

Worldwide Protests: Free Krivine and Rousset!

***What's Behind
the Expanding
U.S.-Soviet Trade?***



***Uruguay General Strike Ends
With Victory for Bordaberry***

Scholars Denounce Ceylon Repression

[The following letter was sent April 17 to Sirimavo Bandaranaike, prime minister of Sri Lanka (formerly Ceylon). The letter was signed on behalf of the United States Committee of Concerned Asian Scholars by the committee's coordinators: Andrea Faste (West Coast), Steve Graham (Midwest), and Judy Perrolle (East Coast).]

* * *

Dear Madam:

The Committee of Concerned Asian Scholars (CCAS) is composed of scholars engaged in the study of Asian societies. Its members joined together in 1968 in opposition to the evil effects of imperialism and of political repression in all countries, and in the belief that they had a special responsibility to expose and protest against those evils both in North America where they live, and in the Asian societies which they study.

Meeting in Chicago, Illinois, at its annual conference on March 31st, 1973, CCAS unanimously expressed its concern about the continuing imprisonment of political prisoners in Sri Lanka two years after the imposition of the Emergency of 1971. It appeals to the Prime Minister and the Government of Sri Lanka to end the Emergency and to repeal all laws that restrict the democratic rights and civil liberties of the people: in particular, the Public Security Ordinance, the Criminal Justice Commissions Act, and the new law to curb the freedom of the press. CCAS also appeals to the Government of Sri Lanka to release the political prisoners still being held in custody, to stop the continuing arbitrary arrests and imprisonment, and to end the torture of arrested persons. □

Summer Schedule

The last issue of *Intercontinental Press* before our summer break will be dated August 6. We will resume our regular weekly schedule with the issue of September 10.

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Pompidou Flouts Order to Release Krivine

Alain Krivine, one of the central leaders of the dissolved Ligue Communiste, the French Trotskyist organization, remains in jail in Paris as of July 16. Krivine has been charged under the witch-hunt "antiwrecker law" with having organized the June 21 antifascist demonstration in Paris. Violence provoked by the police at the demonstration was the excuse the regime used to ban the Ligue.

The "antiwrecker law" allows the government to charge leaders of an organization with responsibility for any violence that occurs at a demonstration that the group sponsored. Krivine thus faces one to five years in jail despite the fact that he was not even present in Paris on June 21 and was only tangentially involved in planning the demonstration. Also in prison is Pierre Rousset, another central leader of the ex-Ligue, who was arrested by police during a ransacking of the Ligue's headquarters on June 22.

On June 10 Judge Alain Bernard ruled favorably on a motion filed by Krivine's attorney, Yves Jouffa, demanding provisional release for his



ALAIN KRIVINE

client. But the government prosecutor refused to accept the decision and immediately filed an appeal. The *chambre d'accusation* has thirty days to rule on the appeal.

The July 12 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde*, which reported the government's appeal on page one, published excerpts of several statements protesting the government's refusal to accept Bernard's decision. The Communist party daily *l'Humanité*, for example, wrote: "It was on the basis of the charges known to him that the examining magistrate [Bernard] made his decision, the only legal and fair one. The intervention of the prosecutor is nothing but scandalous. And to say the prosecutor is to say the regime. More than anyone, Marcellin [minister of the interior] knows how arbitrary these arrests and prosecutions are. He therefore fears a just decision and would disavow it and try to hold it back."

Statements protesting the government appeal also came from the Socialist party, the League for the Rights of Man, and the Fédération d'Enseignement Nationale, the country's largest teachers union.

Despite the imprisonment of Krivine and Rousset, the militants of the ex-Ligue Communiste are continuing their activity and have brought out on schedule another issue of *Rouge*, formerly the Ligue's paper (see below). International protests on behalf of the Ligue have continued to mount. (See p. 887.)

Trotskyist Militants Continue Their Activity

'Rouge' Will Go On Despite the Ban on Ligue Communiste

[The second issue of *Rouge* to appear since the June 28 dissolution of the Ligue Communiste came out dated July 6 (not July 4, as we previously reported). The front cover of the paper identifies it as an "hebdomadaire d'action communiste" (communist action newspaper). This was the issue that was widely sold in Paris by dozens of opponents of the ban on the Ligue on the weekend of July 7-8. (See *Intercontinental Press*, July 16, p. 851.)

[The issue dealt with a broad range of subjects including the war in Indochina, the struggle against the dicta-

torship in Greece, the struggle of workers at the occupied Lip watch factory, the fight to abolish legal restrictions on women's right to abortion in France. It also provided eight pages on the fight against the ban on the Ligue Communiste and the political machinations of the regime.

[The back page contained a large advertisement appealing for funds to keep the paper going. Contributions to sustain *Rouge* and to fight against the ban on the Ligue should be sent to C. C. P. Michel Foucault, Paris 26-15, France, with reference to *Campagne pour l'abrogation du décret—*

Soutien à Rouge (Campaign for the Lifting of the Decree—Support to Rouge).

[The new masthead also notes that all other correspondence should be addressed to *Rouge*, B.P. 37813, Paris. The old address should no longer be used.

[The lead editorial explained why *Rouge* will go on. We reprint below the text of that editorial. This is followed by several additional articles from the issue—all dealing with aspects of the banning of the Ligue and the fight against it. All translations

are by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Because of the government's infamous decree, the *Ligue Communiste*, French section of the Fourth International, founded in April 1969, is dissolved.

This is a bad blow for *Rouge*, for its distribution, and for its readers.

Rouge, communist action newspaper, first came out in September 1968, at a time when the *Ligue* did not yet exist. Later, because of a basic convergence of ideas and goals, *Rouge* was placed at the service of the *Ligue Communiste*; it especially served as a forum for Alain Krivine's candidacy in the 1969 presidential elections. That collaboration continued afterwards.

Today, the *Ligue* has been dissolved; *Rouge* goes on.

In proclaiming the dissolution of the *Ligue*, Prime Minister Messmer stated: "It is not the words but the acts of the *Ligue Communiste* that concern us." All right, *Rouge* will open its pages to those who have fought in the ranks of the *Ligue*, so that they may be able to continue to express

and defend their ideas.

This is a matter of freedom of the press, and of simple freedom of expression as well.

In reality, the dissolution of the *Ligue* represents an attack on the workers movement whose consequences, in various respects, remain to be seen fully; especially as regards the possibility of defending revolutionary ideas.

The dissolution of the *Ligue* has already served as the pretext for temporarily arresting Jacques Valier (economics instructor, professor at Nanterre, and editor of the theoretical journal *Critique de l'Economie Politique*) and for searching his home.

The arbitrary methods that have become common practice for the present regime are cause for concern that the initial acts of harassment are preludes to more encroachments on freedom of the press.

That is why we are calling for militant support and for financial aid from all friends of *Rouge*, new and old friends alike.

Everyone should become an active distributor! Let's increase its readership!

Let *Rouge* go on!

Call for Commission to Investigate the Events of June 21

[The events of June 21—the date of the clash between antifascist demonstrators and police protecting a fascist meeting—are still far from clear. Soon after the events many observers, including Gérard Monatte, general secretary of the largest police union, pointed to strange elements in the government's version of what had happened. By the time the *Ligue* was banned, there were already sharp disagreements within the police department itself over who was at fault for the violence. (See *Intercontinental Press*, July 9, p. 819.)

[What really happened is of importance not only because the June 21 demonstration was the pretext for banning the *Ligue*, but because the charges against Alain Krivine, a leading member of the ex-*Ligue*, are based on the fact that violence occurred June 21. In the following article, *Rouge* points again to a few of the troublesome elements around the June 21 demonstration and calls for the es-

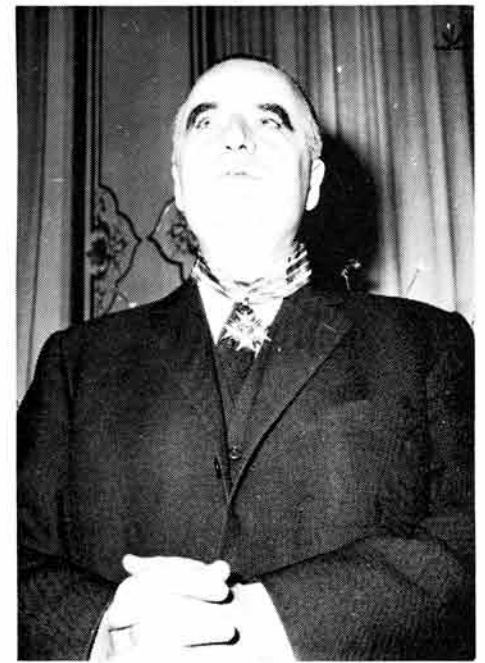
tablishment of a commission of inquiry to investigate them.]

* * *

Marcellin engages in political wheeling and dealing the same way he swings a police club—with clumsy, crass, and dull-witted blows; to such an extent that after the June 21 demo, [Gérard] Monatte (leader of the largest of the police trade unions) accused him outright of being either a manipulator or an incompetent.

L'Humanité, *Le Monde*, and *le Canard enchaîné* all published similar reports: Marcellin and the prefect of police were said to have set things up so that the confrontations would take place in the worst possible conditions for the police.

L'Humanité wrote on June 28: "Ten minutes before the most violent clashes on the Rue Monge, the forces of order had had to fall back. A message was



POMPIDOU: Marcellin's boss. Did he set up the cops?

sent out over the police airwaves directed to all units then on duty. The message was clear, and it said in substance: nothing to report on any front; things calm; no immediate confrontation feared."

Gérard Monatte confirms: "The question is whether this nonsense was deliberate or an accident." The police prefecture admits to having been "surprised" by the number of demonstrators. Monatte continues: "The leaders of the police forces can all the less claim surprise in that they must have recalled the serious and absolutely analogous incidents that occurred March 9, 1971, at the Porte de Versailles."

And another aspect around which explanations must be requested: the presence, on June 21, of individuals in civilian clothes known for their ties to the far right and used in curious ways: some were found among the demonstrators throwing Molotov cocktails at the police; others were on the other side, grenades in hand, right next to the police in uniform. Their deployment was so obvious that a commissioner was asked about these "reinforcements" and transmitted a report to his superiors asking about these "unofficial teams."

And we recall the existence of a mysterious panel truck that was said to have been supplying the demon-

strators with cocktails and various other projectiles. Marcellin accuses the Ligue of having used this vehicle. But his cops know full well (since they had the Ligue's office under surveillance for a whole day before the demonstration) that there was no panel truck shuttling between the headquarters and the Latin Quarter.

If Marcellin (in agreement with *Ordre Nouveau*?) wanted to use the fascist meeting as an excuse to dissolve the Ligue, then he succeeded. But that does not throw us off the track. Any revolutionary organization really struggling in action against the bourgeois state or its auxiliary gangs is an organization on reprieve that must know that it is risking its existence. Moreover, Marcellin knows perfectly well that the dissolution of the Ligue does not mean that its militants will put an end to their activity or cease spreading their ideas.

But if, on the other hand, Marcellin believed that his machinations would strengthen the fascistized wing among the police and weaken the (majority) "democratic" tendency within them, then he failed completely. The impression of the police in operation at the Rue Monge that they had fallen into a trap can only intensify their unease and increase their defiance of their

ministers. As for the far-right leaflet handed out in certain precincts calling on the police to go on strike, it got hardly any response. Monatte's union federation has things well in hand.

Finally, a third point. The results of Marcellin's operation have not met with unanimity within the Council of Ministers. Some center ministers (like Stasi) and some UDR [Union des Démocrates pour la République—Union of Democrats for the Republic, the Gaullist party] ministers (e.g., Taittinger, minister of justice) have stated their disagreement. In fact, occurring as they do at the moment that subtle regroupments are going on among the right, the center opposition, and the center-right—speeded up by Pompidou's illness—Marcellin-the-cop's crude blunders are having a bad effect.

In any case, too many disturbing elements are piling up around the events of June 21 for us to be satisfied. The editorial board of *Rouge* has decided, with the assistance of some well-known personalities, to constitute a commission of inquiry. And if this commission of inquiry confirms the hypothesis that there was a plot on June 21, will Marcellin be hauled into court for violation of the "anti-wrecker" law? We shall soon see.

Fascist Violence Goes On--Portuguese Immigrant Worker Murdered

[When the government banned the Ligue, it also dissolved the fascist organization *Ordre Nouveau*. But it was widely recognized that *Ordre Nouveau*—or at least the elements represented within it—would continue to enjoy their special relationship with the police, a relationship that was central in creating the violent clashes of June 21.

[And as expected, racist and fascist provocations have continued, as have police measures against those suspected of opposition to the far right. *Rouge* describes a few such incidents in the three articles below.]

* * *

His name was Fernando Ramos; he was thirty years old; he was a mason. He was guilty of being a Portuguese, one of the immigrants against whom *Ordre Nouveau* was campaigning.

One night, at about 10:00, three men leaped out of a car and jumped him. That was near Issy-Vitry; his body was later found in the Seine.

"It's nothing but an isolated fact," some say; "there's nothing political behind it." Coincidence? In the same area immigrants had been attacked on several occasions; and—one hour earlier—an Algerian worker had been beaten up by these same youths with "white shirts and short hair."

Who would dare say that this had something to do with the poisonous racist campaign being waged by *Ordre Nouveau*?

* * *

Today the fascist groups are at an experimental stage, but they will not remain there. As soon as they feel strong enough, they move to take on the workers organizations as a whole.

In spite of the dissolution of *Ordre Nouveau*, a fascist commando group attacked a CP festival at Clamart. Thirty to forty gangsters came after the participants on Saturday night, assaulting them with iron bars. Twelve persons had to be taken to the hospital at Clamart. And to this day, there has been no real prosecution of *Ordre Nouveau*.

After all, the *Ordre Nouveau* goons did not do anything other than what the CDR [Comités de Défense de la République—Committees to Defend the Republic] did in Lille or in Hirson, where the Communist militants Lanvin and Labroche were murdered. This "affinity" has moreover been recognized by *Minute* [*Ordre Nouveau*'s newspaper] whose editor in chief paid this homage:

"To all the *Ordre Nouveau* militants, who for years have represented courage against indifference in this weakened country" and "to the CDR, from whose politics we have often been divided but which had the honesty to publish one of the few communiqués that were favorable to us."

Broadly speaking, the fascists and the CDR have had some small disputes. Notably on the war in Algeria. But they are both ready to get together again in the defense of the West and of Capital against the workers movement.

* * *

On Saturday night, the director of the Ecole Normale Supérieure [ENS] on the Rue d'Ulm got an anonymous telephone call: A barbecue planned for that night at the ENS was going to serve as a "camouflaged meeting" of the dissolved Ligue Communiste. A column of CRS [Compagnies Républicaines de Sécurité—Republican Security Companies, the "riot" police] took up positions on the Rue Claude-Bernard, just above the Rue d'Ulm; there were ten trucks.

The director signed a requisition order authorizing the CRS to enter the school: About 100 CRS troops would thus run identity checks on the participants at the barbecue.

No way!

Even in May '68, the morning after the night of the barricades, the police did not enter Ulm.

Is Marcellin still hungry? Is his machination still on? He hasn't got

much of a leg to stand on; everybody, including *La Nation* [Gaullist magazine], acknowledged the fascist character of the Ordre Nouveau meeting.

In order to justify the brutality of his measures, Marcellin needs fresh

concrete facts and is trying to dredge some up so as to fatten up the dossier.

And each new attempt turns against him. The Clamart and Ulm affairs are only the latest; we can be sure that we will see others.

in the atmosphere. And it was understandable. When the CP is talking to democrats, it wants to make itself more democratic than they are. On the other hand, the moment it takes up the defense of a revolutionary organization — and thus risks admitting that there is some force to the left of itself — it has to present itself as a great revolutionary party.

We are here at the very heart of the contradiction. For it is for the same reasons that the CP still refuses to recognize the Ligue Communiste; it was for the same reasons that it denounced on a certain May Day the ultraleftist "wreckers" bringing up the rear of the march. Today, it asks that the Ligue be granted the right to exist. But the first thing that must be said is that *if the CP had not maintained its exclusion against the revolutionary groups and organizations, Marcellin could never have taken the risk of dissolving the Ligue!*

Finally, in relation to the July 4 meeting, we must return to an important political question. Several speakers referred to the Ligue's methods of action, which they do not share. By this they meant minority actions, which is what they consider the June 21 counterdemonstration to have been.

It must therefore be recalled once more that the Ligue, unlike the SP and the CFDT, had called on its members to demonstrate on June 20 [in an antirepression demonstration organized by the CP], because it believed that a mass response to the regime's hardening up was justified. The real questions must be asked of the organizers of the June 20 action and of those who abstained from it.

