolution in Russia could not stop at the bourgeois democratic stage after the overthrow of Czarist absolutism, but would be driven on inexorably to the socialist stage of the dictatorship of the proletariat. But it could not remain at this point, either, for the contradictions facing a socialist dictatorship in a single country, and a predominantly agricultural land at that, could be solved only on the international arena. The proletariat, therefore, far from setting itself the Utopian goal of a nationally isolated socialist republic, would inscribe upon its banner the slogan of the permanent revolution; that is, the maintenance of the dictatorship in one land was dependent upon the extension of the proletarian revolution on a world scale, or at least in several of the advanced capitalist countries of Europe.

But if the proletarian revolution in the West is, nevertheless, delayed in coming—what shall we do then? Shall we give up power in the Soviet Union? is the "annihilating" poser put by the Stalinists. Not at all! Lenin and Trotsky, who never believed in the utopia of national socialism, stood for six years at the head of the proletarian dictatorship and never once proposed to "give up power." What they did and what the Left Opposition today proposes to do, was to retain the power in the first fortress conquered by the proletariat. In this fortress, while looking forward to the assistance of the workers in other countries, the position of the socialistic elements in the country must be strengthened as against the capitalist elements. This means the utilization of the "two levers" at the command of the proletariat: the long lever of international revolution and the shorter lever of laying and strengthening the foundation for a socialist economy at home.

What it certainly does not mean is that the workers and peasants of Russia should be duped with the grandiloquent illusion that at the end of another five years, "socialism will have been established"—on the basis of Russia alone and regardless of what happens to the revolution in Europe, Asia and America. For there will be terrific consequences to account for when the reckoning must be given.

This pernicious theory, which was finally written into the fundamental program of the Communist International in 1928, has brought the greatest harm to the revolutionary movement inside of the Soviet Union and out. From it flowed that unbroken chain of blunders, defeats, catastrophes and setbacks which the Communist movement has suffered since 1924. Among the first of the events in which this theory disclosed its significance was the British General Strike of 1926.

## The British General Strike of 1926

After the German October retreat, the Opposition advanced the idea that the immediately revolutionary situation was at an end. The official viewpoint, propounded at the Fifth Comintern Congress in 1924, was that the revolutionary wave was first beginning to break. Four months after the decisive German defeat, Zinoviev announced that "Germany is apparently approaching a sharpened civil war." Stalin added: "It is false that the decisive struggles have already been fought, that the proletariat has suffered a defeat in these struggles and the bourgeoisie has grown stronger as a result."

Entirely blind to the fact that a period of capitalist stabilization had set in as a result of their own blunders and shortcomings, the party bureaucracy oriented the Comintern on the basis of an imminent revolutionary upheaval and civil war. But when it became clear even to the blind that the perspective of the Fifth Congress was utterly false, the bureaucracy, intent upon maintaining its own prestige, bolstered up its now discredited predictions by inventing revolutionary phenomena. In a word, the ultraradical phrasemongering of the Fifth Congress led the officialdom directly to opportunism, to painting in

revolutionary colors those movements and men who had little or nothing in common with the revolution.

As the revolution did not appear where it was predicted (in Germany and Bulgaria), strenuous efforts were made to discover the revolution where it did not exist. It was in this period, therefore, that scarcely a shrewd petty bourgeois or labor politician on three continents was not hailed as an "acquisition" to the revolutionary movement.

Bourgeois agrarian leaders like Green of Nebraska, Raditch\* of Yugoslavia, the Catholic adventurer Miglioli of Italy—were hailed as the "leaders of the revolutionary peasants" in the hotch-potch of the "Red Peasants' International." The World League Against Imperialism was formed by the Comintern as a refuge for those discredited labor politicians, pacifists and bourgeois nationalists standing in need of protection from the rising militancy of the masses who were losing their illusions. American White House lobbyists, Arabian princes, Egyptian nationalists, British labor misleaders, French Freemasons and bourgeois journalists, German and Austrian and Czech doctors and lawyers, guerrilla chiefs and unemployed politicians from Mexico, Catalonia irredentists, Gandhists from India—all of them found a haven in the anteroom of the Comintern. The Kuomintang of the Chinese bourgeoisie was admitted against Trotsky's vote, as a fraternal party into the councils of the Communist International!

