

# Intercontinental Press

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## Tenth Chinese Party Congress

*A Monument  
for Lin Piao*



**French Cops Oust Lip Workers;  
Solidarity Campaign Continues**

## Sociologist Tortured by Secret Police

Vida Hadjebi Tabrizi is a sociologist and researcher at the University of Teheran. As she was driving home from work one day in July 1972, she was stopped by a police car and taken prisoner by the secret police, SAVAK. Ever since, she has been held in Teheran's Evin Prison, although the authorities have not yet officially made public her arrest.

"Prior to her arrest," wrote Birgitta Theander in the August 31 issue of the Stockholm daily *Dagens Nyheter*, "she was engaged in research on the living conditions of Iran's peasant population. Five other sociologists from the same institution were arrested just after she was."

A petition is currently being circulated in Swedish sociological institutions demanding humane treatment for Hadjebi Tabrizi. The petition, which will be handed over to the Iranian prime minister, is being organized by Group 36 of Amnesty International.

"No one knows what Vida Hadjebi Tabrizi is accused of," wrote Birgitta Theander. "She has never been involved in any attempt to overthrow the government, and has never used or advocated the use of violence. But there is hardly any doubt that SAVAK, which has now had her in its custody for a year, will be able to manufacture some kind of 'proof.'"

"While SAVAK is busy gathering evidence, efforts are being made to elicit a confession through torture. It is obvious that Vida Hadjebi Tabrizi has been subjected to harsh torture. She has lost any sense of feeling in her hands and feet, and she has a bad heart, bad blood circulation, meningitis, and no longer menstruates at all."

An observation by a spokesman for the military court of appeals offers an illustration of the kind of justice that awaits political prisoners in the shah's courts: "We are not sitting here in order to engage in new deliberations but in order to strengthen the sentences." □

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## French Cops Oust Workers From Occupied Lip Factory

By Jon Rothschild

Capitalists speak more freely when they talk among themselves than when outsiders are listening in. Listen, then, to an extract from an article on the June 19 seizure of the Lip watchmaking plant by its workers in an employers' magazine published in the Franche-Comté region of France:

"French society as it is conceived by the government of the country and by most of the ruling classes has rarely been so threatened in its principles as now, to judge by the Lip affair. The threat did not come in a spectacular manner, but the action of the Lip personnel, as calm as it may appear, is not for that reason any less insidious. By this we mean that in other situations of general social agitation or of political disturbances, the illegal acts that are committed, while they may be numerous, do not always carry grave consequences for the institutions of society.

"For example, even the events of May '68 did not really attack these principles. The burned automobiles, the streets with the paving stones torn up, the trees knocked down, the pictures slashed, were only accidental, even if the acts were deliberately committed. This excess provoked a reaction that set everything aright.

"At other times in the past, the pressures exerted by agricultural or road-transport commandos and so on, were never more than somewhat regrettable acts of violence. Slightly more serious in principle were the kidnappings of personnel. But even here, the foundations of society were not strongly shaken.

"The Lip affair is something else again. Calmly, and without creating any great distress, it is denying or transforming property rights; it is bringing to light a great weakness on the part of the employers; it is showing that public power and justice can be defied or even mocked; and it is doing all this with the moral support of the greater part of the population, and, we repeat, it is doing it calmly."

This extract was reprinted in a spe-

cial joint issue of *Rouge* and *La Brèche*, Trotskyist newspapers published in France and Switzerland respectively, with an introductory remark noting that it "well expresses the employers' discomfort in face of the exemplary character of the struggle of the Lip workers." The employing class,

### Pierre Rousset Released!

Pierre Rousset, a leader of the ex-Ligue Communiste, the now-banned French section of the Fourth International, was released from prison August 31. Rousset had been held since June 22, the day on which 700 cops ransacked the Ligue's headquarters, following clashes June 21 between antifascist demonstrators and police defending a fascist rally in Paris. Rousset was arrested during the police "search" and was charged with responsibility for "arms" the cops claimed to have found.

Rousset could have been sentenced to three-to-ten years in prison on the frame-up charges. At his trial the defense showed that the police search had been illegal and that Rousset could not be held responsible for the "arms." The judge sentenced Rousset to two months in prison—that is, the time he had already served while awaiting trial—and turned him loose, an implicit recognition that the government had no case. "All we want in this case is to establish the facts," the judge had declared. "These facts," the September 2-3 *Le Monde* reported, "incontestably argued in favor of the accused."

however, expresses its unease not only in words. The occasion for the special issue of *Rouge-La Brèche* was the French bourgeoisie's move on August 14 to put an end to the "Lip affair" with a timely intervention by 3,000 troops from its political police. The police assignment was to evict the Lip workers from the occupied factory in

Besançon, the town that is the center of the French watch-making industry. That job was accomplished. But the Lip affair has not been ended—far from it.

Lip is the best-known and largest watch company in France. It was recently purchased by Ebauche SA, the Swiss trust that also owns the Longines company. On June 19, faced with the discovery of a company plan to carry out massive layoffs—a prelude to an almost complete dismantling of the factory—the 1,320 workers at the plant in the Palente section of Besançon took over the plant. From that date until August 14 they organized production on their own, administered the operation, and sold the watches produced directly to the public at a 40 percent discount—all very calmly. (See *Intercontinental Press*, August 6, p. 957 for a description of the roots of the Lip struggle, the occupation of the plant, and the initial impact of the occupation on the European political scene.)

Immediately, the struggle of the Lip workers to maintain their jobs became a symbol for the whole European workers movement. Most distressing to the French capitalist class was not the "loss" of a relatively small factory, but the political and social implications of the Lip action, the message summed up in the huge sign hung up by the workers in front of the factory: "It can be done. We are producing, we are selling, we are paying ourselves."