And if the June 20 action had taken place on June 21, as a response to the fascist provocation? If even the partial unity against repression that was manifested at the Cirque d'Hiver had been realized on June 21, the Ligue would probably not have been dissolved and neither Krivine nor Rousset would be in prison. But above all, the whole workers movement would have been alerted to the regime's utilization of the fascists. And it is not at all certain that the gangsters would have dared attack the CP festival at Clamart or would have murdered the Portuguese worker Fernando Ramos in Ivry.

These are the lessons that must be pondered. □

Lessons of the July 4 Solidarity Meeting

[On July 4 a mass meeting to protest the ban on the Ligue was held in Paris at the Cirque d'Hiver. (See *Intercontinental Press*, July 16, p. 851.)

It was sponsored by some twenty organizations that are affiliated to the Collectif pour la Défense des Libertés (Coalition for the Defense of Democratic Rights). Included among these organizations are the Communist party, the Socialist party, the CGT (Confédération Générale du Travail — General Confederation of Labor), the CFDT (Confédération Française Démocratique du Travail — French Democratic Confederation of Labor), the FEN (Fédération Nationale d'Enseignement — National Education Federation, the largest teachers union federation), and the PSU (Parti Socialiste Unifié — United Socialist party).

[The meeting was quite large, and in terms of its unity against the ban on the Ligue, it was politically significant. But the organizers of the meeting refused to let a leader of the ex-Ligue speak. Below, *Rouge* explains why and draws some lessons of the meeting.]

* * *

The first thing that must be said about the meeting of 10,000 persons who came to the Cirque d'Hiver in response to the call of the Collectif pour la Défense des Libertés is that it represented a stinging rebuke to Marcellin, a punishment for his main mistake.

Marcellin was counting on the divisions in the workers movement and hoped to exacerbate them. But the response was never so united, even if divisions still remain. Marcellin never expected this succession of speakers from the SP, the CP, the CGT, the CFDT, the FEN, the PSU, all taking up the defense of the dissolved Ligue and demanding the release of Alain Krivine.

Nevertheless, the CP held the line on one point: no member of the dis-

solved Ligue would be allowed to take the floor. That would have been to go beyond tolerable limits, to sanction the "ultraleftists" by handing them a platform.

Thus, the chairman of the meeting, Daniel Mayer, could be seen responding to those demanding "Let the Ligue speak" by claiming that unity of everyone was the only way to give the Ligue the floor. A curious logic; as though the workers movement could not grant speaking rights to its component parts simply by granting them the rostrum.

This contradiction can only increase both uneasiness and false perspectives. René Buhl, speaking of the Ligue in the name of the CGT, firmly declared: "We believe that this organization has the right to exist." Very good. But the problem within the workers movement still remains its full force: exist how? Economically weakened? As a poor relation? Silenced and paralyzed? To exist is to speak, to act, to demonstrate. You can't exist halfway. And if today the CP and the CGT recognize against the regime the dissolved Ligue's right to exist, then by all logic they must also recognize its members' right to be active in the workers movement. If not, this right of existence would remain a purely formal right, defended on this or that occasion but denied in practice.

L'Humanité, which reported on the Cirque d'Hiver meeting, felt this problem keenly. In presenting Jacques Duclos, it described him as a "prestigious revolutionary workers leader." Duclos himself began his speech this way: "Speaking in the name of the French Communist party, the great revolutionary party of our time, I raise a vigorous protest against the arrest of Alain Krivine and against the dissolution of the Ligue Communiste, although, as is known, we approve neither the politics nor the actions advocated by this group."

There was something revolutionary

International Campaign to Defend Ligue Communiste

British Groups Wage Defense Campaign

London

About 125 independent radicals and members of left-wing organisations attended a meeting in London July 4 to protest the banning of the Ligue Communiste and the imprisonment of two of its leaders.

The main speaker was Tariq Ali, a leader of the International Marxist Group (IMG), British section of the Fourth International, which had initiated the meeting as the first step in a British campaign to defend the Ligue.

Ali explained that the ban on the Ligue fitted into a Europe-wide pattern of attacks on far-left organisations by governments and right-wing groupings. These attacks are a threat to all working-class organisations and to democratic rights in general, he said. He appealed for the broadest unity in opposition to the ban. Already seven Labour members of Parliament have associated themselves with the call to defend the Ligue, including Eric Heffer, Norman Atkinson, Frank Alluan, Michael Foot, and Phillip Whitehead.

Bob Pennington, national secretary of the IMG, then outlined plans for building the campaign, including the circulation of a petition to obtain thousands of signatures, a demonstration in London July 7, and the collection of money to help the Ligue fight the ban. He stressed the need for the issue to be raised in trade-union branches.

During the discussion, it became clear that there was general agreement on the need to build a broad-based campaign involving all socialist and labour organisations and independent radicals.

Speaking from the floor, Monty Johnstone, a leader of the Communist party, made it clear that his party supported a broad united defence campaign, while not identifying with the policies and tactics of the Ligue Communiste. Other organisations represented included International Socialists, Workers' Fight, and the "Chartist"

grouping. The supporters of the left-wing paper *Militant* have also indicated that they will join the defence campaign. It was noted that the Socialist Labour League, an organisation claiming to be Trotskyist, has scheduled for July 8 its own demonstration protesting the ban.

The bourgeois press gave some coverage to the ban when the issue first broke, but a curtain of silence now appears to have dropped over events in France.

British left-wing newspapers that have given prominence to the issue include *Red Weekly* (of the IMG), *Workers Press* (Socialist Labour League), *Socialist Worker* (International Socialists), and *Tribune*, a paper of the Labour party's left wing.

An article in the July 6 issue of *Tribune* headed "Even police are disturbed by new blow to civil liberties" detailed the divisions within the police over the incidents of June 21 (see *Intercontinental Press*, July 9, p. 822), and quoted from Alain Krivine's appeal for support for the Ligue and from the statements of the French Communist party and Socialist party in response to his appeal. *Tribune* noted the wide support being given to the Ligue by many political parties, trade unions, and left organisations.

The July 7 issue of *Socialist Worker* characterised the ban on the Ligue Communiste as "a savage assault on political rights in France." It reported that the International Socialists had sent a telegram of protest to the French Embassy, demanding the immediate lifting of the ban and that IS would be supporting the July 7 demonstration called by the IMG. A former member of the Political Bureau of the Ligue Communiste, Gérard Vergeat, had told *Socialist Worker* in London that in attacking the revolutionary movement "the government was acting from weakness, not strength." *Socialist Worker's* summary of Vergeat's words said, in part:

"The revolutionary movement was growing in step with the massive out-

burst of militancy in recent months from workers, students, army conscripts and foreign workers.

"The strike movement against the employers and soaring inflation was no longer scattered and isolated but was co-ordinated and politically led.

"This movement, in which the Ligue had been deeply involved, had gone beyond the control of the parliamentary and reformist left organisations such as the Communist Party and the Socialists. Their inability to soak up discontent and act as safety valves for the ruling class was another cause of concern to the government."

A special supplement of *Red Weekly* issued July 6 reprinted an "Open Letter to President Pompidou," which is being circulated in Britain by the IMG for signatures. The letter reads:

"Dear M. President,

"We are writing to you to protest against the action of your government in 'dissolving' the Communist League.

"While many of us would not agree either with the politics or the actions of the Communist League, we should like to point out that the working class movement in Europe cannot afford to be neutral on the question of racism or fascism. It has suffered too much in the recent past in a number of countries of Europe at the hands of fascism to ignore the danger.

"We would therefore like to associate ourselves with the Socialist and Communist Parties, the C.G.T. and the C.F.D.T. and all other defenders of civil liberties in France, in urging you most strongly to withdraw the ban imposed on the Communist League and to order the release of its main leader, Alain Krivine."

The Open Letter is being circulated in Britain along with three other items: a letter signed by Tariq Ali and Robin Blackburn for the Political Committee of the International Marxist Group, calling for broad support inside the working-class movement for the defence campaign for the Ligue Communiste; a direct appeal for support by G. Vergeat, on behalf of the dis-

solved Ligue Communiste; and the following petition:

"We, the undersigned, are totally opposed to the ban imposed by the Pompidou regime in France on the Ligue Communiste (French section of the IVth International) and the imprisonment of its principal spokesman, Alain Krivine.

"We associate ourselves with the 20 organisations of the working class in France (including the Socialist Party, the Communist Party, and the two main union organisations, the CGT

and the CFDT) who have come out and opposed the actions of the Pompidou government.

"We demand: (i) The immediate and unconditional lifting of the ban imposed on the Communist League. (ii) The release of Alain Krivine and other members of the Communist League imprisoned by the French government."

The IMG hopes to obtain thousands of signatures to this petition, along with donations to aid the Ligue Communiste to fight against the ban. □

German Trotskyists Ask Solidarity With Ligue

[The following statement was issued June 29 by the Political Bureau of the Gruppe Internationale Marxisten (GIM—International Marxist Group), German section of the Fourth International. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Through a decision of the Council of Ministers June 28, the Ligue Communiste, French section of the Fourth International, was banned and "dissolved." What was the regime's pretext for this measure? How did the ban come about?

On June 21 the fascist organization Ordre Nouveau planned a rally in Paris "against the presence of 4 million North Africans and 400,000 Blacks in France." The entire revolutionary left of France agreed to unity in action to prevent this gathering from taking place. The Ligue Communiste, which had been in the front ranks of the antifascist struggle and had initiated all the important actions in this area, also stood in the forefront this time.

"Armed" with helmets, sticks, iron bars, and paving stones, 2,000 demonstrators gave Ordre Nouveau and the police—who were assigned to protect the fascist demonstration, which had been approved by the regime—their most difficult street battle since 1968.

The next day, June 22, the police searched, destroyed, and occupied for a time the Paris headquarters of the Ligue. Fifteen comrades were arrested, among them Pierre Rousset, a member of the Political Bureau. After the ban was decreed, Alain Krivine, the former

presidential candidate of the Ligue, was arrested and charged.

In the face of the wave of repression, all the French organizations of the revolutionary left have solidarized with the Ligue, which is the largest and most influential of the revolutionary-left organizations, having played an important role in all the large mobilizations of recent years (Burgos campaign in 1970, Overney in 1972, the election campaign of 1972, in which it received about 2 percent of the votes, the mass mobilization of high-school and college students against the Debré law in 1973).

As the Socialist party, the PSU [Parti Socialiste Unifié—United Socialist party], the FEN [Fédération d'Enseignement Nationale—National Education Federation], and the CFDT [Confédération Française Démocratique du Travail—French Democratic Confederation of Labor] declared their solidarity, the Communist party and its union federation, the CGT [Confédération Générale du Travail—Gen-

eral Confederation of Labor], felt compelled to join the solidarity front.

This solidarity movement is decisive in determining how far the regime will be able to carry its measures outlawing the Ligue. This will depend on the relationship of forces that the solidarity front can create in France. But it will also depend on whether it is possible to build a solidarity front on an international scale.

The sharpening of state repression is an international phenomenon, as we have learned in West Germany with the recent persecution of the KPD.* Today the Revolutionäre Marxistische Liga [Revolutionary Marxist League], the Swiss organization of the Fourth International, stands in a similar situation, threatened with being banned.

We must answer the international of the cops and the banks with the international solidarity of the working class and the revolutionary organizations!

Therefore we urge you to express your solidarity with the Ligue Communiste against the repression of the Pompidou regime:

- Send declarations of solidarity to the Ligue Communiste, 10 Impasse Guéméné, F-75 Paris 4.

- Send protest letters to Marcellin, the French minister of police.

- Join the GIM in building solidarity actions in Germany.

Down with the fascist plague!

Hands off the Ligue Communiste!

Free all the arrested comrades!

Free Krivine and Rousset!

*The Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands (Communist party of Germany), a Maoist group, was the target of police raids in May, just prior to Brezhnev's visit to West Germany. See *Intercontinental Press*, June 11, p. 705.

Frankfurt Mass Meeting Protests Ban

[Rallies and demonstrations in solidarity with the Ligue Communiste have occurred or are scheduled in many West German cities. On June 30, two days after the Ligue was banned, the Gruppe Internationale Marxisten (GIM—International Marxist Group), German section of the Fourth International, organized a demonstration of about 300 outside the French Embassy in Bad Godes-

berg.

[The largest demonstration so far occurred in West Berlin July 5. About 5,000 persons participated. Speakers included Rudi Dutschke and Daniel Cohn-Bendit. A July 5 press statement of the GIM notes that additional demonstrations were scheduled in Hamburg, Munich, Tübingen, Stuttgart, Freiburg, and other cities.

[More than 2,500 persons crowded

into a protest meeting in Frankfurt July 4, and several hundred others were unable to get into the university hall in which it was held. Speakers at this meeting included Dutschke, Cohn-Bendit, and Günter Minnerup of the GIM.

[A march scheduled to follow the meeting was attacked by police as it was forming up. The demonstrators regrouped in the city, where they were again attacked by police with tear gas, water cannons, and clubs. Many demonstrators were injured.

[We reprint below the resolution adopted unanimously at the Frankfurt meeting. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

The more than 2,500 participants — among them members of nearly all the various organizations and tendencies of the left — in the July 4 solidarity meeting with the Ligue Communiste, French section of the Fourth International, despite their political differences on other questions, declare their complete solidarity with the Ligue Communiste and protest the ban imposed by the French Council of Ministers and the persecution of the Ligue carried out in massive attacks by the state repressive apparatus.

This gathering demands:

Immediate lifting of the ban on the Ligue Communiste;

Immediate release of Alain Krivine and Pierre Rousset of the Political Bureau of the Ligue, and of all other arrested comrades;

Immediate end to all repressive measures, office occupations, house searches, confiscation of the organization's materials, and interference with publication and sale of *Rouge*, the newspaper of the Ligue Communiste.

The participants protest the government's cynical equation of the racist gang of thugs *Ordre Nouveau* with the Ligue Communiste, which fights against fascism and racism.

We affirm that the ban of the Ligue Communiste is an attack on the democratic rights of the workers movement as a whole, on its freedom of organization, its press freedom, and its freedom to demonstrate.

A few weeks before the banning of the Ligue Communiste the state apparatus in West Germany launched a massive attack on the Kommunist-



Part of crowd of 300 persons that marched on French embassy in Bonn June 30 to protest ban on Ligue Communiste. Demo was organized by German Trotskyists.

ische Partei Deutschlands (Rote Fahne) and other organizations. Brutal police invasions were used against the housing struggle and other progressive movements. In factories such as John Deere in Mannheim they attempted to break strikes by the attack of police and goon squads in the service of the employers. Particularly in Nordrhein-Westfalen, demonstrators were beaten in an effort to put through a de facto ban on all demonstrations.

The international repression must be opposed by the active international

solidarity of all progressive forces.

The participants in today's meeting in Frankfurt send their solidarity to the participants of the protest meeting against the ban on the Ligue Communiste, which is occurring simultaneously in Paris.

Down with the ban on the Ligue Communiste!

Freedom for Alain Krivine, Pierre Rousset, and all political prisoners!

Against the international of the cops and the banks: the international solidarity of the workers movement! □

Australian Protesters Picket French Offices

Sydney

Pickets were held outside French government and commercial offices in four Australian state capitals July 3 to demand that the French government lift its ban on the Ligue Communiste.

A picket was held in Sydney outside the French consulate in the heart of the city. Some thirty-five persons participated, including representatives from most of the city's left-wing organisations: the Socialist Workers

League (SWL) and Socialist Youth Alliance (SYA)—Australian sympathising groups of the Fourth International—the Communist League, the Socialist Labour League and the Young Socialists, and the Communist party of Australia.

A delegation including representatives of all the participating groups presented a joint statement to the consul and expressed their intention to build a broad campaign to press for the lifting of the ban. The picket con-

tinued for more than an hour during the evening rush hour. Placards carried by the demonstrators included: "Stop the Repression in France," "Lift the Ban on the Ligue Communiste," "Bombs in the Pacific, Repression at Home," and "Release Alain Krivine."

All in all, this action was a promising beginning. The wide united action shown by the left in the picket indicates a good basis for an ongoing campaign in Sydney.

In Melbourne some twenty persons demonstrated outside the French consulate. Several groups participated, in-

cluding the SWL, SYA, Communist League, and the Spartacus League. Jim McIlroy, an organiser of the action, was interviewed by the national government radio programme "PM." McIlroy explained to the interviewer from this popular programme what had happened to the Ligue Communiste, the need to have the ban lifted, and the role the Labor government should play in this campaign.

A small picket was held outside the Banque Nationale de Paris in Brisbane, and an action was also held in Adelaide. □

ternational fascist conference in Antwerp.

At the same time, it is beginning to place bans on the most determined and conscious sector of the workers movement—the revolutionary organizations, especially the Fourth International.

The simultaneous banning of the fascist movement *Ordre Nouveau* fools no one; it is an attempt to justify the claim that "the extremes are closely linked" and bolster each other.

The terrible historical experience of Nazism proves that it is capitalism in crisis that creates, nourishes, and develops the fascist grouplets as real armed bands against the workers and democratic movement.