Of all the discoveries made in this quest after will-o'-the-wisps that were to prop up the fantastic edifice of the Fifth Congress, the Anglo-Russian Committee proved to be one of the most pernicious. The Committee was made up of the Councils of the trade unions of England and Russia, formed as a result of a British trade-union delegation's visit to the Soviet Union at the end of 1924.

The original aim of the Committee was to further the establishment of international trade-union unity. "The creation of the Anglo-Russian Committee," wrote the Opposition in 1927, "was, at a certain moment, a thoroughly correct step. Under the influence of the Leftward development of the working masses, the liberal labor politicians, just like the bourgeois liberals at the commencement of a revolutionary movement, took a step towards the Left in order to retain their influence in the masses. To hold them there was entirely correct."

But the scope and attributes of the Committee were speedily extended far beyond its original objective. From a temporary bloc between a revolutionary and a reformist organization for a clearly defined and limited goal, the Committee was endowed by Stalin and Bucharin with capacities and objectives which it could not possibly have. It became, according to Stalin in 1926, "the organization of a broad movement of the working class against new imperialist wars in general and against an intervention in our country, especially on the part of England, the mightiest of the imperialist states of Europe." The Moscow committee of the party announced that "it will become the organizational center that embraces the international forces of the proletariat for the struggle against every endeavor of the international bourgeoisie to begin a new war."

In vain did the Left Opposition argue against the falsity of this conception which set up the British labor leaders of the Purcell, Cook, Hicks, Swales and Citrine stripe as the revolutionary organizers of the world's working

class against imperialist war and for defense of the Soviet republic. As had become the custom, its arguments were not dealt with. It was simply accused of opposing the united front policy and of being in the pay of Sir Austen Chamberlain!

The Stalinist conception of the role and nature of the Anglo-Russian Committee flowed directly from the theory of socialism in one country. According to the latter, Russia could build up its own nationally isolated socialist economy, "if" only foreign military intervention could be staved off. This is the idea which impelled the Stalinists to search frantically for "anti-interventionists" and to convert the Communist parties into Soviet border patrols. Purcell, who needed the alliance with the Soviets as a shield from the attacks of the revolutionary militants in England, was hailed as one of the organizers of the struggle against the military intervention, which alone could prevent Russia from building a socialist society. The trade-union bloc quickly became a political bloc between the reformists of England and the Russian party bureaucracy, not for a moment but for a long time. Hymns of praise were sung to these British labor lieutenants of the bourgeoisie in all the languages of the Comintern. The Committee was designated as the staunch bulwark of the world proletariat against war and intervention. Only the Opposition declared that the "more acute the international situation becomes the more the Anglo-Russian Committee will be transformed into a weapon of English and international imperialism." Later events fully confirmed this unheeded warning.

The first really serious test of the Anglo-Russian Committee was the British general strike of 1926, which broke out in the midst of the great miners' strike. Just as metals are best tested in fire, so all the assurances of friendship for Russia, of loyalty to British labor and enmity to British imperialism, freely given by Purcell and Co., were subjected to a decisive test in the flames of the general strike. And just as the Opposition had warned, the British General Council, its Left wing as well as its Right, displayed a disgraceful cowardice and treachery, an unshakable loyalty to the ruling class, a hatred and fear of the revolutionary proletariat.

After nine days of the general strike, when a revolutionary situation was engendered in which the power of the ruling class rested not so much in itself as it did in the strength which the labor leaders enjoyed in the working class, the General Council deliberately delivered the death blow to the struggle. In face of the extremely militant mood of the workers, the pitiful helplessness of the bourgeoisie, of such occurrences as the refusal of numerous armed regiments to proceed against the strikers—all the trade-union lackeys of the bourgeoisie rushed to the government buildings to confer with the king's ministers on how to crush the movement.