The Pompidou regime tried to defuse the Lip struggle through a negotiation process. Minister of Scientific and Economic Development Jean Charbonnel drew up a "plan" to "restructure" the factory, and dispatched a special emissary, Henri Giraud, whose job it was to sell the Charbonnel plan to the workers. The workers were willing to negotiate. But they saw no reason to evacuate the factory while talks went on; and they insisted that whatever settlement was arrived at, there could be no layoffs,



Workers in Besançon march in solidarity with Lip workers. Demonstrations took place throughout France after CRS cops seized factory on August 14.

there could be no dismantlement.

Several times, the government carried out small-scale police operations against the Lip workers. But massive solidarity, not only in France but throughout Europe, held the regime back from moving seriously against Lip. The attack finally came in the middle of August, at the height of the vacation period, a time when, according to government calculations, repercussions of the police attack would be least heavy. That may prove to be yet another miscalculation by the Pompidou government.

### The Police Action of August 14

The cops' reoccupation of the factory was done early in the morning. At 5:30 a.m., according to the August 15 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde*, troops from the CRS (Compagnies Républicaines de Sécurité—Republican Security Corps) set up roadblocks around access routes to the plant.

At 6:00 a.m. the first group of cops sneaked into the factory through a rear entrance. This group encircled the workers on guard inside the factory—a group of a few dozen who were not expecting any attack. Three police cars came through the front entrance, and some twenty-five bullet-proof police vehicles blocked off the entrances and the plant parking lot.

At 6:30 the cops inside seized the workers guards. The guards were re-

leased in small groups after identity checks were conducted.

The CRS operation was well planned and succeeded in taking over the factory quickly. But the cops had come prepared to inflict whatever casualties necessary on the workers. They were armed with rifles, clubs of various kinds, grenades, and tear-gas launchers.

By 6:30 a.m. the Lip workers in the city were informed that the cops were moving on the factory. Workers delegates began streaking through Besançon in cars equipped with loudspeakers, broadcasting the news to the population. By 7:30, a crowd of more than 1,000 had gathered in front of the factory on the opposite side of the CRS cordon.

The August 24 issue of *Rouge* described the reaction in Besançon to the police occupation:

"First, there was Kelton, a plant that had never gone out; 300 women workers took to the streets chanting 'Lip-Kelton, same fight.' At Rhodiaca the strike was nearly complete; just one engineer stayed in the plant. At the entrances to the post office, the employees were discussing—'Should we go down there?' 'Yeah, let's go'—and they set out, on foot or by car, to Palente. By 6:30 the railroad station was jammed, trains were blocked. The electricity and gas workers cut the power to factories that were not yet on strike, as well as to the occupied Lip factory.

"All the industries sent delegations: Social Security workers, Spiraux, the family assistance workers, Compteurs Schlumberger, Maty, Weil, Microméga. Each delegation made up its own banners and signs. The railway workers grabbed an old cloth and wrote their slogans with coal; others looked around desperately for old cardboard to make signs out of.

"By 9:00 a.m. it was decided to call for a demonstration in the city for 3:00 p.m. People returned to their factories and to other places to call on others to walk out and come to Lip. During the entire morning, constantly, there was a crowd of 3,000 people surrounding the cops guarding the Lip plant, ceaselessly demanding that they account for their presence. Little by little the cops' resistance began to weaken; the tension was so great that on the Rue des Géraniums they had to be relieved constantly. But in spite of that, two of the cops fainted.

"The workers were on loudspeakers constantly, announcing strikes, preparing for the demo. The whole neighborhood was a massive traffic jam. Cars were stopped to tell the drivers what was going on. They were asked to park for a while and then drive off honking their horns."

By 3:00 p.m. the demonstration had built up to more than 10,000 persons—with no preparation, no publicity except for that carried out by the workers with their bullhorns. A completely unprecedented action for the month of August in France.

The spontaneous desire of the crowd of workers was to confront the CRS and to take back the factory. In fact, the first leaflet issued August 14 by the CFDT (Confédération Française Démocratique du Travail—French Democratic Confederation of Labor) indicated that this would be the goal of the action:

"Call to mobilization . . .

". . . Objective: the CGT [Confédération Générale du Travail—General Confederation of Labor] and the CFDT call on all workers to assemble at 3:00 p.m. at Palente (in front of the *maison des jeunes*) from where we will go to the factory to express our determination to take back the factory for the workers."

During most of the morning, that was the idea being kicked around. But the local leaders of the Commu-

nist party-dominated CGT convinced the demonstrators to go to the police station downtown instead of to the plant. It is possible—with a crowd of 10,000—that the factory could have been retaken but for that decision.

## The Solidarity Movement Spreads

The August 14 demonstration developed into a twenty-four-hour general strike in Besançon. And the mobilization continued after that. Some factories that had been on vacation August 14 went on strike as soon as they were scheduled to come back to work. The August 31 *Rouge* indicated something of the prevailing mood: When the workers at the Mischler factory in Besançon returned to work from vacation, the employer came into the plant to ask: "When are you planning to walk out for Lip?"

A leaflet put out by workers at Rhodiaceta announced that they were prepared to "walk out whenever the Lip workers ask us to, any time, day or night. . . . For the struggle of the Lip workers is the struggle of the whole working class."

Many other plants in Besançon took the same attitude. But the solidarity movement was not at all restricted to the Besançon area. The *Rouge-La Brèche* dated August 17 reported strikes going on in more than forty factories in various provinces. Street demonstrations had occurred in Toulouse, Dijon, and Caen within one day of the police attack on the Lip factory. The railroad workers conducted a one-hour national strike; in some areas, the action was extended to twenty-four hours.

Solidarity meetings and demonstrations also took place in Switzerland.

Many unions began spontaneously to set up local liaison committees to carry on solidarity work. The August 31 *Rouge* quoted from a leaflet put out by the Besançon municipal workers:

"The struggle for the Lip workers is not over. Lip needs the help and support of all the workers in the country. A Lip liaison and support committee will be created among the municipal employees (whether unionized or not). To be effective, this committee must include many volunteers."