The LRT launches an urgent call to all workers organizations, whatever their political differences, to form a united front for the defense of democratic rights. The attack against a part of the workers movement is an attack against the whole movement. □

Belgian Trotskyists Protest Ban

[The following statement appeared in the July 7 issue of *La Gauche*, weekly newspaper of the Belgian Trotskyists.]

* * *

The Political Bureau of the Ligue Révolutionnaire des Travailleurs [Revolutionary Workers League], Belgian section of the Fourth International, met on June 28, 1973, and declared that it vigorously protests against the ban on the Ligue Communiste, French section of the Fourth International, which was issued because of the role the Ligue has played in the antifascist struggle and more particularly because of its energetic action against the Nazi and racist meeting of *Ordre Nouveau*.

This antidemocratic measure is part of an offensive waged by the international bourgeoisie against the militants and sections of the Fourth International. This offensive includes:

Preventing the American Trotskyists of the Socialist Workers party from belonging to the Fourth International; using electronic bugs against the Ligue Marxiste Révolutionnaire [Revolutionary Marxist League], Swiss section of the FI; placing travel bans on several leaders of the International, among them Ernest Mandel, Livio Maitan, Tariq Ali, and Charles-André Udry.

This antidemocratic measure of the bourgeoisie, which is not even able to respect its own legality, testifies to the political and economic crisis of the capitalist system, especially in certain countries.

In face of this situation, in face of the workers struggles that are developing, the bourgeoisie is getting ready its weapons: setting up a mass fascist movement in Italy, reconstituting fascism in France, holding an in-

'Il Manifesto' in Solidarity With Ligue

[On July 3, the national assembly of the Italian far-left group *il Manifesto* (which publishes the daily newspaper of the same name), approved the following message, which was sent to the Ligue Communiste. The text appeared in the July 3 issue of *il Manifesto*. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Dear comrades,

Faced with repressive measures of the bourgeois regime, revolutionary organizations of all countries must naturally express their militant solidarity, for woe to us if at the time and in the cases that such measures come down, the ideological and political differences that divide organizations from one another allow them to lose sight of the common battle and the conviction that such unity must strive even to go beyond defense against the enemy's attacks; because these attacks are the easier to carry out, the more they are able to make use of the areas of division and reciprocal sectarianism of the revolutionary forces.

But we express our solidarity with you today for even more profound

and specific reasons.

The attack the Gaullist regime is now leveling at you is not accidental and will not remain an isolated thing. It is a sign of the regime's growing difficulties, of its fear of a large-scale recovery of the offensive capabilities of the masses, and of its concern that such an offensive thrust might trigger political initiatives and echoes outside the tightly controlled channels of bourgeois institutions and the traditional parties.

In Italy, we are quite familiar with things like this.

For three years the working class has waged a hard struggle that has thrown the system into crisis—and because of this, massive repressive counterattacks are always on the agenda; counterattacks that only the mass struggle has been able to repel up to now. So we know that the measures hitting you today are heavy ones that will create difficulties and require sacrifices; but we also know that in your support, aside from our own solidarity, there is a real movement in France, and not only in France, that can no longer be quashed.

Communist Greetings,
il Manifesto

Intercontinental Press

CNT Leadership Calls Off General Strike

By David Thorstad

The leadership of the outlawed Uruguayan union, the Convención Nacional de Trabajadores (CNT—Workers National Congress), on July 11 called off the general strike that had paralyzed the country for fifteen days. The 400,000-member CNT had called the strike to protest the June 27 decision of President Juan María Bordaberry, under intense pressure from the military, to abolish Congress. On June 30, Bordaberry banned the Communist-party-led CNT, but despite the arrest of a number of its leaders, its apparatus continued to function clandestinely.

The ending of the strike, which had become the focal point of opposition to the coup, was a victory for Bordaberry. While the unions had been demanding the release of all political prisoners and the restoration of democratic liberties, the government insisted that it had agreed to no conditions during its secret talks with leaders of the banned union federation.

Minister of the Interior Colonel Néstor Bolentini told reporters July 11 that the banning of the CNT was "irreversible." According to Marvin Howe, writing in the July 13 *New York Times*, "He also announced a new labor policy meant to make the unions nonpolitical. This implied the creation of a new labor organization that, according to Colonel Bolentini, 'will not be permitted to intervene in political questions that distort the true sense of union association.'"

A United Press International dispatch from Montevideo, published in the July 15 issue of the New York Spanish-language daily *El Diario-La Prensa*, reported Bolentini as saying July 13 that "some" jailed union and political figures had been freed. "According to responsible union sources," UPI said, "in spite of the illegal status of the CNT, government representatives continued [during the strike] to hold talks with its leaders, who had secretly agreed to return to work in exchange for the release of imprisoned union activists."

The CNT, reported Howe in a July

12 dispatch from Montevideo, "issued a glum communiqué last night calling off the strike and acknowledging that it 'has not achieved the desired victory.'"

"The battle must continue but it is necessary to change the form of strug-



BORDABERRY

gle,' the organization's leadership declared."

Many union militants reportedly opposed the confederation's order to return to work. One example of this was the militant workers at FUNSA (Fábrica Uruguaya de Neumáticos—Uruguayan Tire Factory), one of the biggest factories in the country. "FUNSA was closed yesterday, under military guard," according to a UPI report in the July 13 *El Diario*, "and according to a spokesman for the strikers, the workers will not return to work because the general secretary of the plant union, León Duarte, is still being held in jail."

There was reportedly considerable bitterness and frustration among workers over the decision of the CNT leadership to order the strikers back to work. Just a day earlier, the CNT had announced that its unions would stand firm "until Mr. Bordaberry falls."

"At first some of our companions went hungry but we were getting organized and were ready to hold out," one construction worker told Howe. He said that he did not understand

why the union leadership had given in.

The bitterness was shared by students, who were very active during the two weeks of confrontation with the government. Howe spoke to a group of medical students, whose union is affiliated to the CNT. "For two weeks," she wrote in the July 14 *New York Times*, "the students have been marching in peaceful demonstrations and distributing leaflets against the 'dictatorship,' and now that they have been ordered back to work by their union, they are showing disillusion, frustration and rage."

Bordaberry's strong-arm tactics against the strikers had not succeeded in forcing an end to the strike, the longest in the country's history. Police and troops repeatedly attempted to eject workers who had occupied their factories, only to find that the strikers would return to reoccupy them.

The first important confrontation with the military, according to a report in the July 6 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde*, came with a demonstration by several hundred women in Montevideo July 4.

"The women, who sang the national anthem on Constitution Square, were dispersed by tear-gas bombs hurled by soldiers dressed for combat. Bands of young people, for their part, threw Molotov cocktails at buses that were operating in spite of the general strike of indefinite duration called by the unions."

On July 8, an estimated 30,000 persons marched in an hour-long funeral cortege in Montevideo for Ramón Peré Bardier, a student who was shot in the back two days earlier by a military patrol while he was handing out leaflets denouncing Bordaberry. He was a member of the Communist Youth Union. The marchers, who from time to time raised clenched fists, sang the national anthem and chanted over and over the phrase "The tyrants must tremble."

That night, a Socialist high-school student, Walter Medina Delgado, was shot and killed by the police as he was painting antigovernment slogans on a wall. The Buenos Aires daily *La Opinión* reported July 11 that more than 50,000 persons took part in his funeral procession July 10.

In spite of the strict censorship of newspapers, radio, and other media,

and the restrictions placed on political parties, all of which made it difficult for Bordaberry's opponents to get their messages out, a number of large demonstrations such as these were held. "Even information about what is happening is lacking," Marvine Howe explained in a July 8 dispatch. "Several newspapers were closed by the Government for criticizing the closing of Congress. Others have been closed by the general strike.

"The strikers agreed to put out some newspapers yesterday—but because of the censorship those that were printed carried no news of the recent protest demonstrations by students and groups of women or of the official action to break up the strike."

On July 9, Bordaberry cracked down. His troops opened fire on a crowd, estimated at more than 25,000, that had converged on the center of the capital around 5:00 p.m., shouting "Down with the dictatorship!" and "United the people will never be conquered!" At least two persons were killed, twenty wounded, and 300 arrested.

As the demonstrators arrived in downtown Montevideo, where the march was to be held, they were met by a score of army tanks, trucks, and armored cars, Marvine Howe reported in the July 10 *New York Times*. Mounted policemen brandishing sabers charged the crowd, she said. "Other policemen fired tear gas and chased the demonstrators on foot, striking out at passers-by with their truncheons.

"As the demonstrators fled down side streets, they continued shouting, 'Down with the dictatorship.'

"Shopkeepers, holding handkerchiefs to their faces against the waves of tear gas, slammed down the metal shutters of their stores.

"As night fell, a helicopter patrolled the downtown area to watch for new demonstrations. Helmeted policemen cordoned off the main Independence Plaza in front of Government House and were seen striking those workers who dared approach."

Bordaberry also moved to crack down on the leaders of the political opposition, which is united in the Resistance Front. It consists of the National party; the Frente Amplio (Broad Front), a coalition of Socialists, Communists, and Christian Democrats; labor unions and student asso-

ciations; and even a faction of Bordaberry's own Colorado party, the Movimiento de Unidad y Reforma (Movement for Unity and Reform), headed by Jorge Batlle.

A number of the leaders of the opposition were arrested, including General Liber Seregni, the head of the Broad Front; he had participated in the July 9 demonstration.

Other opposition leaders who were under arrest by July 10 included Homar Murdoch, president of the National party; José P. Cardozo, leader of the Socialist party; General Victor Licandro and Colonel Carlos Zufriategui of the Broad Front; and six members of the dissolved Congress. Four of the latter were reportedly members of the National party, the country's largest political organization.

On July 5, the political opposition issued what it called "six bases for resolving the present situation." According to the July 6 issue of *La Opinión*, they were:

"1. Reestablishment of constitutional freedoms and guarantees, and the elimination of practices that are injurious to the human person.

"2. Reestablishment of the rights of political parties and union organizations.

"3. Restoration of the purchasing power of wages.

"4. Agreement on a minimum program for economic and social change.

"5. 'Dismissal' of Bordaberry, and the setting up of a provisional government.

"6. The immediate holding of a popular referendum."

Throughout the general strike, the approach taken by the opposition was one of appealing to allegedly dissident sectors of the armed forces to join the opposition and help overthrow Bordaberry. This strategy was reflected in the special appeal addressed to the "patriotic majority" of the armed forces by the CNT, stressing that the July 9 demonstration that was brutally broken up by troops was not directed against the armed forces.

"We will not turn out as enemies of the armed forces but will respect your aims, which have been violated by the dictatorship," the message said. The CNT offered to cooperate in the military's program for "national reconstruction."

Despite denials by the three comman-

ders in chief of the armed forces, rumors of divisions in the military persisted. The rumors were based on a number of things, including reports that the navy refused to participate in raids June 30 to dislodge workers who had occupied their factories. They were carried out by the police and the army.

After a few days of forcibly ejecting workers, the army itself reportedly changed its tactic. *La Opinión* reported July 7 that instead of lining the workers up against the wall and then forcing them out at gunpoint, troops began to hand out leaflets to the workers asserting that "the army has come here not as your enemies but, on the contrary, to lend its physical support to the freedom to work, thereby guaranteeing the personal and collective integrity of the workers, who have for so long been bearing up under the pressure and coercion of a central labor union that has no nationalist sense and is motivated only by instructions imported from abroad."

The disorienting and counterrevolutionary strategy of the CNT's Stalinist leadership, and of the political opposition, failed even to achieve the limited aim of removing Bordaberry.

With the end of the general strike, Bordaberry quickly moved to consolidate his control. He met July 11 with the country's mayors to work out details for "neighborhood councils" to replace the nineteen elected municipal councils that he abolished along with the Congress. He will select the members himself.

He is next expected to name members of a Council of State, which is to replace Congress. It is to be made up of "notables" who have no "active participation in politics." He announced that he intends henceforth to rule by decree. □

One-Track Mind

E. Howard Hunt, who pleaded guilty to conspiracy in the Watergate burglary and who carried out various other espionage operations for the Nixon gang, is also an author. He has just published his forty-eighth spy novel.

Hunt's latest literary effort is entitled *The Berlin Ending*. Its central character is a German politician whom reviewers have described as resembling Premier Willy Brandt. In Hunt's novel, however, the politician turns out to be a Soviet agent.

Class-Struggle Wing in Uruguayan CNT

[The following first-hand report from Uruguay was written during the early days of the general strike called by the now outlawed Convención Nacional de Trabajadores (CNT—National Workers Congress) following the dissolving of the Congress June 27 by President Juan María Bordaberry. The CNT is the main workers federation, and represents some 400,000 workers. It is led by the Communist party.]

[The article was published in the July 4-11 issue of *Avanzada Socialista*, the weekly newspaper of the Argentine Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers party). The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Various political tendencies exist side by side within the Uruguayan workers central union. We wanted to find out who they are and what they are thinking, and to get to know those in the opposition, those who in a generic sense might be called class-struggle tendencies because, like their counterparts in Argentina, they are defending trade-union democracy and the workers' determination to struggle.

Last year, a congress of rank-and-file delegates of the Uruguayan CNT was held. It brought together all the factory delegates, of whom 60 percent supported the positions of the CP, and 40 percent supported the opposition. Our Uruguayan compañeros of the PRT [Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores—Revolutionary Workers party] tell us that during the current year things have evolved favorably for the opposition.

In what follows, we will report on the discussions we had with this opposition.

FUNSA: Uruguay's SITRAC-SITRAM

It was the third day of the coup and general strike. At dusk, all movement in the streets ebbed away. It

was a real challenge to find a taxi in order to get to FUNSA [Fábrica Uruguaya de Neumáticos Sociedad Anónima—Uruguayan Tire Factory, Inc.]. The entire opposition was meeting at FUNSA, a rubber factory, at 6:00 p.m.

FUNSA has the kind of authority that allows it to play a pivotal role for the opposition. Just as the Argentine SITRAC-SITRAM [Sindicato de Trabajadores Concord-Sindicato de Trabajadores Materfer—Concord Workers Union/Materfer Workers Union] managed during 1971 to begin to centralize all the antibureaucratic currents (from Ongarism to the most revolutionary), FUNSA has earned the same right: It is the most important factory union controlled by the opposition.

The porter's office is controlled by a group of workers, behind whom is an old Spaniard who doesn't appear to understand very well what all the commotion is about. He is the regular doorman for the factory, and he has now been relieved of his functions.

We went in, and went up to a circle of people and introduced ourselves to León Duarte. He was in jail for several months because of his activity in the Resistencia Obrero Estudiantil [ROE—Worker-Student Resistance]. Duarte received us fraternally and organized a meeting so that we could talk to all the delegations that were present.

Strength and Weakness of the Opposition

The meeting was held in the administrative offices. We could see that the office workers were also taking part in the occupation, which was a surprise for us Argentines.

The compañeros were curious to know who we were, since we had gone to the trouble to interview them. We explained that we believed that the hundred workers leaders gathered there held in their hands the key to the situation in Uruguay, for a real turn in events would depend on their

deciding to organize themselves into a strong current and to adopt a class-struggle, revolutionary position with regard to the crisis.

When we made this statement, we had a misgiving in mind: Why was it that gathered here was at least 40 percent of the Uruguayan workers movement, whose leaders call themselves socialists and revolutionists and criticize the sellouts of the Communist party, and yet these compañeros had not been able, after three days of the strike, to get out even one general leaflet for the entire country and all the workers?

Positions of the Tendencies

The misgiving began to disappear as we listened to what the various tendencies had to say. Unfortunately, we could see that there is a long way to go to bring together a revolutionary current capable of challenging the leadership of the bureaucratic reformism of the Communist party.

We spoke first with a compañero from the Movimiento 26 de Marzo [March 26 Movement], which is a current that supports the Frente Amplio [Broad Front] of Liber Seregni. In response to various questions, he made clear that the factory occupations were decided upon as an administrative act by the Communist leadership of the CNT. Although he was critical of this method, the move itself struck him as correct. The big problem, he said, was that the CP—which has not come out with any position as a party—was giving it no political objective and was not standing behind the occupations. This, he added, would lead to an inevitable attrition. Nevertheless, a solution was now taking shape.

Following such a good analysis, we expected that at this point the compañero would pose organizing the revolutionary class-struggle sentiments of the workers into an independent force and leadership. We asked him what he saw as the solution. His answer was very disappointing: He explained that he would have to support the call just issued by Liber Seregni.*

*Seregni's statement, signed by the executive board of the Frente Amplio, boiled down to stating that Bordaberry had to go but that the military could stay. It did not call for replacing Bordaberry with

Next spoke the compañeros from Resistencia Obrero Estudiantil. These are very combative compañeros who have been evolving from old anarchist positions toward Marxism. They made a blistering critique of the organizational weaknesses in the way the general strike was being led. They have tried to make up for these weaknesses by putting out an informational bulletin, which receives a partial distribution.