The "red" veneer with which the Left labor leaders had coated themselves was wiped off in a patriotic frenzy. The financial aid sent to the striking miners from Russia was indignantly rejected with the epithet of "that damned Russian gold." The red flag was hastily dropped for the Union Jack. Purcell and his colleagues proved to be not "the organizational center that embraces the international forces of the proletariat for struggle," but a most reliable prop of a desperate ruling class. A more annihilating indictment of the Stalinist view and corroboration of the Opposition's, could hardly be imagined.

Where was the Committee as a whole during those stirring days of struggle and treachery? As Kautsky said plaintively about the Second International in 1914: It was only an instrument of peace; in times of war it was worthless.

More correctly, it was worthless to the revolutionists, to Russia. To the British partners in the concern, it had a distinct value. Purcell, Swales and Hicks utilized to the maximum the prestige accruing to them out of their formal and inexpensive collaboration with the Bolshevik representatives in the Anglo-Russian Committee. Instead of helping to emancipate the British masses from the chains of their false leaders, the A.-R. C. served these leaders as a "Bolshevik" shield from the blows of the rank and file, particularly of the Communists. Purcell, under attack of "his own" Communists, could easily defend his treason by saying: The Russian Communists are different; they do not attack us as you do. Quite the contrary, they sit together with us in harmonious conference.

The Opposition promptly demanded that the prestige enjoyed among the British workers by the A.-R. C. and its Russian half in particular, be employed to expose the treachery of the British leaders. It demanded a demonstrative break with Purcell and Co. so that the latter could no longer hide behind the Russian trade unions. Stalin and Bucharin violently opposed the break—just as violently as, a few years later, they opposed any and every united front not merely with the Purcells but with the "social-Fascist" workers who still followed the reactionary leaders.

For more than a year after the abominable betrayal of the General Strike, Stalin continued to maintain his "united front" with Purcell. The Anglo-Russian Committee would prevent British intervention in Russia and thereby enable the Soviet republic . . . to build up socialism undisturbed.

This fatal course was pursued until the Berlin conference of the Committee in April 1927. Did the Committee protest against the bombardment of Nanking by British gunboats? Did it protest against the police raid upon the Arcos, the

Soviet trading organization in London? Did it say a single word about the treachery of its British partner during the general strike and the miners' strike? It did none of these things. But for that, it did adopt an astounding resolution in which Russians and Englishmen both declare:

1. "The only representatives and spokesmen of the trade union movement are the Congress of the British Trade unions and its General Council;

2. ". . . esteems, at the same time, that the fraternal union between the trade union movements of the two countries, incorporated in the Anglo-Russian Committee, cannot and must not violate or restrict their rights and autonomy as the directing organs of the trade union movement of the respective countries; nor interfere in any manner whatsoever in their internal affairs."

This document, which could not but have a stunning effect upon the British Communists, and the Minority Movement in particular, registered the high-water mark of capitulation to Purcell and Co. (who in turn "capitulated" to Baldwin and the bourgeoisie at every decisive moment). All of this was done in the name of socialism in one country. The failure of Communism to act in a revolutionary manner in England, the prohibition against drawing the basic lessons of the Anglo-Russian Committee experience and the resultant decisive defeat to the movement—set back the Communist forces in Great Britain for years.

The Anglo-Russian Committee was one disappointment after another to those who accepted these illusions as Bolshevism. It was a classic example of how the united front should not be made. The vindication of the standpoint of the Left Opposition, however, was attained at the cost of a new step in the bureaucratic-reformist degeneration of the ruling regime in Russia and the International.

It was not to be the last of such costly vindications. For the same period produced those catastrophic consequences of Stalinist policy which ruined the Chinese revolution.

## The Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution

When the full history of the second Chinese revolution (1925-1927) is written, it will stand out as an everlasting monument of condemnation to the leadership of Stalin-Bucharin in the Russian party and the International.