But despite the local initiatives and the obvious militancy being displayed by workers all over France, the central leaders of the national union federations have not moved to organize the solidarity movement on a nationwide scale. On August 16 a mass meeting was held in Besançon at which Georges Séguy, head of the CGT, and Edmond Maire, head of the CFDT, shared the platform. There were union delegations from many areas of France at the meeting. In Paris on August 22 a successful meeting was also held. But despite the promising beginning, no national framework has been set up by the union bureaucrats.

After the August 22 solidarity meeting in Paris, the union leaders and the reformist workers parties called for a meeting to discuss how to continue the solidarity movement. *Rouge* and *Lutte Ouvrière* asked to attend this meeting. They were excluded. "We can only regret this," wrote S. Triton in the August 31 *Rouge*, "for any exclusion at all weakens the support for the Lip workers." She went on to explain that *Rouge* had wanted to attend the meeting to make three proposals:

"1. That a national placard be issued by the unions in 500,000 copies.

"2. That a national twenty-four-hour general strike, to be accompanied by united solidarity demonstrations, be called.

"3. That committees of solidarity with the Lip strike be created everywhere.

"These proposals correspond to three needs of the movement: to extend popularization of it much further; to give the solidarity movement a second wind by a centralized initiative able to stand against the regime from a position of strength; to construct a deeply based united rank-and-file solidarity movement."

The meeting, Triton reported, adjourned without making any concrete decisions. General declarations on the need for extending solidarity were issued, but no organization of the movement was planned. She noted that the Communist party has yet to produce a single national poster on the Lip struggle. The parties of the Union of the Left (the CP and the SP) have been willing enough to proclaim unity in meetings and press conferences; unity in action is something else again.

The electoralist outlook of the CP

and the SP, Triton wrote, determines the limits the reformists have set on the solidarity movement:

"—decentralized actions, important strikes in some sectors (like the national radio and television company or in the mines), calls [to workers] in local factories to walk out and put forward their own demands;

"—*But*, nothing that could prepare for a central test of strength with the regime on the field of workers struggle like Lip; nothing that threatens to touch off a political crisis without any electoral escape hatch except for the county elections now going on.

"But that is exactly what the strikers need: For ten days now, there has been no lack of solidarity. The movement has spread like an oil stain, hitting new factories, new cities. If it has not broadened even more, it is because no central objective has been offered for it. That is the real problem.

"*A total position of strength in face of the government must be created through centralized initiative. The sympathy and the mobilization that has been generated around Lip makes this possible.*"

## Repression at the Lip Plant

While the reformist workers parties have restricted the impact of the solidarity movement, the Lip workers in Besançon, encouraged by the spontaneous eruption of sympathy strikes, demonstrations, and messages, have continued to fight on. The CRS occupation of the factory soon began to take on the aspect of an occupation of a city under wartime conditions. For an entire week after the August 14 takeover, workers and youth in Besançon gathered daily around the factory to manifest their feelings for the police.

The cops set up a dragnet outside the plant, arresting and beating such isolated individuals as they were able to pick off. They ransacked the factory, which had been kept in perfect running order by the workers, and continually fired tear gas into crowds of spectators.

For about a week, the crowd outside the factory stayed at about 2,000 a day. The crowd would shout at the cops, and would applaud when a cop would faint from standing outside too long in the heat. At certain points, the cops launched tear gas

into the crowd and charged into it, beating anyone they could get their hands on.

The August 24 *Rouge* reported the testimony, given at one of the workers general assemblies, of a worker who was arrested and held for twenty hours by the police. He had left for Paris on the morning of August 14 at about 3:00 a. m. to help organize a meeting for the Lip struggle. He had left his car parked at the railway station near the factory. When he came to retrieve it, just before midnight August 14, he was intercepted by the cops. He told them he was only looking for his car. "You son of a bitch, you're hiding Molotov cocktails there," one of the cops said.

The police beat him up, then dragged him to his car and opened the trunk. Inside they found electrical cables that are used for jump-starting and a bottle of alcohol. A Molotov cocktail factory, they announced.

The worker was held overnight, was beaten several times, was forced to stand for long hours with his hands on his head, and was finally charged with having thrown stones and cocktails at the police. By the end of the first week of the police occupation of the plant, thirty-three workers and one student had been sentenced on similar charges to jail terms from one month to six months.

### But the Lip Workers Fight On

Charles Piaget, a militant of the CFDT who has emerged as a major leader of the Lip workers, told a gathering of several hundred workers on August 15 that "we will transform the police intervention into a political defeat for the government."

The Lip workers did several things immediately to make sure that the police action did not crush the movement. An antirepression commission was set up and has been gathering testimony from victims of police brutality and distributing instruction sheets to the workers on what to do in case they are arrested. ("You are obligated to give only your name, date and place of birth, profession, and address *and nothing else*. . . . Do not answer any questions; just keep saying, I have nothing to say, I have nothing to say, I have nothing to say. *Do not sign anything*. If you are held more than twenty-four hours,

demand to see a doctor; *this is an absolute right they must grant you*. . . . Refuse to make any statement unless an attorney is present," etc.)

But the workers are also trying to maintain production and sales of watches so they can support themselves. But with no factory? "The regime hoped to bring us to our knees by occupying our plant," declared Piaget. "But they don't understand that wherever the workers are, that's where the factory is. The factory is not the walls, it is the people. Tomorrow [August 16], the Lip flag will fly over the Jean Zay gymnasium."

Jean Zay is a local school. In its gymnasium, the Lip workers have established what they call the "New Factory." The August 30 *Le Monde* published a report by a representative from Agence France-Presse who visited the "clandestine workshop."

"We can make about 80 to 100 watches a day here," the head of the shop told the reporter. "That represents about 15,000 francs daily for ensuring our wages. So this operation is not purely psychological."

The August 31 *Rouge* reported that from the New Factory the struggle goes on. The commissions set up by the workers when they first took over the plant continue to function. The popularization commission has put out the seventh issue of *Lip Unité*, the strike bulletin. A series of tape cassettes telling the Lip story is being produced and distributed. A film on the struggle is in the works.