They listed a series of steps that could be taken to strengthen and broaden the strike by involving new layers of the population. But when it came to the political question, they agreed with the four demands made on the government by the CNT. In other words, in practice, these compañeros, too, did not appear to agree with the idea that the workers movement, aside from its demands, is in a position to challenge the power of the bourgeoisie. Thus they focused on neither the appropriate objective nor tasks.

We then talked with compañeros representing plastics workers, dock workers, OODAE (confections and canning), General Electric, DELNE (electronics), Family Allowances (state employees), etc. In every case we noticed the same contradiction: On the one hand a critical attitude toward the CNT leadership, formulated with the correct arguments; but on the other hand a critical attitude toward the true capacities of the Uruguayan workers, which go far beyond their ability simply to paralyze the country, and include their ability to govern it.

Only the compañeros of the PRT posed the matter in this way: We must set the aim of this strike and of the struggle as beginning with the overthrow of Bordaberry and the coup-oriented military in order to bring about a provisional government of the CNT and the workers and people's political parties that will issue a call for a constituent general assembly.

a workers government. The struggle against the Bordaberry regime, it stated, was for the following goals: "a) restoration of parliamentary terms of office; b) removal of the dictator; c) general elections within the shortest possible time." —IP

This position was not discussed during the time we were there. At the moment, the minister of the interior is expected to issue some statement, and it is known that the military is discussing whether to call out tanks against the workers or to continue negotiations. The meeting had to be adjourned for elementary security reasons.

By this point, our misgivings had been confirmed. As we went out into the street, the old Spaniard at the door, true to his post, "searched" us—

Same Approach in 1955 as Today

Peron's History of Holding Back the Masses

[The following article was published in the June 20-27 issue of *Avanzada Socialista*, weekly newspaper of the Argentine Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers party). The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Many compañeros might be surprised that we are casting a pall over their joy at the return of Perón by recalling the way he fell from office eighteen years ago.

But the fact is that the two periods are identical in two ways: not only as far as the dates are concerned [Perón's downfall began in June 1955; he returned on June 20, 1973], but also with regard to the statements and appeals for harmony, peacefulness, and negotiation with the "opposition" parties of the oligarchy and imperialism.

On June 16, 1955, the Peronist movement began to lose control of the government, and it was removed three months later. The speeches of Perón at the time are very similar to those that Cámpora is making today, or to the statement of the Movimiento Nacional Justicialista [Justicialist National Movement, the Peronist movement] against the occupations. Then as now, the Peronists wanted to negotiate with the oligarchy and imperialism, and in order to do this, they tried to put a brake on the struggle of the workers. Eighteen years ago

in the midst of a factory that was occupied, controlled, and run by workers, the old boss regulation of checking on people as they exited persisted.

Much more serious is the fact that the worker and revolutionary vanguard of Uruguay is still without a big party that can lead the workers to power; their consciousness is still under the influence of many "regulations" of the bosses and the reformists. We have no doubt that the colossal battle that they are waging will help to get rid of them. □

this policy led to the fall of Perón and, subsequently, to the fierce revenge of the bosses and imperialism against the workers and the country. Now this same policy could lead to a similar disaster, although the Cámpora government does not realize it.

June 16

Since 1952 the Argentine economy had been in a process of serious deterioration. The period of the "fat kine" [time of plenty] had ended with the end of the world war, and with it our country's privileged situation as a producer of food products. It could then be seen that the six years of Peronist rule had not revolutionized the country but had only improved the situation of the workers thanks to favorable circumstances brought on by the war.

In 1952 the bosses began their campaign to take back part of what they had given up during the preceding years. In order to accomplish this, they began to pressure the government, as well as conspire against it.

Perón partially gave in to this pressure, as can be seen in the fact that real wages decreased by more than 20 percent between 1948 and 1954.

On the other hand, North American imperialism launched an assault on the country. Here, too, the government began to give in. In 1950, Cereijo traveled to the United States and, after drawn-out negotiations, obtained a loan of almost \$100 million.

In exchange, a law was signed on foreign investments that allowed North American firms—none of which were nationalized under Peronist rule—to take out of Argentina up to 5 percent of their recorded capital annually; negotiations also began on granting Standard Oil drilling rights in Santa Cruz.

But imperialism wanted much more than these concessions. And so it is that while it was negotiating with Perón, as well as with the bosses, it was also laying the groundwork for the military coup.

The great ally of the bosses and imperialism was the church. The priests, with their support from the middle class—which was bitter over the economic situation and traditionally opposed Perón because of the dictatorial nature of his government—organized street demonstrations and declared political war. The army, navy, and air force began to seethe with ferment about a possible coup.

It was in these circumstances that a sector of the navy rose up on June 16, 1955, and took over Ezeiza [airport], the Naval Machine School, and the naval yards. Some of the insurgent troops posted themselves in front of the government house. At noon, three Glenn Martin and Catalina airplanes flew over the Plaza de Mayo and bombed it. One bomb fell right on the government house. Another exploded on a trolley bus full of passengers; it turned onto its side, dumping its load of wounded and dead onto the pavement.

There were repeated air attacks. The last one came at 6:00 p.m., but the rebels, who did not win the support of the other branches of the armed forces, were repressed. Thirty-eight airplanes left for Uruguay; on board one of them was one of the civilian chiefs of the whole motley crew, the Radical Miguel Angel Zavala Ortiz.

In spite of the fact that the coup was defeated militarily, it was a complete triumph politically. The government came out of it weakened, while the number of its opponents had grown: All the opposing forces needed to do was better coordinate their social, political, and military forces. The navy attempt failed because it reflected exclusively those interests favoring a coup who were the most pro-Yankee, and they attempted to go it alone.

Perón's response to the coup completely disarmed the workers and prevented any possibility of the workers defending themselves. In place of appealing to them and their organization to struggle—even though they were the only national sector that was prepared to lay it on the line for Perón—he made his famous "pacification" speech. In the name of this concept, he permitted the forces of reaction to commit the worst outrages.

In fact, on June 16 itself, Perón spoke in order to praise the army and to say that, thanks to it, the situation had been saved: "All the generals of the republic, the commanding officers, officers, noncommissioned officers, and soldiers have demonstrated that they can brilliantly carry out their duty. . . ."

Who were these generals? Aramburu, Lagos, Videla Balaguer, Uranga, Bengoa, to name a few. Precisely the same ones who three months later overthrew him.

Perón called for faith in the executioners. And not only this, but he called for people to remain calm, not to get organized, not to defend themselves. Following Perón spoke Di Pietro, assistant secretary of the CGT [Confederación General del Trabajo—General Confederation of Labor], who said the following: ". . . the CGT strongly urges all the workers . . . to keep the necessary calm, and to do this in the venerated memory of Eva Perón. . . . I want to render our emotion-filled homage to the glorious Argentine army, which, by merging with the people, has defended it like a great man protecting a child. . . ."

And just so that there can be no doubt that the workers, rather than organize for struggle, had to passively place their faith in the military, the "saviors of the homeland," Di Pietro then read the following resolution: "The CGT has prepared a general stoppage of all activity tomorrow as a sign of grief. This strike, compañeros, must be quietly observed in our own homes. . . ."

A sector of the Peronist movement itself, together with worker and revolutionary militants, ignored this pacification order. They went out into the streets to demonstrate, and this resulted in churches being set on fire.

Then Perón accused the "Communists." (Now the reference is to "Trotskyists," but the purpose is the

same.) On June 19 [1955], Perón, while speaking to the staff of the union bureaucracy in the CGT, made accusations against the "Communists," called for "more and better work," and again praised the army. A few days later, he offered all the parties radio time and newspaper space to state their positions and to begin a dialogue aimed at reaching an agreement with them.

Three Months Later, the Fall

Thanks to the paralysis of the workers, who were held back by the union bureaucracy on orders from Perón, the anti-Perón forces continued to grow stronger and stronger. The plotting was done openly, and the only response of the Peronist movement was to increasingly praise the army that was to overthrow it.

From that point on, the collapse was very simple. Perón, in spite of the backing of the working class, fell from power in a pitiful fashion.

At the end of August, Perón made his last "peace offer"—his resignation in return for negotiations. The opposition ignored it: It wanted to completely destroy him. A few days later it happened.

For a few days, beginning September 16, sectors of the military in the interior rebelled. They were relatively small forces, but the government was paralyzed. The last measure it took was to decree a curfew; that is, it placed a ban on the workers themselves taking to the streets to struggle and defend themselves. Perón wanted to work everything out between the top political and military cliques. From that point on, no settlement was possible. And thus began the new, "liberated" era. □

Conspiracy Foiled

Six marines stationed on a U.S. base in Japan were arrested July 4 for distributing "unauthorized pamphlets" on the base. The pamphlets in question consisted of excerpts from the U.S. Declaration of Independence.

A spokesman at the base said that the pamphlets were "considered by the command to be advocating overthrow of the government."

The six men have been released, but are still "under investigation." Presumably they will be indicted for participation in a "conspiracy" led by George Washington and Thomas Jefferson.

Firemen, Electrical Workers Strike

San Juan

"We will return to work when the government does us justice," said Vicente Meléndez Borges, president of the Puerto Rican United Firemen's Union, as he urged his members July 11 to remain on strike.

These words reflected the feelings of thousands of workers throughout Puerto Rico as a major strike wave swept the island. Anger mounted when Governor Rafael Hernández Colón mobilized the National Guard against striking firemen and water and electrical workers.

The National Guard took over the operation of fire-fighting facilities, and occupied installations of the government-owned electrical company, hard hit by the strike begun July 5 by the 7,000-member Electrical Workers Union. Much of the island was left without electricity or running water.

A major confrontation occurred July 7. The National Guard, attempting to break through picket lines at the main firehouse in Santurce, fired shots and tear gas, injuring several people.

The 1,350 striking firemen defied a court order July 10 to end their strike, already into its eighth day, and union leaders went into hiding to avoid being served with contempt-of-court citations.

The firemen and water and electrical workers, along with sanitation workers who struck at the beginning of July, were demanding major improvements in working conditions, a shorter workweek, and higher pay.

A united labor march and rally, estimated to number 15,000 workers, was held July 11 in San Juan to protest the governor's use of the National Guard. Called by the *Movimiento Obrero Unido* (MOU—United Workers Movement), the action was sponsored by nearly sixty unions. The demonstrators marched from the strike-bound Corona Brewery in Santurce to a rally point one block from the governor's mansion, taking over all four lanes on Ponce de León Avenue, one of San Juan's main thoroughfares, during the greater part of the march. Among the participants

were Pedro Grant, coordinator of MOU and secretary-treasurer of the Boilermakers Union; Vicente Meléndez Borges, president of the United Firemen's Union; Francisco Delgado Reyes, president of the Electrical Workers Union (UIPICE); leaders of the Teamsters, Factory Operators, Teachers, Artists, Entertainment Technicians and Telephone Workers unions; Carlos Gallisá, attorney for the Firemen; a Puerto Rican Independence party (PIP) representative to the House; Rubén Berrios, PIP president and member of the Senate; and Juan Mari Brás, secretary-general of the Puerto Rican Socialist party.

Although a military helicopter flew over the crowd, there was no police interference with the demonstration.

During the rally, Pedro Grant scored Félix Morales Evaristo Toledo, president of the Union of Heavy Equipment Workers and of the Congress of Industrial Unions, for his support of the governor's call-up of the National Guard. Other speakers were Ramón Reyes, vice-president of the United Firemen's Union; M. Pagán, secretary-treasurer of the Teamsters; Ernesto Díaz, president of local 610 of the Foodworkers Union; Victor Guillermo Fernández, a leading member of the Rio Piedros chapter of UTIER (Unión de Trabajadores de la Industria Eléctrica y Riego—Electrical and Irrigation Workers Union); María Casado, president of the Telephone Workers Union; and Cándido Garsillá, president of the Taxi Workers Union.

Meanwhile, various meetings were held between workers and government representatives with no apparent results.

However, in a separate move the governor's office announced its intention to order for the firemen new trucks to replace those ten years old, new security equipment, and three new auto-trucks for the fire-fighting fleet. The governor claimed the agreement was a result of talks between the fire chief and the government personnel director, and was not due to the strike. In addition, Ernesto Ramos Yordán,

Speaker of the House, proposed that a special commission be set up within fifteen days to study the wage demands of the firemen and to report back to the governor within three months.

At a meeting held July 12, addressed by Pedro Grant; Angel M. Agosto, labor affairs secretary of the Puerto Rican Socialist party; and firemen's attorney Carlos Gallisá, the firemen voted to accept the proposals, interpreted by Gallisá as a partial victory for the union.

The eight-day sanitation workers strike in San Juan was settled July 9.

When news reached the striking electrical and water workers July 10 of a secret settlement made with Governor Hernández Colón behind the back of the negotiating committee by UTIER President Juan G. Morero, irate workers massed in front of the union's national office demanding Morero's resignation and resumption of the strike. The State Council, the union's leading body, soon afterward repudiated the agreement and announced the strike would go on. The morning of July 11, Morero and his supporters ordered picket lines to disband and strikers to return to work under threat of losing their jobs. That night, the State Council voted to accept an agreement, which apparently was larger than that first announced by Morero.

The workers gained a company-paid dental plan; 7 percent of the yearly salary as a bonus; increases in overtime rates and meal allowances; special compensation for line-men working under hazardous conditions; and increases of various insurance benefits.

The break in the strike leadership confused UTIER workers and led to their return to work without winning many of their demands, in particular the demand for payment of social security contributions by the employer instead of by the workers. Local UTIER leaders, especially in the powerful Rio Piedras chapter, vowed to continue the fight against Morero and to call for a special convention to press for his resignation. They feel that the strike, the first in the union's thirty-three year history, has taught the workers many lessons that will be of use in next year's wage negotiations with the employers. □

Nixon's Defense Team Fumbles Its Assignment

By Allen Myers

After two Nixon loyalists had completed their testimony before the Senate Watergate committee July 10-13, Nixon must have begun wondering who is going to protect him from his defenders.

The only witnesses heard during the week were John Mitchell, former attorney general and director of the Committee to Re-elect the President (CREEP), and White House special counsel Richard Moore. Both men denied that Nixon was in any way involved in the Watergate cover-up, but their denials were singularly unconvincing.

Mitchell's testimony in particular pictured Nixon as being deliberately blind, moving the *New York Times* to comment in a July 14 editorial:

"The White House defense platoon is only convicting itself and its leader of incompetence, an incompetence too dangerous to be contemplated in comfort. If Mr. Nixon really knew and cared so little about what trusted men were doing in his shadow, there are two possible conclusions. One is that Mr. Nixon's political skill and sense of responsibility were inadequate to the demands of leading a powerful government. The more plausible conclusion is that Mr. Nixon simply did not want to know."

Mitchell's testimony generally followed the outlines that had been predicted. He admitted having been present at three meetings during which an espionage and sabotage plan developed by Watergate conspirator Gordon Liddy was discussed. But in contrast to other witnesses, who testified that Mitchell raised only partial objections to the plan and eventually approved it, Mitchell claimed that he "rejected" the Liddy proposals every time they were raised. This left him somewhat at a loss in trying to explain to the committee why Liddy produced new versions of the plan and eventually carried it out.

Mitchell also admitted participating in the cover-up after the Watergate burglars were arrested on June 17,

1972. He did so, he said, in order to prevent disclosure of "White House horror stories" such as the burglary of Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist's office, because such disclosure would hurt Nixon's reelection campaign.

Mitchell claimed that he had only one conversation about Watergate with Nixon, on June 20, supposedly before Mitchell himself knew what was involved. This testimony aroused considerable skepticism in view of Mitchell's close relations with Nixon.

Moreover, in attempting to portray Nixon as a complete innocent,



MOORE: The best defense is a poor memory.

Mitchell inadvertently undermined one of Nixon's later defenses. Mitchell vigorously denied that Nixon had asked him about his involvement in the cover-up during a meeting on March 22 of this year. Senator Lowell Weicker then pointed out that this was a peculiar omission in view of Nixon's April 17 statement that "On March 21, as a result of serious charges which came to my atten-

tion . . . I began intensive new inquiries into this whole matter."

Weicker: "But we knew from the president's own statement that on the day before, new inquiries were made into the whole matter. And here he had standing before him the following day the head of the Committee to Re-elect the President. Were any inquiries made at all of the former head of the Committee to Re-elect the President?"

Mitchell: "No, sir, the conversations were just as I have reported them."

Weicker: "So in effect, no inquiry, even though the president stated that new inquiries were being made, no inquiry was being made of you by this particular group of gentlemen, either the president or Mr. Haldeman or Mr. Ehrlichman or Mr. Dean, in that room at that time?"

Mitchell: "There was no discussion, Senator."