Victory lay within reach of the hand for the Chinese workers and peasants, but something unprecedented in history took place: the leadership, clothed in all the formal authority of the Russian revolution and the Communist International, stood in the way like a solid wall. Stalin and Bucharin prohibited the proletariat from taking power. In the Chinese revolution the epigones played to the end, and with tragic results, the role which Lenin's struggle in the Bolshevik party in April-May 1917 prevented them from playing in the Russian revolution.

The policy of the ruling faction during the most decisive period of the Chinese revolution was, as Trotsky put it, a translation of Menshevism into the language of Chinese politics. The theory of Stalin, Bucharin and Martynov may be summed up as follows:

They proceeded from the standpoint that China, as a semicolonial country, was being submitted to the yoke

of imperialism, which pressed down upon the whole nation, and upon all the classes in it, with equal severity. The bourgeoisie was conducting a revolutionary war against imperialism and had to be supported by the masses of workers and peasants. In this struggle victory would be attained with the establishment of a "democratic dictatorship of the workers and peasants." The "revolutionary anti-imperialist united front" was to be constituted as a "bloc of four classes"—composed of the workers, the peasants, the petty and large bourgeoisie. The embodiment of this "bloc" was the bourgeois Kuo Min Tang, the party of Sun Yat Sen, and after his death, of Chiang Kai-shek and Wang Chin Wei. The Kuo Min Tang, according to Stalin, was a "revolutionary parliament," a "workers' and peasants' party" which the Chinese Communist party was forced to enter as a subordinated group.

Since the bourgeoisie, according to this conception, was conducting an anti-imperialist war against the foreign brigands, the class struggle at home was considered liquidated. For the workers and the Communists to make

any serious attacks upon the Chinese bourgeoisie would be to disrupt the "bloc of the four classes." That is why Stalin compelled the Chinese Communists to submit quietly to the decisions of the Nationalist government which established compulsory arbitration in strike struggles. For the same reason, the peasants' movement was checked with an iron hand in telegraphic commands from Moscow. Similarly, the Communists were instructed not to organize Soviets. First, because "Soviets are the instruments of power of the proletarian dictatorship"; secondly, because to form Soviets would mean to overthrow the "revolutionary center" as Stalin called the Nationalist government of the bourgeoisie.

This was the guiding line of the leaders of the Comintern. And it led directly to the victory of the bourgeois counter-revolution, to the massacre of the vanguard of the Chinese proletariat and peasantry by the very "allies" whom Stalin had chosen for them.

What was the "bloc of four classes" in actuality? It was the form selected by Stalin and Co., in which the Communist, that is, the genuinely revolutionary vanguard, was subordinated, bound hand and foot, and delivered to the Chinese bourgeoisie. In the "bloc" the Chinese Communist party did not retain a shadow of its own independence. The party, in a joint manifesto with the Kuo Min Tang, announced that it differed with the latter only "in some details," that the "united anti-imperialist front" had to be maintained at all costs, and that the Communists pledged themselves not to criticize the petty bourgeois doctrines of Sun Yat Senism. At the height of the revolutionary storm the Communists played such an insignificant role that they did not possess a daily paper of their own, and even their weekly periodicals were published irregularly. In whole sections of the territory conquered by the Nationalist armies of Chiang Kai-shek, the Communist party and the trade unions continued to remain illegal.

The party did not become the leader in arousing and preparing the masses against the bourgeoisie. Instead, it was the instrument of the bourgeoisie restraining the workers from striking against their Bourgeois "allies" and preventing the peasants from rising to take the land and drive out the rich peasants. Rendered impotent in the revolutionary situation, Stalin nevertheless left the Chinese party sufficient strength for it to hand over to the bourgeoisie the proletarian and peasant masses it should have led against Chiang Kai-shek.

What conception did the Opposition defend? It took as its point of departure the fact that the semicolonial position of China made the struggle against foreign imperialism an immediate task of the democratic revolution. But, it pointed out, it is precisely this position that makes inevitable the coming agreement between the national bourgeoisie—seeking customs autonomy—and the imperialists, both of them bound together by a common fear of the Chinese masses.