The commission for organizing trips is functioning, sending workers all over France to organize educational and solidarity meetings. The restaurant commission, created to take over the plant cafeteria, is serving 1,000 meals a day. The production and sales commissions, their ability to operate reduced by the police occupation, are resuming their work with the products of the New Factory.

And the workers have ensured that no one will be running the Lip factory in their absence. "The factory is not going to operate without us," a workers statement declared. "We did not damage any machinery, but we removed some vital parts from each machine without which the shops cannot function. We chose especially to set aside pieces of the machines that are either very new or very old, so it will be difficult to replace these vital parts."

On August 31, the Lip workers held their second "wildcat payday" since they took over the plant. According to the unions, 1,167 pay envelopes containing a total of 2,200,000 francs were handed out. Each worker who accepted the pay signed the following pledge:

"I honestly affirm that I have received neither unemployment nor social security benefits for the period August 1-31, 1973. I am engaged in a struggle to defend my employment, to prevent the dismantling of the plant, and to protect the gains already made. I will continue this fight, decided on and led by all the Lip employees. This pay represents the wages that are due me for the month of August. It has been raised by the sale of the watches."

The disbursement of August salaries was conducted under tight security (to prevent government interference) in the Lux movie theater in Besançon. Outside, the marquee advertised the current feature: Woody Allen's "Take the Money and Run."

### What Next?

When the police moved against the factory, Minister of Scientific and Economic Development Jean Charbonnel explained that the action was necessary because his totally reasonable offers for settling the Lip dispute had been rejected owing to the "intransigence of certain of the employees' delegates." He claimed that he was only interested in "restructuring" the Lip company so that production could resume (in fact, it had never been interrupted) and so that "the greatest possible number" of Lip employees could be "rehired."

Charbonnel's "plan" for settling the dispute in fact closely parallels the scheme devised by Ebauches SA, the Swiss trust that has acquired the Lip company and has been planning to "rationalize" it by virtually dismantling the operation. The Charbonnel plan involves dividing the present Lip company into three or four groups and calls for reducing the work force by at least 25 percent.

The workers have insisted — and continue to insist after the August 14 police attack — that they will accept no solution that entails any layoffs, any dismantling, or any retraction of the gains they have already made.

Negotiations between the Lip leadership and government representatives are currently going on. The form of the negotiations is in the image of the conduct of the Lip struggle so far. All the unions are represented; general assemblies are held at which proposals and reports are made. The negotiators, Suzanne Triton reported in the August 31 *Rouge*, have rejected "secret diplomacy." All the sessions are taped, and the workers are able to listen to what has gone on.

As to the content of the negotiations, there are grounds for some concern. The solutions put forward by the reformist workers parties are hardly ones that answer to the needs of the Lip workers.

The Communist party and the CGT have proposed that sufficient French capital — public and private — be found to buy back the Lip company from Ebauche. Controlling shares, the Stalinists suggest, should be held by the Institut de Développement Industriel (IDI—Institute for Industrial Development), a paragonovernmental organ fueled by private capital. The trouble is that it is hard to find a capitalist in France today who is willing to take on the Lip operation, whose very unprofitability was the reason it was sold by its original owners to the Swiss trust, whose aim in turn is to radically "restructure" the company. The Stalinists have thus taken their usual chauvinist position, recommending to the Lip workers that they exchange a "foreign" capitalist for a "national" one.

The leaders of the PSU, which is strong in Besançon, have proposed that the government make Lip into a national corporation. The PSU insists that if the plant is "adapted to the market" and is run by an "expansion-oriented management," it can be made profitable. The PSU adds that the "capitalists well know that Lip can be made a profitable enterprise!" The PSU suggests operating the plant on that basis for three years (!) at which time it could be decided whether to form a workers cooperative or a private company, or to continue the interim solution.

There are problems with the PSU's "solution" as well. The first option has already been rejected by the workers, who have declared that they do not desire to become capitalists them-



CHARLES PIAGET: Workers won't yield on "no layoffs, no dismantling."

selves. The second option once again amounts to asking the workers to seek out the "best" capitalist for their factory. And the interim solution amounts to asking the bourgeois state to contribute enough capital for some employer to transform Lip into a profitable enterprise.

On August 28, CGT head Georges Séguy sent out a letter to all CGT unions warning that it is "very important for yourselves, for all workers, and for public opinion generally, that you affirm at all times your desire to move at the earliest possible time by means of true negotiations to a satisfactory solution. . . ." And he cited as examples of "satisfactory" solutions cases in which workers had accepted layoffs.

In the meantime the August 29 issue of *Les Echos*, an employers' magazine, evoked the famous 1936 statement of Maurice Thorez, then head of the Communist party: "You have to know how to end a strike."

The members of the ex-Ligue Communiste, formerly the French section of the Fourth International, have been demanding the nationalization of Lip

under workers control. The August 24 *Rouge* noted that the pure and simple expropriation of Lip was the only solution that corresponds to the workers interests; and pure and simple expropriation means nationalization without compensation.

At the same time, *Rouge* warns that the workers control of the Lip factory must be seen primarily as a means of struggle, and not as a solution in and of itself. As a means of struggle, the workers occupation has proven its worth. But there can be no thought of an "island of socialism" in a capitalist sea.

"In struggle, when the Lip workers ran their factory, when they solidly organized their movement, they also did work *outside* the factory at the same time. And the question will inevitably come up sooner or later: How can the gains of this fight be guaranteed? How can we make sure that things don't slide back to the 'way they were before'?"

The only way, *Rouge* writes, is to systematically impose workers control — over pay scales, work rates, selection of supervisory personnel, hiring and firing — and to combine that struggle for control with the generalized political struggle to destroy the bourgeois state.

It remains to be seen whether the combined action of the reformist bureaucrats and the capitalist regime will be able to impose the Charbonnel plan on the Lip workers. A big test will come during the month of September, when the vacation period ends. If the solidarity movement continues to develop as broadly as it has so far, it may well be difficult for the bureaucrats to keep control of the situation.