On other subjects, Mitchell denied everything of which there was not already overwhelming evidence. He contradicted, for example, John Dean's testimony that a campaign official had made illegal contacts with Judge Charles Richey, who was hearing the Democratic party suit against CREEP.

However, Mitchell's appointment calendar shows that during August and September 1972, he met at least ten times with the official in question, H. Roemer McPhee, who was general counsel to the Republican National Finance Committee. Since the finance committee and CREEP were organizationally independent, and Mitchell had no responsibility for fund raising, it would have been appropriate to ask Mitchell just what he did discuss with McPhee. The senators, however, neglected to question Mitchell about this subject.

By the conclusion of his testimony, Mitchell appeared to have convinced the committee that he is a liar, but had made little other impression. Chief counsel Samuel Dash finished off his questioning by telling Mitchell:

"... in order to believe your testimony, you would have to disbelieve Mr. Magruder, Mr. Sloan, Mr. McCord, Mr. Reisner, Mr. Stans, and in some respects, Mr. Dean."

The next witness, Moore, was only peripherally involved with Watergate, but he was equally convinced of Nixon's innocence. But he was obviously so confused and forgetful that it would be difficult to credit his testimony on any subject. Moore couldn't remember the difference between H.R. Haldeman and John Ehrlichman, Nixon's top two aides. He couldn't remember what he had told the committee staff at earlier interviews, including one only a few hours before he began his testimony.

At one point, under questioning about a previous answer he had given, the flustered Moore replied, "I'll let the answer stand, whatever it is."

Moore had been called at that point in the hearings at the request of presidential counsel Leonard Garment. The Nixon gang apparently expected him to be a powerful witness in Nixon's defense. If Moore is the most convincing witness they can find, Nixon is in serious trouble.

Moore's testimony was considerably overshadowed by the developing dispute between Nixon and the Ervin committee as to how much of the evidence against him Nixon will be allowed to conceal.

The disagreement has been expressed in terms of "executive privilege" and "separation of powers," with Nixon contending that the U. S. Constitution prohibits him from testifying before the committee or giving it access to White House papers.

The committee has agreed not to try to force Nixon to testify, but even Republican Senator Edward Gurney, Nixon's most faithful supporter on the committee, said he thinks the panel should get whatever relevant documents it wants. Sam Ervin, during his questioning of Mitchell, offered his opinion that nothing in the Constitution required Nixon to run for reelection or to conceal crimes, and that therefore the doctrine of executive privilege did not apply.

On July 12, Ervin announced that Nixon had agreed to meet with him in an effort to avoid a "constitutional confrontation," but the scheduled meeting was delayed indefinitely when Nix-



ERVIN: Constitution doesn't require Nixon to conceal crimes.

on was hospitalized that night with viral pneumonia.

Among the documents reportedly sought by the committee are news summaries prepared for Nixon by his staff and papers concerning the purchase of his Florida and California estates.

While it remains to be seen how much Nixon will be able to withhold

from the Ervin committee, new evidence implicating him has been provided from another source.

John M. Crewdson reported in the July 13 *New York Times* that the former attorney for four of the Watergate burglars has told assistants to special prosecutor Archibald Cox that his clients pleaded guilty in the January 1973 trial because they were promised money and executive clemency.

The attorney, Henry Rothblatt, reportedly said that the four—Bernard Barker, Frank Sturgis, Eugenio Martinez, and Virgilio Gonzalez—were offered a "package deal" that required them to plead guilty and remain silent. In return, they were to receive \$1,000 a month while in prison, executive clemency after "a little less than a year," and "rehabilitation" when they were released.

The promises to the four were said to have been carried by E. Howard Hunt, who also pleaded guilty. Hunt and his wife, who was killed in an airplane crash last December, are known to have received large sums of money from CREEP for distribution to the other burglars.

Rothblatt's reported testimony would tend to confirm John Dean's story before the Senate committee. Dean said he had sent messages to James McCord offering him executive clemency because he knew that it had already been promised to Hunt and the others. Dean also testified that Nixon admitted having authorized the promises. □

Did Provocateur Fire on National Guard?

New Light Shed on Kent State Massacre

The Kent State massacre of May 1970 may have been touched off by an FBI provocateur, according to new information coming to light as a by-product of the Watergate scandal.

Four students died at the Ohio university campus on May 4, 1970, when National Guard troops opened fire on students protesting Nixon's invasion of Cambodia. Some of the Guardsmen later claimed that they had been fired on by a sniper immediately before they opened up on the students, but no evidence was ever produced to support this claim.

Nationwide revulsion at the brutal murders contributed to the massive antiwar upsurge of May 1970 and forced the Nixon administration to promise at least token action against those involved. As late as July 29, 1970, for example, John Mitchell, then attorney general, publicly stated that an investigation had uncovered "apparent violations of federal law." Mitchell promised that if Ohio authorities did not take action, the federal government would do so.

The Ohio grand jury that was convened, however, conducted a witch-

hunt against the students rather than an investigation of the murders. Twenty-five students were indicted, but the indictments were later thrown out by a higher court.

Both Mitchell and his successor as attorney general, Richard Kleindienst, refused to convene the promised federal grand jury. In the three years since the murders, the Nixon administration has ignored requests from the victims' parents and a petition signed by 50,000 persons. A lawsuit filed by the parents has so far been unsuccessful.

The Nixon gang has also refused to make public—or even to provide to members of Congress—the report of the FBI's investigation of the killings. On May 23 of this year, Robert Murphy, the head of the criminal division of the Justice Department, wrote to a student who had offered new evidence in the case that his information "did not warrant a change" in the Justice Department's refusal to call a grand jury. Murphy's letter was written before he had seen the offered material.

But the explosion of the Watergate cover-up has prompted the press and a few members of Congress to take a look at what the Nixon administration is covering up in regard to Kent State. As Trudy Rubin reported in the June 19 *Christian Science Monitor*:

"This [congressional] interest stems in large part from growing skepticism among some congressmen as to the political neutrality of the [Justice] department under Attorneys General John N. Mitchell and Richard G. Kleindienst, in the wake of testimony during the Watergate hearings."

During hearings on the confirmation of Clarence M. Kelley as the new director of the FBI, Senator Birch Bayh of Indiana asked Kelley to look into the role played in the massacre by a mysterious figure named Terrence Norman.

Rubin reported July 11 that two witnesses at Kent State have said that Norman told them he was working for the FBI and that they saw him carrying a pistol immediately after the National Guard opened fire.

The two witnesses are Michael Delaney, a member of the National Guard at the time and now a public relations officer for the American Bankers Association, and Fred DeBrine, a television newscaster.

"Mr. Delaney . . . said in a telephone interview," Rubin wrote, "that he first saw Mr. Norman when the young man approached him for press credentials as a photographer on the day of the shootings. Mr. Norman was registered as a part-time student at the time. Mr. Delaney said he refused to give the credentials until Mr. Norman returned with a man whom Mr. Delaney recognized as a member of the campus security force. According to Mr. Delaney, the security officer told Mr. Delaney that the youth needed credentials because he was 'shooting pictures under contract for the FBI' and 'had done it on other campuses.'"



MITCHELL: Another cover-up.

"Mr. Delaney said he next saw Mr. Norman running down Blanket Hill, the scene of the shooting, immediately after the fusillade, holding a pistol. Mr. Delaney says, 'When I got over to him he said, "I had to shoot. They were going to kill me."' Mr. Delaney says he took the pistol and gave it to a campus policeman, and the latter exclaimed, 'My God, it's been fired.'"

Delaney's story is confirmed by DeBrine, who says that Norman several times told him that he was working for the FBI. DeBrine also saw Norman carrying the pistol.

Delaney and DeBrine were not called by the Ohio grand jury, nor were they ever interviewed by the FBI, even

though Delaney spoke to an agent and gave him his name and address. Norman has since disappeared.

Photographers, even those employed by the FBI, do not normally carry pistols if their only assignment is photography. If, as it appears, Norman was employed as a provocateur, did he fire on the National Guard, thus touching off the massacre?

This supposition would conform to other known instances of provocation by Nixon's secret agents during this period. It is known, for example, that FBI provocateur Larry Grathwohl, who reported directly to high officials in the Justice Department, infiltrated the Weathermen and organized a series of bombings in 1969-70. (See *Intercontinental Press*, May 28, 1973, p. 611.)

Another example from this period is that of Thomas Tongyai, an FBI agent better known as "Tommy the Traveler." Posing as a member of SDS, Tongyai attempted to interest antiwar students in making bombs. In early 1970, he regularly instructed students at one college in the use of an M-1 rifle.

In the days immediately after the Kent massacre, Charles Grimm, a student at the University of Alabama employed by the FBI, attempted on several occasions to provoke riots by throwing Molotov cocktails into the street and by throwing rocks and other objects at cops on the campus. When these objects were thrown, the cops responded by arresting a large number of students. But it is obvious that the response could just as easily have imitated that of the National Guard at Kent.

There are numerous other examples of provocations against the antiwar movement and the left, usually carried out by employees of the FBI. The testimony before the Senate Watergate committee, and the exposure of Nixon's 1970 secret spy plan, make it clear that the Nixon gang considered such tactics perfectly acceptable against the antiwar movement.

Delaney and DeBrine's testimony is thus backed by a wealth of circumstantial evidence. And as with Watergate, the evidence points toward the highest levels of the White House as being ultimately responsible for approving the crime and its cover-up. □

Outcry in Britain Protests London-Lisbon Alliance

London

"This obscene savagery . . . has no parallel . . . since the days of the Nazi massacres."

With these words, Opposition leader Harold Wilson presented a motion in the House of Commons July 11 calling for the immediate cancellation of Portuguese Premier Marcello Caetano's scheduled visit to Britain. Caetano was due to arrive in London July 16 to participate in week-long celebrations of the 600-year-old treaty between Britain and Portugal, "Britain's oldest ally."

Wilson's move was motivated by the widespread revulsion throughout Britain following a front-page report in the prestigious *Times* of London, alleging massive indiscriminate slaughters of unarmed civilians in Mozambique by Portuguese troops, "for ghastliness each rivalling that of My Lai, in Vietnam."

The July 10 *Times* article asserted that Portuguese soldiers and security police shot, burned, beat, and mutilated more than 400 men, women, and children December 16, 1972, at Wiriyamu, a village in western Mozambique. The account lists the names of 133 victims, many of them infants, and says they were slaughtered because they helped FRELIMO (Frente de Libertação de Moçambique—Mozambique Liberation Front).

The report gave a detailed picture of the mass terror methods of the Portuguese army in Mozambique. "Following a bombardment, the soldiers who had been transported by helicopter invaded it [Wiriyamu] with ferocity. . . . [They] began ransacking the huts, and this was followed immediately by the massacre of the people.

"One group of soldiers got together a part of the people in a courtyard to shoot them. The villagers were forced to sit in two groups, the men on one side and the women on the other. . . . By means of a signal, a soldier indicated whom he wished, either man or woman.

"The indicated person stood up, separating himself from the group. The

soldier shot him. . . . Many children at the breast and on the backs of their mothers were shot at the same time as their mothers. . . .

"One woman called Vaina was invited to stand up. She had her child in her arms, a boy of nine months. The woman fell dead with a bullet shot. The child fell with his mother and sat by her. He cried desperately and a soldier advanced to stop him crying. He kicked the boy violently, destroying his head. 'Shut up, dog,' the soldier said.

"The prostrate child cried no more and the soldier returned with his boot covered with blood. His fellow soldiers acclaimed his deed with a round of applause. 'Well done, you are a brave man.' . . .

"Other soldiers, wandering about, forced people into their huts, which they then set alight, and the people were burnt to death inside them. Sometimes, before setting fire to the huts, they threw hand grenades inside which exploded over the victims. . . .

"Wandering about the village, the soldiers found a woman named Zostina, who was pregnant. They asked her the sex of the child inside her. 'I don't know,' she replied. 'You soon will,' they said. Immediately they opened her stomach with knives, violently extracting her entrails. Showing her the foetus, which throbbed convulsively, they said: 'Look, now you know.' Afterwards, the woman and child were consumed in the flames.

"Other soldiers amused themselves by grasping children by their feet and striking them on the ground. . . .

"Several officers of the Directorate-General of Security (DGS) accompanied the soldiers and were also involved in the killing. One of them, before killing, began sometimes by attacking the victims with his fists until they were exhausted. Then he gave them the finishing shot. . . .

". . . On the following day many corpses of adolescents and children from 11 to 15 years were found at the Nyantawatawa River. They could

be counted by tens. The bodies were totally mutilated.

"Some of them had been decapitated and others had had their heads smashed. The corpses were lying about in different positions. Some were piled up in mounds, others thrown aside, some side by side, the greater number scattered along the river. There were indications that there had been some ghastly game before the victims were massacred. There were no survivors to explain what happened."

Father Adrian Hastings, a lecturer on African affairs at the College of the Ascension in Birmingham and author of the *Times* article, said that in "carrying out the systematic genocidal massacre" of villages, the Portuguese security forces "feel free in the knowledge that there are no journalists for hundreds of miles and the victims know no European language; but the Spanish missionaries in the area obtained detailed information and themselves buried many of the victims."

Three Spanish missionaries expelled from Mozambique have stated, according to a July 11 *Washington Post* dispatch from Madrid, that two of their fellow priests had personally met survivors of the attack at Wiriyamu. Father Moure, one of the three declaring their confirmation of the Wiriyamu massacre, stated: "If no one believes our statements, let them ask the Bishop of Tete, Cesar Augusto, who flew over the area in a helicopter after the slaughter."

A few survivors of the massacre slipped away from the carnage and gave their story to some Burgos missionaries in the area, whose report, compiled in Madrid, was the source of Father Hastings's *Times* article.

Soon after the publication of this report, information about other massacres began to come to light, indicating that the Wiriyamu massacre was no isolated event but part of a systematic campaign of terror against the African population of Mozambique. Peter Niesewand, writing in the July 11 issue of the *Manchester Guardian*, relayed a documented account of massacres carried out in the Mucumbura

district of Tete Province that had been brought out of Mozambique by another priest, Father Luis Alfonso da Costa. Father da Costa's account mentions massacres of civilians in the villages of Kapinga and Catacha on May 7, 1971, Deveteve in September 1971, and Antonio in late 1971.

Niesewand writes that "at the time of the alleged massacres, thousands of Mozambique Africans fled across the border into neighbouring Malawi, and an estimated 5,000 set up camp in friendly villages.

"In interviews with journalists, several villagers said they were sympathetic to Frelimo and had fled to avoid ill-treatment [sic] by the Portuguese. In particular, they said the Portuguese soldiers had ordered mothers to pulp their children to death in 'ntondos'—large wooden pestles for grinding maize."

Two priests, Martin Hernandez and Alfonso Valverde, had attempted to publicise and protest the killings. They were arrested by the Portuguese authorities in Mozambique, and have been detained without trial in Lourenço Marques, the capital, for the past eighteen months. Similar reports of atrocities have been received from time to time by Amnesty International and the Tanzanian government.

The widespread use of terror methods by the Portuguese army indicates that the rural population is actively assisting the FRELIMO freedom fighters. The Portuguese army in Mozambique, now 60,000 strong, is unable to control most of the three northern provinces of Tete, Cabo Delgado, and Niassa, where the fighting first began in 1964. FRELIMO has opened a new front in the central province of Manica e Sofala in the last few months.

The July 11 Manchester *Guardian* reported that ". . . the guerrillas have appeared in strength in the central areas of the country for the first time this year in an effort to cut the road and rail links between Beira and the Rhodesian border. It is also known that the fighting has escalated sharply since the end of the Vietnam war and that Portugal's campaign to win over the local population in areas of Frelimo influence has not been as successful as has been claimed."

Portugal's problems are not confined to Mozambique. More than 150,000



CAETANO

Portuguese troops are now stationed in Angola, Guinea-Bissau, and Mozambique. For a relatively backward country like Portugal, where illiteracy runs as high as 40 percent and per capita income is only £120 per year, the burden of these colonial wars is becoming enormous. More than 50 percent of the Portuguese government's annual budget is now devoted to military expenditure.

The worldwide response to the Mozambique massacres could exacerbate still further the Portuguese regime's difficulties in clinging to its colonies. The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions has called from Brussels for an immediate United Nations investigation of the massacres.

Black Workers Threaten Strike

London Tightens Immigration Restrictions

London

"Black workers throughout Britain will be asked to come out on strike by immigrant organisations if the government does not repeal the retrospective parts of the 1971 Immigration Act. The aim would be to paralyse London Transport, Heathrow Airport,

In Britain, Portuguese government denials of the allegations, charging that they are part of "a visible campaign" to provoke "violence" on the eve of Premier Caetano's visit to London, have had little effect. Labour party leader Harold Wilson's House of Commons motion calling for cancellation of the Caetano visit was paralleled by a motion from Liberal party leader Jeremy Thorpe. Lord Caradon, former British ambassador to the United Nations, also supported the proposal. Even much of the bourgeois press joined the call to withdraw Caetano's invitation. The *Times* of London said Caetano should come to London only if he permits an outside inquiry into the alleged massacre. The *Daily Mirror* ran a big headline "This Man is Not Welcome" alongside a grim photo of Caetano. *The Sun* called him a "Massacre Premier" and declaimed, "Don't Let This Dictator Into Britain."