The democratic revolution sets the task not only of liberation from the imperialist yoke but also the solution of the agrarian question. In China, however, the country usurer and landowner is so intimately bound up with the urban big bourgeoisie, the compradors, and in the last analysis, the foreign bourgeoisie, that the agrarian revolution can only be carried out in violent struggle against all these elements. Will the bourgeoisie or even the petty bourgeoisie lead the masses to a solution of this

problem? Quite the contrary. Only the proletariat of China can lead the peasantry in the struggle for liberation and the establishment of their own power. In the struggle, it is necessary to establish a bloc which is led by the proletariat whose vanguard is organized into a separate Communist party, subordinated to no other party and acting independently.

What guarantees must the proletariat and the Communists establish for the victory of the revolution? Primarily, to rely upon themselves, upon their own apparatus, and in the end, upon their own state machinery. The Canton government is not our government just as the Nationalist armies are not our armies and the Kuo Min Tang is not our party. They are the armies and party of the bourgeoisie. The same holds true of the Wuhan government established by the "Lefts" after Chiang Kai-shek's coup d'etat in Shanghai.

Everywhere, therefore, the workers and peasants must form Soviets, for which they are already fighting instinctively.

For advancing this course of action, the whole apparatus of the Russian party and the International was converted into a machine to crush the Left Opposition. From Stalin and Martynov down to the last functionary, an international campaign was conducted to prove that Chiang Kai-shek was a reliable ally. After he had massacred the Shanghai proletariat, his place of honor in the campaign was taken by Feng Yu-hsiang and Wang Chin Wei. The whole Communist press lauded the bourgeois generals as "our own." The Kuo Min Tang, which the Russian Political Bureau had decided (against Trotsky's solitary vote) to admit into the Communist International as a "sympathizing" party, was presented to the world as only one step removed from Communism. To such lengths had Stalinism gone in the International that when Chiang Kai-shek's forces entered Shanghai to consecrate in proletarian blood the victory of the counter-revolution, the French Communist party sent him a telegram of congratulations on the formation of the "Shanghai Commune"!

The proposals of the Opposition for an independent Communist party in China were unsparingly attacked. This would mean, cried Stalin and Bucharin, to leave the Kuo Min Tang, to "desert our allies," to drive away the bourgeoisie from the "united front," to "skip over stages." The bourgeoisie had to be supported, they contended, and the bloc maintained. It is true that in the "bloc" it was the bourgeoisie who ruled and the proletariat who served, but this fatal "detail" was overlooked completely in the interests of the "national revolution."

Even after the second Chiang Kai-shek coup, Stalin doggedly maintained his course. Only, in place of the "Kuo Min Tang center" of Chiang Kai-shek which was supposed to be leading the "anti-imperialist revolution," was now put the "Kuo Min Tang Left" of Wang Chin Wei, which was supposed to be leading the "agrarian revolution." After Chiang Kai-shek had led his troops to Shanghai in order there to join forces with the foreign imperialists against the Chinese masses, the government of the "Left" bourgeoisie was set up in Wuhan.

The ghastly experiment in Menshevism was now continued on a "higher scale." Stalin called the Wuhan government of bourgeois politicians the "revolutionary cen-

ter" of the South. According to Stalin, the Wuhan clique was becoming the "democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry." And if this was the case, the proposal of the Opposition to form Soviets in the Wuhan territory was, you see, a criminal adventure. For if we already have the "democratic dictatorship" set up, what purpose is there in organizing Soviets, which are organs of power and must consequently be aimed at overwhelming the existing regime? This is how the Stalinists argued.