Meanwhile, the negotiations go on. In an interview published in the August 17 *Rouge-La Brèche*, Charles Piaget reiterated that despite the police occupation of the plant, the workers would hold firm to their demands.

"The only legality we recognize," he said, "is 'no layoffs, no dismantlement.' Everything else is the legality and justice of the employers." And further: "There will be only one solution: really serious negotiations that can take place only on the basis of no dismantlement, no layoffs, and maintenance of gains won. And that is because the workers are more important than the sacrosanct capitalist law of profit." □

## Tenth Congress of the Chinese Communist Party

By Les Evans

The official communiqué describes the Tenth National Congress of the Chinese Communist party, held in Peking August 24-28, as "a congress of unity, a congress of victory and a congress full of vigour." It is understandable that a party that has gone through two major splits and purges within its topmost leadership in less than seven years would want to convey such an impression of well-being. What lies beneath the surface is undoubtedly more complex.

The congress, only the third since 1945, was perhaps the shortest in the party's history. Held behind closed doors and without advance notice, its deliberations were confined to an extraordinarily small two-item agenda: a brief political report by Premier Chou En-lai, which was primarily devoted to reviling former Defense Minister Lin Piao, hero of the previous congress of 1969; and a revision of the party's constitution presented by a relative newcomer to the leadership, Shanghai "model worker" Wang Hung-wen. A new Central Committee, Political Bureau, and Political Bureau Standing Committee were elected.

The congress had several limited and specific purposes. These did not include any discussion of national economic policies. Chou's comments on this question were limited to four sentences: "Our country's industry, agriculture, transportation, finance and trade are doing well. We have neither external nor internal debts. Prices are stable and the market is flourishing. There are many new achievements in culture, education, public health, science and technology." (Hsinhua, September 1 dispatch.) The very generality of the claims suggested their ritual character.

The real business of the congress consisted of the public and official posthumous expulsion of Lin Piao, and his surviving supporters, from the party; the declaration of an anathema against the young radicals who took Mao's demagogic pro-

nouncements against bureaucracy during the Cultural Revolution for good coin and tried to implement them; the reassuring of the secondary echelons of the bureaucracy that they enjoyed the support and protection of the top leadership; and the organizational preparation for the eventual death of Mao by the addition of a few younger members to the party's leading bodies—"successors" to the aging leadership.

### The Indictment of Lin Piao

Chou's enumeration of the charges against Mao's former "close comrade-in-arms" followed the usual Stalinist technique of slander:

"Lin Piao and his handful of sworn followers were a counter-revolutionary conspiratorial clique. . . . The essence of the counter-revolutionary revisionist line they pursued and the criminal aim of the counter-revolutionary armed coup d'etat they launched were to usurp the supreme power of the party and the state, thoroughly betray the line of the Ninth Congress, radically change the party's basic line and policies for the entire historical period of socialism, turn the Marxist-Leninist Chinese Communist Party into a revisionist, fascist party, subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism. Inside China, they wanted to reinstate the landlord and bourgeois classes, which our party, army and people had overthrown with their own hands under the leadership of Chairman Mao, and to institute a feudal-comprador-fascist dictatorship. Internationally, they wanted to capitulate to Soviet revisionist social-imperialism and ally themselves with imperialism, revisionism and reaction to oppose China, Communism and revolution." (Hsinhua, September 1.)

Without some genuine evidence—not supplied by Chou or the Chinese press—it is, of course, impossible to know whether Lin actually plotted a coup

against Mao in September 1971. It is noteworthy that none of the survivors of the alleged attempt were permitted to appeal their expulsion to the Tenth Party Congress. Nor has there been a public trial, even a frame-up show trial of the type staged by Stalin in Moscow in the 1930s, in which some attempt to present the government's case could be made.

Lin's record, going back to the 1920s, is that of a military commander and Stalinist official. The claim that he sought to institute a "feudal-comprador-fascist dictatorship" is not only politically absurd but highly damaging to the CCP leadership itself. Lin, after all, joined the party in 1925. He was one of the leading Stalinist generals during the Kiangsi Soviet period. He participated in the Long March. And he was the chief commander of the Maoist forces in the decisive battles in Manchuria in 1947-48 that smashed Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang army and led to the Maoist victory in 1949.

This is not to mention Mao's appearances at Lin's side during the Cultural Revolution, the chairman's adulatory praise for his "close comrade-in-arms," and the inclusion of Lin's title to the succession in the party constitution adopted at the Ninth Congress in April 1969.

Chou was aware that his listeners were all too familiar with this record. This led him to seek to obliterate Lin's accomplishments from the very beginning:

"Lin Piao, this bourgeois careerist, conspirator and double-dealer, engaged in machinations within our party not just for one decade but for several decades." His proof was to dredge up a long-forgotten criticism of Lin by Mao made in January 1930—when Lin was twenty-three years old! The full import of this kind of reasoning is difficult to grasp at one shot.

The Maoists claim that China is a socialist society. They insist that their party consciously and carefully selects



cadres on the basis of the clearest and most revolutionary program in the world. This is not true, of course: The CCP is a Stalinist party run on bureaucratic-centralist rather than Leninist democratic-centralist lines. But imagine the impact even in a bourgeois party of an announcement that, for example, Winston Churchill was really an agent of Hitler who, after defeating Hitler on the battlefield, sought to assassinate King George VI in order to establish a Nazi dictatorship in collaboration with the house of Hapsburg.

Chou's explanation of Lin Piao's program and motives is the crudest kind of conspiracy theory of history, to be swallowed only by those gullible enough to believe anything.