Despite the outcry in Britain, the Tory government of Edward Heath, one of Portugal's most consistent supporters, has refused to cancel the visit, or to seek any information or explanation about the reported massacres. The government claims it has no right to make any such request.

British and Portuguese security men have been planning extra precautions, including a strong personal bodyguard, for Caetano's visit.

A national demonstration against the visit and against the continued Portuguese wars in Africa is scheduled for July 15 in London. A developing movement of opposition to the Portuguese colonial wars will increasingly constrain the ability of the major imperialist powers to continue to bolster the Portuguese war effort through economic, political, and military assistance. □

British Rail, the Health Service and the textile industry," reported Derek Humphry in the June 24 issue of the London *Sunday Times*.

There are about 800,000 black workers from the Commonwealth in Britain. More than 100,000 work in transport, about 50,000 in textiles,

about 120,000 in engineering, 70,000 in construction industries, and 120,000 in the service industries.

The strike call was accepted almost unanimously at a national conference of immigrant organisations held in Southall, Middlesex, on June 23. The 200 delegates came from all over Britain and were representative of all races. The organisations present also agreed to withdraw from all government-aided bodies that claim to seek racial harmony.

A conference held July 1 in London was attended by 120 representatives of the Indian, Pakistani, Bengali, and West Indian communities, representing about forty organisations. The conference set up a national coordinating committee to combat racism and called on all TUC (Trades Union Congress) affiliates and on the TUC itself to join the communities in their fight for their rights.

The two conferences highlighted the strong resentment and anger that exist as a result of recent government threats against and intimidation of the black communities. The immediate source of anger is the House of Lords ruling June 11 that the provisions of the 1971 Immigration Act are applicable retrospectively.

The June 11 ruling refers to the status of immigrants who entered Britain "illegally" before January 1, 1971. Prior to 1971, if they evaded immigration control altogether and remained undetected for six months, immigrants were immune to prosecution and/or deportation. With the 1971 act, the government not only intended to block this loophole, by extending the time limit from six months to three years, but also—as now revealed by the House of Lords decision—to deport even those immigrants who were already in Britain and safe from prosecution.

The June 11 ruling is aimed not only at those black people who are now classified as "illegal," but at the entire black community in Britain. Fear of arrest, harassment, and deportation has been greatly increased.

"Some Asian immigrants," reported Rosemary Collins in the June 15 issue of the Manchester *Guardian*, "had not reported for work, others had moved house, and a few had approached community organisations for advice. Many of these were not resident in

this country illegally, but did not fully understand their legal position."

One example of the type of harassment that has been unleashed against the black community is the procedure, unofficially in operation for sometime, whereby the Department of Health and Social Security can request proof of identity before issuing National Insurance cards. Sir Keith Joseph announced in the House of Commons June 19 that he would shortly be introducing a new ruling that would require immigrants to produce passports when applying for their cards. According to Lord Colville, under-secretary of state at the Home Office, "This enables personal particulars to be verified for National Insurance purposes. If examination by a public officer of a passport shows that the holder may be in the country unlawfully, it would be wrong for that officer not to bring the matter to notice."

In other words, the government intends to utilise the Department of Health and Social Security as a police agency in stepping up the intimidation of black people. Similarly, there is evidence that black families are being asked to produce their passports when their children reach school age, although the education authorities have no right to ask for them.

The very real threat that exists can be gauged from a report in the June 25 *London Times*. According to Christopher Sweeney, Mr. Lane, under-secretary of state at the Home Office, has admitted that "illegal immigrants have been deported from Britain without their families or friends being informed."

Since the onus of proof that an immigrant is legally resident in Britain rests with the individual, immigrants returning from holidays overseas run the risk of being refused entry unless they can produce documentary evidence of previous residence. In a recent case reported in the June 15 *Guardian*, three High Court judges ruled that Mohammed Mugal, a Pakistani who had been held in custody since his return from a four-month visit to Pakistan, had not previously been legally resident at his home in Lancashire. Mr. Mugal had lost his original passport; his new passport indicated only the date he had left Britain for Pakistan and not his first date of entry.

An immigration adviser in Leeds,

Mrs. Maureen Baker, said, according to the *Guardian*: "There is a growing feeling that documents such as these [passports, letters from teachers and employers] must be carried regularly to comply with stop and search procedures." Certainly there is every possibility now that a black person picked up for a minor offense, such as a traffic violation, will be compelled to show his or her passport.

Immediately after the June 11 ruling the Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants and the National Council for Civil Liberties announced that they would take cases to the European Commission of Human Rights. Illegal immigrants who fear for their immediate safety will have their cases taken to the commission within forty-eight hours. The two organisations maintain that the effects of the June 11 ruling will run counter to the European Convention on Human Rights, Article 3 of which states that no one should be subjected to inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

The black organisations, in addition to appealing to the trade-union movement to back their demands, have called a demonstration in London July 22. They are also planning to lobby the High Commissions of India, Pakistan, and other Commonwealth countries urging them to stop any British attempt to deny citizenship rights.

At the second of the two conferences of immigrant organisations, that part of a resolution calling on all minority organisations to withdraw from cooperation with state-sponsored bodies (the Race Relations Board, Community Relations Commission and its councils, and the United Kingdom Immigrants Advisory Service) was defeated by 53 votes to 50, according to the July 2 issue of the *Morning Star*. However, many of the black organisations, such as the large Indian Workers' Association, have individually withdrawn their participation on these bodies. □

Britons Call for Withdrawal From Ireland

There is growing sentiment in Britain for military withdrawal from Northern Ireland, reported the July 11 *Christian Science Monitor*. More than 42,000 persons signed an "Out Now" petition circulated last month in Reading by the mother of a twenty-one-year-old soldier serving in Ulster.

Behind the Expansion of Soviet-U.S. Trade

By Dick Roberts

U.S. corporations and the Soviet government are in the process of negotiating the largest commercial ventures ever undertaken by private industry or public agencies. These are two projects to pipe thousands of millions of cubic feet of natural gas from the fields of eastern and western Siberia to the Soviet ports of Murmansk and Nakhodka, respectively, where the gas will then be shipped to the east and west coasts of the United States.

The Yakutsk-Nakhodka project, involving the Occidental Petroleum Corporation and the El Paso Natural Gas Company, is already at the "agreement of intent" stage. It will include investments of \$10 thousand million and covers twenty-five years of construction and delivery. If fully exploited, the mammoth Siberian oil fields will produce per day twice the average daily consumption of gas in New York state.

These are the largest of more than 1,000 joint manufacturing or production agreements now existing between the capitalist West and the workers states of the East. New York's two largest banks, the First National City Bank and the Chase Manhattan Bank — two of the central pillars of world imperialism — are opening branches in Moscow. This most illustrates the striking turn in economic relations between the United States and the Soviet Union that has developed in the last two years.

What is the planned and potential scope of the new "partnership"? What are Washington's objectives? To answer these questions it is helpful to glance at the background of the economic turn. The relaxation of the Cold War embargo on imperialist trade with and investment in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe did not begin in the United States, nor is it only a few years old. It began in Western Europe more than a decade ago.

From Togliatti to the Kama River

Trade relations between Western and

Eastern Europe gradually opened up in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Even with the barbed wire around West Berlin, trade mounted between the two Germanies, from \$560 million in 1961 to \$1,600 million in 1971, so that West Germany became East Germany's biggest trading partner next to the Soviet Union. But this was relatively unpublicized until recently.

The first major breakthrough of Western capital into the Soviet market itself was Moscow's May 1966 agreement to allow the Fiat corporation of Italy to build an \$887 million auto plant in the Ukraine. Constructed in the river city of Stavropol-on-the-Volga (renamed "Togliatti" to suit the occasion), this gigantic plant was scheduled to produce about 2,000 medium-sized cars a day by 1972 (the Fiat 124 modified for Soviet weather conditions).

Large-scale operations are one of the typical features of the new "co-production." When completed, the Togliatti plant will raise Soviet car output from roughly 200,000 autos a year to 700,000-800,000. The plant will employ 70,000 workers, turning the old river city 500 miles east of Moscow into a large industrial center.

The giant sums of money required for such projects are raised by banking syndicates in combination with governments. Credit is advanced to Moscow on a long-term, fixed-interest-rate basis. Italy itself provided credits of \$322 million for the Fiat venture. The loan is to be repaid by Moscow at 5.5 percent over fourteen years.

In December 1969 a second large-scale Italo-Soviet agreement was projected, whereby Italy would be supplied with 100 thousand million cubic meters of Russian gas over a period of twenty years. The purchaser is ENI, the big Italian oil firm. This would run to about \$3 thousand million. But at the time the agreement was announced, it provided for "only" \$200 million worth of purchases of Italian machinery over five years at 6 percent interest. (See the British

Financial Times, December 11, 1969.)

Parallel to these developments Japan had begun regular commercial trading with the Soviet Union and also was conducting periodic high-level meetings to explore the possibility of opening up the Siberian gas fields. Between 1960 and 1970 trade between Japan and all of the Eastern workers states had climbed sharply. Eastern exports to Japan rose from \$110 million to \$750 million, an increase of 582 percent; Japanese exports to Eastern countries rose from \$75 million to \$1,040 million, an increase of 1,287 percent.

The trade between the USSR and Japan in 1968 exceeded \$500 million, and it typified the exchange of Western technology for Soviet raw materials. Japan supplied the USSR with iron and steel, tractors, construction machinery, scientific instruments and machines, lumber, and heavy electrical equipment and home electrical appliances. Soviet exports to Japan included 2.7 million metric tons of coal, 2,764,000 metric tons of oil and oil products, 1,224,000 tons of ferrous ores and almost 6 million tons of timber.

But Japan hesitated to supply the large-scale credits asked by Moscow to develop the Siberian natural gas reserves. It was not until the United States entered the picture in 1972 that joint U.S.-Japanese projects in Siberia were announced. The extent of Japan's participation, undoubtedly small by comparison to that of the United States, has not been made clear. (See *New York Times*, October 30, 1972.)

Meanwhile in 1969 the West German firm of Mannesmann in Düsseldorf had agreed to supply the Soviet Union \$598 million worth of pipe to be repaid in gas shipments to Austria and Germany over a twenty-year period. The smell of the multimillion and sometimes multibillion dollar contracts reached Detroit. In April 1970 Henry Ford 2d, inheritor of one of the capitalist world's gigantic fortunes, went to Moscow.

Ford was accorded the diplomatic treatment usually offered heads of state. He was asked to build a trucking complex at Naberezhnye Chelny, 550 miles east of Moscow on the Kama River. It would be the largest truck plant in the world, with a planned output of 150,000 eight-ton trucks a year by 1974. The price would be several thousand million dollars and the British, French, and West German capitalists had already been forced to turn down the offer. Ford said he would think it over.

One month later the project was scotched by Washington. In May 1970, after all, U. S. imperialism was at war in Southeast Asia with one of Moscow's allies. The USSR was shipping weapons to Hanoi, as U. S. war secretary Melvin Laird pointed out to Ford. Washington chose to keep the bait of economic aid dangling in Moscow's eyes for two more years, in the meantime insisting that other aspects of the détente ought to be agreed upon first.

Think-Tanking on It

Momentum in the United States to change U. S. economic policy towards the Soviet Union began to pick up in 1969-70, undoubtedly as a result of the recession and the balance of payments crisis. But significant moves on this front did not take place until 1971-72. By that time the prestigious Committee for Economic Development (CED) had reversed its earlier position of only lukewarm support for trade with workers states. In September 1972, the CED released a statement entitled "A New Trade Policy Toward Communist Countries."

It is worth taking a closer look at this authoritative document. The CED is a unique think-tank in that its board of trustees consists exclusively of the directors of the most powerful U. S. corporations. For example, the present CED is chairman Emilio G. Collado, executive vice-president of Standard Oil of New Jersey; two of its five vice-chairmen are Fred J. Borch, head of General Electric, and John D. Harper, chairman of the Aluminum Company of America. Just these three men bring together the Rockefeller, J. P. Morgan, and Mellon sectors of U. S. finance capital.

The CED stressed the edge that the

imperialist rivals of the United States had already gained in trade with the workers states: "Trade with the East of most other Western industrialized countries," it said, "though a small proportion of their total trade, was relatively much greater than that of the United States. For example, in 1971, the trade of the six European Community (EC) members with the East (which included exports of U. S. manufacturing subsidiaries operating in the Community) was more than ten times as great as that of the United States, and the trade of the European Free Trade Area (EFTA) was almost six times larger."

CED noted that this trade is expanding at a faster rate than world trade: "During the decade 1960-1970, Eastern trade—both with the developing countries and with the industrialized countries of the West—increased by somewhat larger percentages than did total world trade, nearly tripling in dollar volume. Over the decade, however, the communist countries shifted their trade to some extent away from other Eastern countries to the industrial West."

CED sharply criticized both business and trade-union officials for opposing trade with the "Communist" bloc: ". . . the maintenance of restrictions by the United States is a gesture in futility since other trading nations have relaxed their restrictions. . . . American business firms and their foreign subsidiaries have been deprived of numerous export opportunities. These have been seized by European and Japanese business competitors."

While strongly recommending removal of restriction on exports to the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, and China, the CED specifically noted, "There has been no change in the restrictions and embargo on North Korea, North Vietnam or Cuba." Furthermore it recommended that "the export control chapter of U. S. history should not be treated as closed."

In its own terminology the CED emphasized the main advantage that the U. S. capitalists have in catching up with and overtaking their imperialist rivals: economic clout. "The most important factor affecting the U. S. trade potential in Eastern countries may well be the extent to which there is complementarity between the U. S. economy and the communist economies—taking into account not only comparative advantages in produc-

tion but also geographical location and costs of transportation," the CED stated.

Nixon's New Economic Policy

In August 1971 the Nixon administration imposed a freeze on American wages, devalued the dollar, and escalated U. S. protectionist measures in world-trade warfare. The same factors that forced this drastic turn also forced the White House to reverse its policies on Soviet trade. In fact the new policies on Soviet trade were part of the New Economic Policy.

Peter G. Peterson, Nixon's assistant for international economic affairs, explained the motivations in the December 1971 *Peterson Report*.

"Relations with the Communist world are now opening up rapidly," Peterson said. "The United States has a long way to go in matching the trade levels of East and West Europe with each other."

In November 1971, Secretary of Commerce Maurice Stans, and in April 1972, Secretary of Agriculture Earl Butz, went to Moscow to return with optimistic predictions about the future of U. S. trade. The May 1972 Nixon-Brezhnev summit in Moscow, however, did not go beyond setting up a "Joint Commercial Commission" to negotiate further steps on trade. But since then, the final difficulties seem to have been clearing up. On May 30, Soviet State Planning Commission deputy chairman Mikhail Misnik told *New York Times* reporter Theodore Shabad, "It's about time we moved beyond the Stone age practice of, say, bartering a sheep for half a camel. . . . if we advance beyond that stage into large-scale arrangements in which the United States would provide plant and equipment and we would pay with raw materials and the end products of such plants, then the possibilities are indeed immense.

". . . Once we feel that there is serious interest in a joint venture, the problem of access can be overcome."

Misnik's allusion to the "Stone age" represented an important concession by Moscow to Western bankers. Many Soviet and Eastern European trade deals are *bilateral*: They only concern the countries and products of a specific trade agreement. These often involve payment in kind.

"Lord help the man in the barter



Kama River truck complex in Soviet Union. West German group won \$125 million contract for it.

and counter-purchase jungle who gets his sums wrong," *The Economist* complained January 6, 1973. "The straight-laced IBM was recently to take Polish-made Fiats as payment for a computer. It could not sell them and had in the end to offload them in Egypt, where the payment arrangements are, shall we say, not ideal. . . . A further irony, typical of east-west trade, was that a British company boss was at the very same time . . . badgering the Poles to let him take Fiats in payment; the Poles refused because they were unable to make Fiats for the British market with right-hand drives."

Western businessmen argue for *multilateral* trade relations based on credit. The big coproduction agreements are of this type. The Kama River truck plant that Ford had been cut out of, for example, was by 1971 being built under contracts with a number of firms. Renault is the main contractor for its machine tools. A £200 million British loan from the Exports Credit Guarantees Department backs up British participation in the project. The West German firm of Liebherr Verzahntechnik also has a \$125 million machine-tool contract in the Kama operations. "Their trust in our planning capabilities and in German machine tools is great," Liebherr's Dr. Karl Schwiegelshohn boasted. The U. S. magazine *Business Week* opined "[Schwiegelshohn's] profit margin will be at the lower end of the normal contract range."