Into the Wuhan government were sent two Communist ministers, one as the minister of labor and the other, Tang Ping Shan, who had already distinguished himself in Moscow and China in the struggle against "Trotskyism" because it underestimated the peasantry, as minister of agriculture. How did this bourgeois government, the "organ of the agrarian revolution," proceed to act? In the customary manner of all bourgeois governments that exist only by grace of the ignorance, disorganization and weakness of the revolutionary masses. It sought to crush the workers' and peasants' movement, and in this task it found the signal support of the two Communist captives who served the Chinese bourgeoisie as ministers under instructions from Moscow. Wuhan proceeded to "organize the agrarian revolution" by sending the Communist minister and anti-Trotsky expert into the countryside at the head of an armed division for the purpose of suppressing the insurrectionary peasants! In this one episode is illumined the whole counter-revolutionary course which Stalinism pursued in the Chinese revolution. The

Communist vanguard was transformed by Stalin into the club with which the bourgeoisie smashed the masses into submission.

At the very moment when he was sharpening the knife for the neck of the Shanghai proletariat, Chiang Kai-shek was being lauded in Moscow by Stalin, who proclaimed him a loyal ally, and condemned the Opposition for proposing measures against him. Stalin suffered the same inevitable disappointment with the Wuhan government. It followed with almost staged accuracy in the footsteps of Chiang Kai-shek. The "Left Kuo Min Tang" leaders proved to be not one whit more revolutionary than their Right wing brothers-under-the-skin. The fantastic "democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry," which Lenin had kicked into the dustbin of history in April 1917, proved to be, a decade later in China, a noose around the necks of the proletariat and peasantry.

With his "workers' and peasants' party," with his "anti-imperialist united front," with his "bloc of four classes," with his "revolutionary parliament of the Kuo Min Tang," with his "democratic dictatorship" and opposition to the formation of Soviets under proletarian leadership—with all this Stalin played the reactionary part in China which Tseretelli and Chernov sought unsuccessfully to fill in the Russian revolution of 1917. At every stage in the struggle, the Opposition defended the tested doctrines of Marxism. The Centrist apparatus crushed the Left Opposition. But in doing so it only crushed the Chinese revolution.

(To be continued.)

## Czech Writers Speak Up for Political Prisoners

Some forty Czechoslovak writers signed a petition towards the end of 1972 requesting that President Ludvik Svoboda grant a Christmas amnesty to political prisoners. According to an Agence France-Presse report in the December 27 *Le Monde*, the petition "is continuing to cause a big stir in intellectual circles in Prague."

Among the signers were the novelists Ludvik Vaculik, Pavel Kohout, Adolf Branald, and Bohumil Hrabal; playwrights Vaclav Havel, Ivan Klima, Josef Topol, Jan Kopecky, and Frantisek Pavlicek; the poet Jaroslav Seifert; critics like Jaroslav Putik and Svatopluk Pekarek; and the philosopher Karel Kosik.

A number of members of the new Union of Czech Writers also signed the petition, but several of them withdrew their names after the union violently objected. The union had condemned the petition a week earlier

as the "provocative" work of "a few individuals compromised by their active involvement in the preparations for a counterrevolutionary coup d'etat in 1968." The petition, according to the union, was a "campaign organized at the instigation and with the support of anti-Communist centers in the West that hide an inhuman hatred for the socialist system in Czechoslovakia behind a hypocritical interest in human beings."

Agence France-Presse also reported that the Czech minister of education, Josef Havlin, has ordered a ban on all publications of scientific works by any Czechoslovak scholar who was expelled from the Communist party or ousted from the university for political or ideological reasons. This measure was protested in an open letter by Assistant Professor Frantisek Janouch, himself affected by the order, as "unconstitutional and illegal" and a "violation of Czechoslovak law."

Janouch is a former department head at the Institute for Nuclear Physics near Prague and a former assistant secretary general of the European Society of Physicists. In addition to protesting violations of the law, Janouch objected that the Havlin decree will, especially in the field of medicine, "slow down and restrict the dissemination of discoveries and experiments capable of saving human lives, curing the sick, and soothing their suffering—without being able, in spite of its severity, to completely prevent the spread of scientific progress." Janouch wondered what would have happened to the theory of relativity if Einstein had not been allowed to publish his findings.

Since he was expelled from the party, Janouch added, he has been unable to publish anything or to give his classes at Charles University on the theory of the atomic nucleus. □