### Burchett's Inside Dope

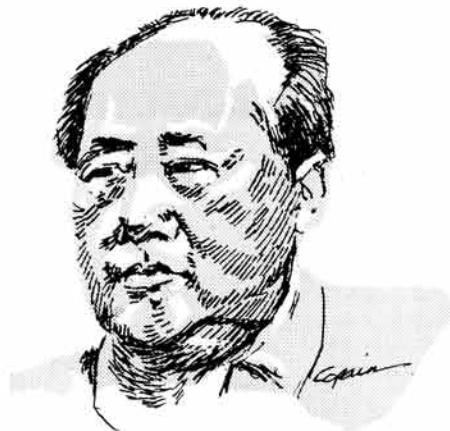
It is two years since Lin allegedly died in a plane crash in Mongolia while trying to flee to the Soviet Union. It has taken the Maoist hierarchy that long to come up with what it evidently considers to be a convincing explanation of the events surrounding Lin's downfall.

It should be remembered that the first public announcement of Lin's death did not come until July 1972, and then it was made to the world press through the Chinese embassy in Algiers and was not published inside China. Chou's report is the first presented to the Chinese people that attacks Lin by name. (For the last year, however, the Chinese press has carried articles repudiating the policies of "Liu Shao-chi and other swindlers," a code word for Lin Piao.)

The Western press has again been privileged to receive a major "leak" in advance of the Chinese people. To divert attention from the political questions raised by the top-level purge of Lin and the many high-ranking military officials who disappeared with him, a lurid account of Lin's plot has been peddled to various publications by veteran Maoist camp-follower Wilfred Burchett. It appeared in full in the August 20 *Far Eastern Economic Review* and in the New York Maoist weekly *Guardian*. A shorter version was published by the *New York Times*.

Datelined Peking, this semiofficial document purports to contain all the

inside dope, even including a dig at Lin's "rather sinister-looking wife who, with her down-slanting eyebrows, looked like a villain from Chinese classical opera." Burchett bases his account, he says, on a "massive dossier on Lin Piao's waverings, ambitions and feudal-type plotting" that is evidently circulating to a select clientele inside China, although it has not been published in any public form. The dossier, Burchett writes, "shatters the image of Lin Piao created by himself and his closest followers." This category is evidently not supposed to include Mao, although the chairman himself gave the boost to Lin's for-



MAO TSE-TUNG

tunes during the Cultural Revolution and has yet to utter a word of public criticism of his former personally selected heir.

Mao is gotten off the hook by virtue of a letter he is supposed to have written in July 1966 to his wife, Chiang Ching—a principal leader with Lin and Chen Po-ta of the Cultural Revolution—expressing vague distrust of Lin ("Certain of his ideas greatly disturb me . . ."). Mao nevertheless was responsible for the 1969 change in the party constitution making Lin his official heir. The breach is supposed to have come at the Second Central Committee Plenum of the Ninth Central Committee in August 1970, which rejected Lin's proposal that he fill the vacant post of head of state formerly held by Liu Shao-chi. As Burchett puts it, "Lin turned into a classical, feudal-type conspirator from that moment on."

From that moment, indeed, the tale begins to resemble the script of a James Bond film, with Lin cast as

the notorious evil-doer. It seems that a coup was to be staged on the night of September 12, 1971, preceded by the assassination of Mao. Trusted subordinates were engaged to blow up Mao's train on a trip from Shanghai to Peking. Luckily for Mao, the wife of the soldier entrusted with pushing the button was a doctor. "She gave him an injection which produced a temporary severe blurring of his eyesight at a moment when hair-breadth coordination of eye and hand was decisive. So he did not touch off the explosion. And his wife informed her party branch committee."

Two other attempts the same night were similarly thwarted. Lin, meanwhile, knowing the jig was up and that he would soon be traced, decided to flee to Russia. With a few close associates, Lin drove to Peitaho airport east of Peking. Chou En-lai had issued an order that no planes could take off without signed authorization from himself and Lin Piao. Lin bluffed his way past this obstacle. But just as his plane was taxiing for takeoff, "a suspicious member of the fuelling crew parked a huge fuel truck squarely across the runway." Why an ordinary member of a fueling crew would become "suspicious" of the comings and goings of his country's defense minister—after the plane had been cleared for takeoff by the airport officials—and then risk killing Mao's designated heir on the basis of his suspicions is not explained.

Lin's plane, having used up too much fuel evading the blockade, ran out of gas before it reached its destination in Mongolia and crashed, killing all aboard (except for several passengers who Burchett darkly hints were shot en route in a "gunfight").

Burchett concludes with presumably unintentional irony:

"In any case, it is one more extraordinary episode in the drama of the Chinese revolution, not to mention another of those triumphs which Mao Tse-tung continues to bring off against all odds."

### Why the Purge of Lin?

Until there is some independent confirmation, it would seem only wise to treat with considerable skepticism the claim that Lin sought Mao's death. One of the central aims of the Cultural Revolution was the replacement of the

Political Bureau, led by Liu Shao-chi, with the personal regime of Mao, in the pattern of Stalin's consolidation of his personal dictatorship through the purges of the late 1930s. Lin Piao served as an instrument in the elimination of the Liu faction.

Burchett's tale of the fuel-crew technician, if there is any truth to it at all, suggests a different interpretation from the one the regime chooses to place on it. It is understandable that Lin, discovering himself slated for elimination, might attempt to flee. Who but a member of the secret police under explicit orders would threaten the lives of high government officials by risking the destruction of their plane in the way described? And isn't "died trying to escape" the classic formula for silencing an embarrassing prisoner?

From the standpoint of method there are other indications that more remains to be told, both about the fate of Lin Piao and about the underlying considerations of the Tenth Party Congress. Lin, after all, was Mao's designated heir. Even if he had been denied the post of head of state, he had only to wait for Mao's death to assume the leadership of the party. What concrete policy differences did he hold that brought him into conflict with Mao and Chou and made him so impatient? This is a murky area. Unlike Liu Shao-chi, whose distinct policies can be gauged by the actions of Peking in the years 1959-66, Lin was intimately associated with Mao's name until his disappearance.

Obviously the predominance of the People's Liberation Army in the provincial Revolutionary Committees was a major factor, although an organizational one. But this near hegemony has been only slightly reduced by the purge of Lin's followers. Military figures such as Yeh Chien-ying, de facto defense minister, and Li Teh-sheng, political commissar of the army, are prominently represented in the newly elected all-powerful Standing Committee of the Politbureau.