In the summer of 1972, Peter G. Peterson, by then U. S. Secretary of

Commerce, attended the first meeting of the U. S.-USSR Commercial Commission. The "U. S. no longer has the monopoly it once enjoyed in the production of certain goods," Peterson once again warned. "The increased availability of high technology products elsewhere rendered some of our original curbs on exports to the Soviet Union increasingly anachronistic. The real loser from these particular restraints would have increasingly been the U. S. producer and worker, not the Soviet consumer or the Soviet economy. There comes a point at which we must face the fact that business is business, and, if it is going to go on in any event, we might as well have a piece of the action."

This came rapidly:

- On July 8, 1972, an agreement was reached providing credit through the U. S. Commodity Credit Corporation for Soviet purchases of U. S. grain, originally announced at \$750 million worth over a three-year period.

- On October 14 a maritime agreement was concluded that removed barriers to commercial shipping between the U. S. and USSR.

- On October 18 a settlement of the Soviet Lend-Lease debt was signed. "The Russians agreed to settle \$11.1 billion [milliard] in Lend-Lease debts for a total payment of \$722 million between now and July 2001," *Newsweek* magazine explained October 30. "In 27 years of sporadic bargaining since the end of World War II, Russia had never offered to repay more than \$300 million of the total bill. In return for the Lend-Lease

settlement, the U. S. Export-Import Bank was authorized to extend credits and guarantees for the sale of goods to the Soviet Union."

- By this time there was also talk in the air of a multibillion-dollar deal for the U. S. development of Siberian natural gas.

Business for Minneapolis

The headquarters of the Cargill Grain Company is a World War I-style chateau in the wealthy western suburbs of Minneapolis, Minnesota. This giant firm with grain elevators throughout Minnesota, the Dakotas, Iowa, and Montana ships grain abroad from its twelve terminals on both coasts: the Gulf, and in Duluth, Chicago, Buffalo, and Albany. Of the roughly 11 million tons of wheat sold to the Soviet Union in 1972, Cargill's slice was about 2 million tons. Its even larger competitor, Continental Grain Company, picked up almost 5 million tons in the deal. The actual agreements were made secretly through the U. S. Agriculture Department. While they were being settled, a top aide of the Agriculture department, Clarence Palmby, quit his \$38,000-a-year government post to take a \$100,000-a-year job as an official of Continental Grain.

This scandalized the Nixon administration in the pre-Watergate period, because the Soviet grain deal, ultimately priced at more than \$1 thousand million, absorbed about one-fourth of the total U. S. crop. It drove the price of hard red winter wheat,



the principal kind sold to the Soviet Union, from \$1.69 to \$2.49 per bushel. This is a significant factor in the politically explosive inflation of food prices rocking U.S. markets in the spring and summer of 1973. It also cost millions of dollars to small farmers who sold their wheat before the price rise, and it netted windfall profits to the futures speculators in Chicago who played their cards right.

All of these factors illustrate the big scale of U.S.-USSR trade agreements when measured against the business of particular corporations and particular industries: The grain deal opened up spectacular profits for the giant exporters involved; it included such a large sector of the U.S. grain industry that the government was

forced to intervene to cover some losses sustained by American farmers; it affected food prices across the country; the immediate profiteers were directly represented at top government levels; and major U.S. competitors, in this case Canada and Australia, were cut out of profitable markets.

The CED report on trade already cited notes that "the Soviet Union which has imported U.S. wheat for some years, may also become a continuing market for corn and oilseeds not grown in adequate quantities there. China, which also is importing wheat (principally from Canada), may want to buy U.S. wheat in the future, since we have a wider range of qualities better adapted to Chinese requirements than does Canada."

Another important aspect of the opening East-West trade is the scramble of the imperialist powers for sources of energy and raw materials. This competition is itself an integral part of the intensified interimperialist competition generally, which underlies Nixon's New Economic Policy.

The United States cannot internally provide all the minerals and fuels that it consumes domestically. It draws on its global monopoly of resources in the underdeveloped world, and its importation of ores and fuels is increasing sharply from year to year. This increase simply indicates that the most advanced capitalist country must absorb additional external resources when domestic supplies are insufficient.

Yet this growing need of the imperialist superpower takes place under

world economic conditions in which U.S. economic hegemony has been severely undermined. The dollar has been devalued twice and its value is still falling, causing the prices of imports to rise sharply. Certain of the neocolonial regimes in the underdeveloped world are succeeding in jacking up resource prices even more. And these factors take place as the imperialist rivals of the United States are extending their own power and influence in the Third World. The monopolistic necessity of *controlling* supplies, that is, *keeping supplies out of the grasp of one's competitors*, is all the more keenly felt by U.S. imperialism in its epoch of decline. This has caused U.S. businessmen to take a new look at the vast reserves of the Soviet Union.

"The natural resources of the Soviet Union are enormous," wrote Eugene Guccione, senior editor of *Engineering and Mining Journal*, in the July 1 *New York Times*. "They account for 57 per cent of the world's coal reserves, 40 per cent of the iron ore, at least one-third of all natural gas and oil and respectable percentages of the world's reserves in nonmetallic minerals.

"Most of these huge reserves, particularly those in Siberia and Kazakhstan, are almost untapped because of the Soviet shortage of development capital and technology."

Guccione emphasized the increasing U.S. need for minerals: "In May the United States Bureau of Mines reported that the vitality of the American economy during the next 25 years would depend on the country's ability to find, import, or both, an additional \$60-billion [milliard] worth of mineral resources.

"The \$1,200-billion American economy, like an inverted pyramid, rests on a foundation of some \$40-billion worth of minerals — of which \$10-billion are imported. By contrast, the 1971 Soviet mineral output amounted to some \$25-billion, of which \$3-billion were exported.

"The magnitude of potential deals with Russia can be grasped when considering that within the next 10 years the Soviet will expand its mineral-industry output to as much as \$60-billion or \$65-billion, of which \$20-billion to \$25-billion may be available for export,' according to Alexander Sutulov, visiting professor of metallurgy at the University of Utah."

Other aspects of the changing circumstances were added by *The Economist* in its January 6, 1973, survey of "East-West Trade": "The prices of fuel and ores have only recently risen to levels which would justify the cost of exploration and extraction from the fastnesses of east and northern Russia," *The Economist* said. "Russian minerals were never fully believed in until space satellites were launched which could spot them better. But even if they had been, it would still have cost too much to dig them out of the ground for use in the west. In this respect, Russia's activities in the Middle East have a unique and surprising bearing on east-west trade. Russia has not won what it was originally aiming for by its meddling in the Middle East and the Gulf. Political changes in that part of the world have not all gone Russia's way. But, instead, Russia has got perhaps an even more useful gain, namely a jump in the cost of energy which at last makes Russia's own oil and gas worth exploring.

"For the west it is not just a matter of the price of energy and ores but also of security of supply. Only in the past 10 years has consumption of fuel and minerals, notably copper, nickel, chrome, reached a scale in the west when the need to multiply sources of supply, almost regardless of price, has become an end in itself. The ironical result of this for the west is that the forthcoming addition of an ideological foe to its list of suppliers will add up to a net increase in the security of its supply."

The irony is really twofold. It was political considerations, above all the necessity for U.S. imperialism to contain the colonial revolution in Southeast Asia and the Middle East, that attracted President Nixon to Moscow. On the way to this forum the imperialists discovered that Moscow would not only stab the colonial revolution in the back, it would undersell the colonies on the world market.

Project North Star

Second only to the struggle for control of world resources of petroleum, the struggle for natural gas stands at the epicenter of imperialist policy. A relatively new feature of this is the global operations of U.S. pipeline companies aimed at opening the U.S.

market to imported liquified natural gas (LNG) in order to produce synthetic gas from imported oil (SNG). *Business Week* reported April 21: ". . . the pipeline companies are proceeding with plans to build 30 SNG plants, some costing as much as \$300-million. By 1985, there could be \$5-billion [milliard] worth of these plants in the U.S. . . . El Paso Natural Gas Co. . . . won approval last year to import 1-billion cu. ft. of LNG a day from Algeria for the next 25 years. The project calls for \$1.7-billion in capital investment for liquefaction plants in the U.S., and nine LNG tankers. . . . The project would surely help revive American shipbuilding: Some of the pipeline companies estimate that by 1985 LNG ships could import as much as 5-trillion [million million] cu. ft. of gas a year, about one-fifth of the country's annual gas consumption. That would require some 100 LNG tankers."

The two natural gas projects in Siberia dwarf even these figures. The larger of the two would pipe gas from Urengoy on the Western Siberian plain to Murmansk. From there it would be shipped to the U.S. East Coast. John P. Hardt, senior specialist in Soviet economics at the U.S. Library of Congress, described the project in the May-June issue of *Problems of Communism*:

"According to the US firms negotiating with the Soviet Union — Tenneco, Inc., Texas Eastern Transmission Corporation, and Brown & Root, Inc. — a credit of 3 billion dollars (US) and an additional 700 million in cash provided by the USSR would finance purchase of American-made transmission equipment (compressors and 1,500 miles of 48-inch steel pipe capable of withstanding temperatures of minus 60 degrees Fahrenheit) and construction of a plant at the ice-free port of Murmansk to liquify the gas for shipment to the east coast of the United States. The US credits would consist of a 6-percent loan of 1.5 billion dollars from the Export-Import Bank and a loan of equal amount from various US banks, insurance companies and suppliers, the latter guaranteed by the Export-Import Bank. In addition, the American partners would build 20 specialized LNG . . . tankers at an added cost of 2.6 billion dollars. The

USSR would repay the credits and earn an additional 10.8 billion dollars (which could only be spent in the US) by deliveries of gas over a 25-year period beginning in 1980."

It takes us into the twenty-first century. All that is needed is the survival of world imperialism and the bureaucratic misleaderships of the workers states.

The Economist in its January survey indelicately pointed to the importance of bureaucratic rule to the whole scheme: "The reasons for industrial cooperation go beyond being a mere 'licence to export money,'" said the British magazine. "Though the ratio of capital to labour has risen in the east as in the west, labour still remains cheaper in the east than in the west. Even better, it is virtually strike-free."

Is This 'Convergence'?

It is a popular social-democratic notion that over the course of time the capitalist system and the "Communist bloc" will "converge" peacefully toward the same type of economy. Nothing like this is involved in the trade and investment now envisioned between the capitalist countries and the workers states.

Even taking into account all the long-range multi-billion-dollar projects, the total sums are very small compared to the economies of the nations. "The economic advantages of Soviet-U.S. economic relations are likely to be significant in particular sectors, rather than for the national economy as a whole," John P. Hardt and George D. Holliday of the Library of Congress write in a June 1973 report of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives. "Grain traders and petroleum companies," they continue, "may benefit, but the overall effect on the national economy will be modest."

"U.S. trade with the Soviet Union represented less than 1 percent of total U.S. foreign trade in 1971. In 1972, trade turnover increased substantially. However, if U.S.-Soviet trade should increase in eight years to \$3 billion—a remarkable attainment—it would still be only about 2 percent of U.S. foreign trade. Currently, the United States imports as much in a week from Canada as it imports in a year from the Soviet

Union. As a result, a major relative change or increase in trade with the Soviet Union could be offset by a relatively minor change in U.S. trade relations with its major trading partners. . . .

"Furthermore, the U.S. trade and balance-of-payments deficits will probably not be substantially reduced by increased Soviet trade. Although the United States is likely to have considerable surpluses in its trade with the Soviet Union, they will be small in comparison with U.S. deficits."

Only a drastic restructuring of the Soviet economy along capitalist lines could open up its market to such amounts of goods and capital as to modify the conclusions of this Congressional report. Of course, the imperialists would like nothing better. "The presence of many American citizens in the Soviet Union with some decision-making power and a wider

exchange of ideas may in the long run contribute to a moderation of the Soviet political control system and command economy," Hardt and Holliday speculate. ". . . there is at least a possibility that the process of integrating the centrally planned Soviet economy into the market economy of the United States and the rest of the non-Communist world might unleash irreversible forces of constructive change which could, in turn, contribute toward international interdependence and stability," the Library of Congress economists add.

But if they looked around their stacks they would not find any previous example in history where one social system was replaced by another merely by the presence of a few foreigners and their wares. That takes wars—either revolutionary or counterrevolutionary. At this point one of the ground rules of the *détente* is "peaceful coexistence." □

Dominican Republic

CP Might Back Balaguer Reelection

The Dominican Communist party is looking for a way to support President Joaquín Balaguer in the elections scheduled for next May. The condition it has laid down for such support, according to a United Press International report published in the June 26 issue of the New York Spanish-language daily *El Diario-La Prensa*, is that Balaguer "take energetic action against foreign economic interests."

In March 1972, the CP switched from opposing to supporting Balaguer. The occasion was its decision to back agrarian reform proposals that Balaguer himself termed "very timid." While it noted that "Balaguer is not revolutionary," it did assert that reformism had replaced repression as the regime's major tool for staying in power. It called on "revolutionary and democratic" forces to help "deepen the reformist phenomenon."

The latest CP overture was made by José Israel Cuello, a leading member of its Central Committee. According to UPI, "Cuello said that [the CP] would be prepared to support a new

Balaguer candidacy if he agrees to take various radical measures. Among these measures, he mentioned nationalization of the interests of the U.S. firm Gulf and Western, which owns a sugar mill and other valuable investments in the eastern part of the country; nullify the contracts with the Canadian firm Falconbridge, which is operating a nickel mine in the central part of the country; and a state take-over of the properties of Alcoa Exploration, from the United States, which is working bauxite deposits in the frontier province of Pedernales."

If Balaguer takes such steps, the CP leader said, it would be the duty of revolutionists to support him. He added, however, that "it is very difficult to think" that the government would go this far.

Meanwhile, Dominican parties opposed to Balaguer are trying to get him to move up the opening of the election campaign. Balaguer is refusing. "An election campaign does more damage than a drought," he explained, "and almost as much as a civil conflict or a guerrilla landing." □

Facts Are Stubborn Things

By George Novack

The Healyite organ, *Labour Press*, saluted my arrival on a speaking tour of Australia in May 1973 with a four-page special supplement headed "An Open Letter to George Novack." In addition to the well-worn diatribes against the scarecrow of "Pabloism" and slanders against Trotskyist organizations from Ceylon to the United States, this salvo zeroed in on my philosophic works.

As they pursued this campaign during the discussion periods following my public talks in the principal cities, the Healyites put forward some opinions of their own. After my exposition of Marxism as a revolutionary materialist humanism, the national secretary of the Socialist Labour League, Jim Mulgrew, asserted that Marxism had nothing to do with humanism of any kind.

This denial breaks with the teachings and traditions of scientific socialism and places these sectarians in the same camp as the Maoists and the French Communist philosopher Althusser, who contend in similar ways that Marxism is antihumanistic.

Mulgrew also insisted that dialectical materialism cannot be twisted in a sectarian manner; only opportunistic revisionist adaptations to non-Marxist currents of philosophy exist (Lenin *dixit*). If your trousers are caught on a hook, try to extricate yourself by denying that any hook exists.

The Healyites conveniently overlook the precedent set by the brand of dialectical materialism sponsored by the Stalinists. Theirs was a falsified, dogmatic—extremely sectarian—perversion of Marxist thought. This deformation and degradation in philosophy corresponded to the bureaucratic degeneration of the Russian revolution and was an integral ideological component of it.

Stalin's "Red Professors" screened from the history of philosophy innovative contributions to thought that did not conform to the arbitrary criteria of a straight and narrow road of materialist development from the

Milesians to the mastermind in the Kremlin. In 1947, at Stalin's behest, his watchdog on the cultural front, Zhdanov, indicted the *History of West European Philosophy* by the unlucky G.F. Alexandrov, who saw something good in the works of Kant, Hegel and Fourier.

Stalin himself expunged the law of the negation of the negation from his presentation of dialectical materialism. Throughout the Soviet bloc the slightest manifestations of independent thinking in this field were suspect or suppressed. Anyone who did not parrot the formulas sanctioned by the official doctrinaires was condemned out of hand as a dangerous "revisionist."

Although the Healyite approach to the dialectical method has a different basis, it exhibits certain traits of dogmatic rigidity characteristic of the Stalinist mode of philosophizing. Like children in a classroom under a strict teacher, the Healyites monotonously intone the same points in the same stereotyped phrases from individual to individual and from one country to another, without making the least effort to exercise critical thought about the material data and problems under consideration.

Like the Stalinist school, they demand unconditional and unquestioning submission to their peculiar misinterpretations and misapplications of Marxist philosophy. Whoever doubts or denies these shibboleths is subject to excommunication from the chapel and to the curses of the band of true believers. Thus, for their doubts and denials Healy broke with his erstwhile French partners in the International Committee. (See "A Malignant Case of Sectarianism in Philosophy," *Intercontinental Press*, July 3, 1972.)