More specific charges (without mentioning Lin by name) were made in the August 1972 issue of the CCP's theoretical journal *Red Flag*, which accused Lin (referred to by the code words "Liu Shao-chi and other swindlers") of fostering "ultrademocracy, disregard of organisational discipline, absolute egalitarianism, individual-

ism, and 'small-group' mentality." He has also been charged with opposing the elevation of the Soviet Union to the status of public enemy number one, insisting instead on equal billing for the Kremlin and American imperialism. He was said to have opposed, as a corollary, the détente with Nixon ("Chairman Mao's revolutionary diplomatic line") at the expense of the Vietnamese revolution.

The truth of these charges is difficult to evaluate. By associating these "sins" with Lin's name, the party leadership can declare them to be heresies with-



LIN: Killed "trying to escape."

out inviting embarrassing comparisons with many of Mao's promises and appeals during the Cultural Revolution. The campaign against "ultra-leftism" has been energetically pursued in the Chinese press since Lin's fall. It is certainly convenient to link the deceased "traitor" with the more immediate opponents of the party's monolithism among the intellectuals and the students who are still being deported to remote areas of the countryside.

The Tenth Congress thus marked a definitive break from the antibureaucratic verbiage of the Ninth Congress. This was signified not only by the choice of epithets hurled at the corpse of Lin Piao, but by the expulsion of Mao's long-time personal secretary Chen Po-ta, a guiding light of the "leftist" phase of the Cultural Revolution. In defiance of all the known facts, the recent congress denounced

Chen as, among other things, a "Trotskyite," despite his long literary career as a sycophant of Stalin and Stalinism.

These charges are not really aimed at either Lin or Chen, or any other sector of the bureaucracy. They are meant to outlaw the more radical of the Red Guard groups and their sympathizers, an action organizationally symbolized by the recent resurrection, under firm party control, of the moribund Young Communist League.

The attacks on "ultra-leftism" have had another target as well, however, and this is what has made the lower echelons of the bureaucracy uneasy and in need of reassurance. In addition to the genuine radicals and "egalitarians" who have received a drubbing, the Maoist high command has had to make a small but significant retreat from certain of its supercentralizing projects of the Cultural Revolution, projects it now brands as "ultra-left" and blames on Lin Piao and Chen Po-ta.

One of Mao's intentions in opposing the "material incentives" favored by Liu Shao-chi was to hold down wages in general (he was never opposed to a large spread in the wages paid, granting the bureaucracy a font of special privileges). The Chinese press for some years has called on the masses to practice "plain living" and "frugality." Nevertheless, under the impact of bad weather from 1971 onward, the regime was forced to raise the price for industrial crops and to advocate equal pay for women farmworkers in order to win their contributions to the labor force.

Furthermore, a retreat was made in efforts to centralize decision-making at the commune rather than village level. This was a pet Maoist project initiated in 1958 during the Great Leap Forward. During the retreat under Liu Shao-chi from 1959 onward, the communes, while existing in name and performing some functions, yielded most of their decision-making power on wages and the disposal of the crops to the village-centered production teams.

In the Cultural Revolution a less ambitious effort was made to return to the commune-centralized administration of the Great Leap period. This was not particularly successful and was abandoned after the drought hit in 1971. Party cadres who continued

to follow the previous line came under attack as "ultraleftists," although in reality they were the opposite: super-Stalinist centralizers.

## The Need for Stability

Mao and Chou sought to limit as much as possible the dislocations arising within the bureaucracy from the dumping of Lin Piao and the relatively small policy shift indicated above. In the fight with Liu Shao-chi, many of Liu's supporters were purged from the leadership and from the party. Clearly, many officials who had worked under Lin and Chen feared similar reprisals. The need to ensure stability—primarily to prevent the masses from intervening in the intrabureaucratic dispute as they had done to some extent in 1966-68—was predominant in the staging of the Tenth Party Congress.

This was one of the reasons for the much publicized rehabilitation of a number of high "Liuist" officials at the congress. Thus Teng Hsiao-ping, one-time party secretary general, was reelected to the Central Committee after being dropped in 1969, as was Ulanfu, former political boss of Inner Mongolia. In fact, no fewer than thirteen members of the committee dropped in 1969 were restored in 1973.

The returnees, however, like those who survived the 1969 purge, are part of the aging and ossified old guard of Chinese Stalinism. The required image of stability could not be maintained without some show of preparation for a transition in leadership on the death of Mao and Chou. This was a major concern of the Tenth Party Congress. Unfortunately for Mao, such a transition is incompatible with the supercentralized Bonapartist regime he heads, a regime that can tolerate no independent claimants to leadership.

Thus, for example, when it came to electing the Standing Committee of the Politburo, the two new figures who had won some notice in the course of the Cultural Revolution and survived the Lin-Chen purge, were passed over: Chiang Ching and the prominent Shanghai journalist Yao Wen-yuan (the only member of the outgoing Politburo under fifty years old) failed to secure reelection. The most likely explanation is that they were too closely associated in the popular

mind with the "leftist errors" of the Cultural Revolution.

The solution hit on by the bureaucratic tops was the inclusion in the leading bodies of several young apparatchiks who had distinguished themselves on the organizational plane in recent years. The most prominent of these is Wang Hung-wen, a "model worker" from Shanghai, who was given the honor of presenting the report on the constitution and of being photographed on the podium next to Mao and Chou. It remains to be seen if this method of creating "leaders" will provide any future for Chinese Stalinism when the old guard is gone.

With the exception of Wang Hung-wen, who is thirty-six, and Li Teh-sheng, who is in his late fifties, the rest of the Standing Committee is not

exactly notable for its youthfulness or for its provision for "revolutionary successors." It includes Mao (79), Yeh Chien-ying (73), Chu Teh (86), Chang Chun-chiao (60), Chou En-lai (74), Kang Sheng (69), and Tung Pi-wu (86).