Sectarianism in philosophy or politics is marked by disregard of objective realities. This was strikingly evidenced in the Australian "Open Letter" assailing my views.

Its signatory, Adrian Falk, presented in an introduction to the "Open

Letter" the following pearls of wisdom on Cuba. "On the basis of a completely empiricist evaluation of the 'facts' of the Cuban revolution (Nationalisation of industries, etc), the SWP concluded that Cuba had become a workers state.

"The point at issue is not what are the facts, but the method with which 'facts' are approached and grasped. The empiricist takes the so-called facts as an ultimate court of appeal, and sees them as having some fixed significance which they impose on consciousness. Marxists, on the contrary, see facts as partial abstractions, to be comprehended only in the practical struggle to change the world.

"Thus in the case of Cuba, the point is not to contemplatively enumerate abstract criteria of a workers state, but to understand the political developments there through grappling with problems which can only be confronted in the struggle to lead the working class against every form of petty bourgeois opportunism (including Castroism)."

To begin with, what are the "abstract criteria of a workers state" that Trotsky enumerated these many times in his writings from 1923 to 1940, and most forcefully in the 1939-40 polemic against Burnham and Shachtman reprinted in *In Defense of Marxism*? The most decisive are nationalization of the means of production, monopoly of foreign trade, and a planned economy.

What are the facts in this case? All three of these requisites have been instituted and developed in Cuba as the result of its socialist revolution.

Regardless of their attitude toward them, a host of other forces in the world, from the U.S. imperialists to the Cuban people, along with most tendencies on the left, have recognized these basic facts about the revolutionary reconstruction of Cuban society. Everyone—except these pseudo-Trotskyists. The Healyites acknowledge that the USSR under Brezhnev, the Chinese People's Republic under Mao, and even Albania conform to "the abstract criteria" of a workers state. Yet they adamantly insist that Cuba is capitalist and stands in the same socioeconomic category as Australia and New Zealand.

That is what Falk, who is an instructor in sociology at the University of New South Wales in Sydney,

teaches us. He certainly didn't learn this kind of sociology in the school of Trotskyism.

What is the worth of a group that pretends to lead the world revolutionary vanguard but is incapable of recognizing a socialist overturn and assessing its results correctly when it actually happens? And thereafter sticks to its dogmatic error despite a decade of accumulated facts?

Falk has a theoretical justification for this purblindness. This Healyite wise man informs us that facts are not "the point at issue" in judging the state of affairs in Cuba. He makes the crude mistake of confusing materialism with empiricism because both take their point of departure from the facts. On this score any empiricist who is at least concerned about the facts is closer to materialism than our critic. Indeed, the Healyite dismissal of the importance of facts makes them less realistic than anyone guided by plain common sense!

According to Falk, "the so-called facts" (aren't there any real facts?) cannot be taken "as an ultimate court of appeal." He fails to inform us what in his view the ultimate arbiter of the truth of any idea or proposition is. Marxism teaches that objective reality, which is made up of facts in their development, is decisive in determining what is and what is not the case in all questions from the physical nature of the universe to the sociological nature of a given country like Cuba. This has been a cardinal principle of all materialisms from ancient times to the present and serves as a directive of its method. However, Falk does not acknowledge this elementary truth of dialectical materialism any more than he does the particular facts in regard to Cuba.

When he nonchalantly remarks that facts have no "fixed significance which they impose on consciousness," he is unaware that this viewpoint is the breeding ground of subjectivism and idealism, methods that are contrary to materialism as well as to scientific procedures. To hold that the facts of capitalism impose no fixed significance on the consciousness of its subjects would, for one thing, destroy the foundation of the Marxist explanation of the genesis and development of the consciousness of its constituent classes.

In connection with this problem, let

me cite an example from the history of astronomy that is so simple that even the mind of a pupil of Healy's might grasp it. People once believed that the sun went around the earth, which was the center of the universe. Since Copernicus, whose five hundredth anniversary was commemorated this year, we know that the earth moves around the sun. What imposed this scientific truth upon the consciousness of humanity and exposed the earlier misconception as false? Was it not the objectively existing structural relations among the bodies of our solar system, that is, the discovery of the true physical facts about them?

In the body of the "Open Letter" itself Falk takes exception to a passage from my article "A Malignant Case of Sectarianism" that reads: "The lifestream of materialist dialectics flows from its indissoluble merging with the facts of the real world. This is the source of the concrete content that makes its concepts meaningful and the method fruitful."

He tries to refute this as follows: "This is a pragmatist formulation which attempts to smooth over the essential clash between knowledge and the developing world. By starting from the primacy of the facts and deriving the significance of dialectics from them, you actually deny the dialectical character of knowledge and its development."

Before dealing with "the essential clash" between knowledge and the external world, i.e., the unavoidable discrepancy between ideas and reality, a materialist has first to recognize and account for the *correspondence* between our valid knowledge and the developing world. This is to be found in the essential unity between what we know and what objectively exists. However, according to Falk, "starting from the primacy of the facts" has nothing to do with materialism or its dialectics but is the procedure of pragmatism!

Engels long ago pointed out in *Anti-Dühring* that the dialectical character of knowledge and its development is derived from the dialectical characteristics of matter in motion, including the contradictory course of human history and the dialectics of nature. Thus the dialectics of knowledge is rooted in the objective facts of society and nature as these are

disclosed through practice by scientific knowledge of them.

"Dialectics," as Trotsky wrote, "cannot be imposed upon facts; it has to be deduced from facts, from their nature and development." (*Problems of Everyday Life*, Pathfinder Press, p. 233.)

In a personal encounter with me after I spoke at the university where he teaches, Falk contended that facts are nothing but "appearances." Actually facts are pieces of the objective world that have essential structural properties as well as apparent characteristics. In defining what a fact is in fact, our subjectivist leaves out of account its material objectivity in time and space that exists apart from human beings—unless the facts pertain to our species.

Facts, he writes in the "Open Letter," are no more than "partial abstractions." To be sure, no single fact exists by and for itself. Taken as such in everyday life or in the process of inquiry, the fact acquires a more abstract quality than is warranted by its actual embedding in the rest of reality. Nonetheless, this role in the knowing process does not deprive any fact of its concrete existence as an objective entity. In itself, and not for us, any given fact is essentially, substantively, a part or particle, a finite fragment, of the material world.

Our fumbling epistemologist does not comprehend or properly present either the difference between the concrete and the abstract or the relation of these correlative terms to objective reality.

The assertion "This man is George Novack" is a statement of concrete fact—unless a mistaken identity is involved.

The assertion "George Novack is a man" is a more abstract statement about the same factual entity, in which a particular individual is included in a general class.

The assertion "All humans originate from primate stock" is a much more abstract and generalized statement.

Not so, argues Falk. These are all nothing but "partial abstractions"; that they are statements of fact is irrelevant and immaterial.

Facts, however, are stubborn things. Order them out the door and they come creeping in through the basement or windows. No sectarian soph-

istry can banish them from reality or deprive them of their role as the ultimate determinant of the truth or the worth of all assertions and abstractions. That is primordial in the materialist theory of knowledge.

We now come to the most unexpected aspect of the position of our critic. Because I stand by the facts, he accuses me of being an empiricist who follows "the pragmatism of William James." The doctrines of James were highly influential during the 1920s at Harvard, where I received my initial education in philosophy. There I learned from his professorial associates what the pragmatic theory of knowledge was all about. Upon becoming a Marxist after the stock market crash of 1929, I consciously rejected its premises and conclusions along with the liberalism it rationalized.

This is more than my uninformed adversary in Australia has managed to do. What is the essential opposition between the Marxist and pragmatic theories of knowledge? Dialectical materialism regards truth as the correspondence, and error as the lack of correspondence, between an idea, a judgment, or a theory and the reality to which they refer. This objective linkage, or absence of linkage, constitutes the basis of the materialist epistemology. The practical activities of human beings do not *create* this correlation between things and any statements about them; they *disclose* and *verify*, i.e., substantiate it.

The pragmatism of William James (Dewey's instrumentalism is a different variant) contends that practical usefulness does more than ascertain the occurrence or nonoccurrence of knowledge and truth. Practice *creates* what is true or not true for us. For pragmatism the usefulness of ideas to humans defines the truth, which is brought to birth through their acting upon this or that idea. In Marxist theory the usefulness of ideas is derived from their correct reflections of the external world. The true or false content of our mental abstractions is brought to light and tested by our actions.

These two conceptions of truth are incompatible. One of them strives to report the relations, properties, and processes of objective reality as accurately and fully as possible. The

other is content with the purely instrumental functions of ideas that presumably satisfy human needs (other than the urge to know what the foundations of truth really are!). Pragmatism does not insist that our ideas really harmonize with the facts.

Now hearken to the Healyite. "Far from being 'indissolubly merged' with the real world [as I had maintained], our concepts are brought into unity with objective reality only in the practical struggle to change this reality." Such a one-sided version of the interaction between reality and our concepts leaves out their preexisting material unity and makes knowledge depend, not upon the content common to ideas and facts, but only upon the practical activities that disclose and demonstrate the truth or nontruth of our ideas. *It is not I but my critic who follows in the track of the pioneer pragmatist William James!*

Falk goes on to argue: "Your undialectical approach to the Marxist method leads you into the empiricist [!] view that concepts are meaningful in virtue of some static relationship to 'the facts.'" Let us set aside the adjective "static," which is dragged in to obscure the issue. Whether facts are in motion or at rest, whether they are undergoing more change or less, concepts—even the most imaginary—have meaning only by virtue of some relationship to facts.

What other source could the meaning of ideas have, from the point of view of a materialist? Falk does not bother to tell us.

Despite his pretensions, the Healyite reasoner is really neither materialist nor dialectical in his approach to the problems of philosophy and politics. His erroneous objections to my views inexorably land him in the company of the pragmatists and idealists. Such is the ironic dialectical outcome of the debate between us.

* * *

Falk pejoratively describes me as "a middle class intellectual" trained in philosophy and excoriates me for betraying the task Trotsky entrusted to me in 1940 of defending and disseminating the logical method of Marxism. When I challenged several Healyites to name one other person in the English-speaking countries who has

written more and worked harder to popularize the doctrines of dialectical materialism in the decades since Trotsky's death, they could only cite Cliff Slaughter, Healy's penman.

Since not only Novack, but Slaughter and Falk, happen to be middle-class intellectuals by origin, there can be no purely sociological distinction between us. On the political and theoretical levels the *quantity* of my philosophical production considerably outweighs that of my two opponents. To my knowledge Falk has written little else than his assigned attack upon my views; and Slaughter's output over the past fifteen years consists of a few pamphlets. I am willing to leave any judgment about the *quality* of our works to unprejudiced readers.

Thereby hangs a tale that deserves to be told. During the late fifties, when we were still political collaborators, Gerry Healy held a different estimate of my merits as a Marxist theoretician. During a meeting with him at Toronto he talked to me with some anxiety about the intellectuals such as Slaughter and others in England who had been won over to Trotskyism from the CP after Khrushchev's revelations and after the Kremlin had put down the proletarian uprising in Hungary.

Healy urged me to write a series of articles on Marxist method to help counteract the theoretical miseducation they had received under Stalinist auspices. He wanted to ensure that they would be guided by Marxist principles, not by shortsighted empirical considerations.

I agreed to fulfill the request and Healy subsequently published several early chapters of my book on *Empiricism and Its Evolution* in his theoretical magazine, *Labour Review*. At that time he had no inkling that I had departed from dialectical materialism or let Trotsky down. (I didn't even let him down!) He discovered these heinous faults in me only after he disagreed with the SWP on the necessity for reunifying the divided forces of the Fourth International.

Every sect must have its pontiff (Healy), its fetish (his peculiar distortion of the dialectic method), and villainous iconoclasts who refuse to accept its dogmas and must be defamed at all costs. Heading Healy's list are Joseph Hansen as a political analyst, Ernest Mandel as an economist, and

myself as a philosopher. But the real target of the Healyite frenzy and fury is the genuine teachings of Trotskyism as these are implemented by the Fourth International. They resort to the most flagrant falsifications in pursuit of this unworthy aim.

Sectarians know no restraint. They compensate for their disdain of reality by being spiteful and vindictive toward their revolutionary opponents. These are bad traits in politics. Such subjectivism violates the objectivity demanded by Marxist materialism.

According to Lenin, "objectivity of

consideration" is the first requirement of the dialectical method. (See: *Collected Works*, Vol. 38, Philosophical Notebooks, p. 221.) The Healyite disregard for the facts flouts this injunction at every step. Their ultrafactionalism, exemplified afresh by the Australian "Open Letter," precludes any objective and accurate examination by them of the real situation in economics, politics, or philosophy. These braggarts about dialectics cannot employ its method in any truthful or productive way.

July 2, 1973

Nixon Moves to Shore Up Puppet Regime

Sihanouk Asks for Ammunition for Rebels

Norodom Sihanouk announced July 13 that he would shortly leave for a three-week visit to North Korea and would thus not be in Peking when Henry Kissinger makes his scheduled visit to the Chinese capital.

According to a Reuters dispatch, Sihanouk explained that "any meeting with Mr. Kissinger would offer President Nixon an excuse to tell Congress and the American people that negotiations were going on. This, he said, would give Mr. Nixon leverage with Congress to continue the bombing after the [August 15] deadline in the hope that the attacks would force the Sihanouk supporters to the conference table to negotiate a cease-fire."

Three days earlier, Sihanouk had suggested that the matter of beginning negotiations without loss of face could be solved by talks between Nixon representatives and leaders of the Khmer Rouge liberation forces. In an interview, Agence France-Presse reported, "Sihanouk said Mr. Kissinger could use the Chinese Premier, Chou En-lai, as an intermediary to put forward proposals for negotiations with the Cambodian Communists, thus 'leaving open a tiny door.'"

Sihanouk's suggestion was already being carried out before he made it. After meeting with Kissinger and Nixon July 6, Huang Chen, the Chinese representative in Washington, flew back to Peking for consultations on the behind-the-scenes efforts to reach a cease-fire agreement.

While Sihanouk continues playing "hard to get" in the hope that the promised August 15 bombing halt will improve his negotiating position, the Chinese bureaucracy's willingness to help Nixon is undermining his stance. At a banquet in Peking July 6, Sihanouk again declared that the rebel forces in Cambodia are no longer being supplied with equipment:

"From that date [January 27], the Khmer people's Armed Forces of National Liberation have not received any arms or ammunition from fraternal countries. Their new arms and ammunition have been furnished to them involuntarily by the routed units of the traitorous Lon Nol army."

Sihanouk appealed directly to the assembled diplomats for material support:

"U. S. imperialism does not understand and will never understand anything other than the language of force. To force, one must respond with force. That is why I venture to ask all friendly countries, all fraternal countries and anti-imperialist comrades-in-arms of the Khmer people to give, send and bring over as soon as possible arms and particularly ammunition, again ammunition and always ammunition, to the Cambodian people's Armed Forces of National Liberation, so as to help them prevent the extermination of the Khmer country and people and regain national independence."

Sihanouk said he expected the Saigon puppet regime to take over the bombing of Cambodia after August 15. He also described another aspect of Nixon's strategy:

"... several thousand mercenaries of Thailand, trained and paid by the CIA and made 'available' by the cease-fire in Laos, have already been introduced into certain of our provinces, particularly in Battambang. Starting from August 16, it can be foreseen that U.S. imperialism will introduce into Cambodia several thousands of other Thailand mercenaries and even army units of Saigon."

The commander of U.S. army forces in the Pacific, General Frederick Weyand, arrived in Phnompenh July 13 for talks with the Lon Nol "government." Weyand's arrival followed a three-day visit to Saigon during which, it is safe to assume, details of future intervention in Cambodia were worked out.

But despite Nixon's diplomatic and military offensive against the Cambodian rebels, the success of his strategy is still far from assured. The corrupt Phnompenh "government" remains under a virtual state of siege. On July 14, it declared a "red alert" in expectation of attacks on the city. All unemployed persons and all men between the ages of eighteen and thirty-six were ordered to report for induction into the army.

These moves were apparently touched off by an increase in the rate of desertion from the puppet army.

"Until recent weeks," Sydney H. Schanberg reported in a July 13 dispatch from Phnompenh to the *New York Times*, "the Cambodians always seemed to be able to find enough recruits among the peasants and particularly among the hundreds of thousands of refugees whose homes have been destroyed in the fighting and [who] have no place to go."

"But apparently morale is at a new low, a condition that General Sosthene Fernandez [commander in chief of the puppet army] seemed to acknowledge in a broadcast to the people three nights ago in which he exhorted them to ignore all 'rumors' about how weak the Government forces were." □

Political Expenses

"The Chinese . . . replied by referring to 'certain persons' struggle for hegemony.'" — *Far Eastern Economic Review*
In dollars, rubles, or yuan?