On the foreign-policy front, the congress reaffirmed the class-collaborationist course pursued by Peking in the past: continued détente with Washington; attempts to organize a bloc of the smaller workers states and capitalist powers, especially in the underdeveloped world, against the "superpowers" (the U.S. and the USSR); and the singling out of the Soviet Union as China's principal enemy. The voice of proletarian internationalism did not get the floor at the Tenth Congress of the Chinese CP. □

## 800,000 March in Support of Government

## Chilean Opposition Steps Up Offensive

By David Thorstad

For more than five hours September 4, supporters of Chile's Popular Unity government marched past the Moneda Palace in downtown Santiago in commemoration of the third anniversary of the election of Salvador Allende to the presidency. Between 700,000 and 800,000 persons paraded past as Allende and his cabinet looked on, according to *Le Monde* correspondent Pierre Kalfon.

Kalfon described the sight in the September 6 issue of the Paris daily: "In contrast to traditional parades in socialist countries, this one was marked by gaiety, humor, and a festival-type atmosphere. Bands, allegorical floats, and songs punctuated the passage of the various union or political organizations. But to the now classic slogan 'Allende, the people are defending you; hit the reactionaries hard!' were added new slogans this time, such as: 'Even without sugar or coffee, we will always stick with the UP [Unidad Popular—Popular Unity].' The slogans, chanted in unison by a joyful crowd, give an idea of this combativity of the Chilean left that continues to astonish conservative milieus as well as foreign observers."

"In a festival atmosphere," wrote Jonathan Kandell in the September 5 issue of the *New York Times*, "farmers drove tractors in tight formation through narrow downtown streets, bands struck up military marches and folk songs, and spectators scattered confetti and paper streamers from Government buildings."

The large mobilization came amid reports that a new round of secret negotiations between the government and the Christian Democratic opposition, ostensibly aimed at reaching agreement on ending the current anti-Allende offensive, had collapsed.

At the same time, the executive committee of the UP chose this point to issue a statement September 5 in which, for the first time, it expressed solidarity with the sailors and non-commissioned officers held by navy authorities for refusing a month earlier to obey orders to involve their ships—a cruiser and a destroyer—in some kind of coup maneuver. The navy had accused the forty-two sailors of a "subversive attempt" and tried to link them with the far left.

The UP executive committee state-

ment expressed "solidarity with the sailors and NCO's who have been charged, whose attitude was only to defend the constitution and the laws and reject the orders of those who were trying to involve the navy in a coup attempt."

It also denounced "unprecedented tortures to which the detained men have been subjected." (See *Intercontinental Press*, September 10, p. 979.) It demanded guarantees of "correct and just treatment and respect for the human rights of the sailors unjustly accused."

In addition, reported Kalfon, the statement expressed "'the broadest' support on the one hand to Messrs. Altamirano and Garreton, leaders of the Socialist party and of the MAPU [Movimiento de Acción Popular Unitaria—Movement for United Popular Action] and, on the other hand, Mr. Miguel Enriquez, leader of the MIR [Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria—Movement of the Revolutionary Left], who was recently still being accused of 'ultraleftism' by the Communists. Last Monday [September 3], Mr. Enriquez himself brought very harsh charges—accompanied by precise facts, dates, names, and figures—against several navy officers who were involved in a plot against Mr. Allende, but have still not been arrested."

Any new signs of militancy on the part of the UP, however, have not shaken the determination of the right wing to continue its offensive.

The strike by truck owners, which began July 25 as the spearhead of the offensive, has continued despite the decision of the government to ban the truckers association August 30. The strike is in its sixth week, and has cost more than \$100 million.

September 4, the day the government was celebrating its third anniversary, the truckers were joined by two other groups. The Confederation of Professional Employees, which claims a membership of more than 90,000 white-collar workers, began "an indefinite work stoppage that its leaders said was intended to bring about a change in Government policies," according to Kandell, writing in the September 5 *New York Times*.

That evening, the National Confederation of Retailers, with a membership of some 40,000 small-businessmen, announced a forty-eight-hour strike.

The day before, private airplane pilots began a seventy-two-hour work stoppage in sympathy with the truckers. And a large majority of the country's doctors and nurses continued their strike, begun two weeks earlier.

Mobilizations continued September 5 with two simultaneous demonstrations by women—one in support of Allende, one in opposition. The anti-government march, reportedly the larger of the two, drew more than 100,000, reported Kandell. It was organized by the National party and the Christian Democrats.

"Women demonstrators had begun streaming down from the middle-class neighborhoods north of the city center in the late afternoon," Kandell noted.

"Many of them were lithe teen-agers wearing school uniforms and marching with locked arms chanting verses about the scarcity of food and other products.

"When they reached the main building of the Catholic University of Chile—the focal point of the gathering—they waved miniature Chilean flags and white handkerchiefs and called on President Allende to step down.

"Resign! Resign!" they screamed as they jumped up and down, imitating a gesture made popular by leftist supporters of the Government.

"Older women, dressed in chic pant suits and flared slacks, joined the younger protesters in front of the gray university building whose windows remained shattered from previous demonstrations."

The women were flanked by "male youth brigades" of both parties.

That evening, the national committee of the Christian Democratic party decided to bring impeachment proceedings against "six or eight" of the fifteen members of Allende's cabinet. While impeachment itself is nothing new, this is the largest number of targets selected by the opposition at any given time.

The reason used, for public consumption, to justify the move was that the government had allegedly ignored an admonition by the opposition-controlled Chamber of Deputies to "return to legality." However, the party leadership privately explained, reported Marlise Simons in the September 7 issue of the *Washington Post*, that the real goal is either to "separate the armed forces from Allende's newly formed Cabinet" and thus to weaken

it, or to "force the military to accept Cabinet posts only if they can appoint other officers to the civil service," thereby enlarging the influence of the military in the government.

In addition, a campaign to collect signatures demanding the removal of Allende is being carried out on a national scale.

Meanwhile, acts of violence and sabotage appear to be on the increase. At the beginning of September, explosions and fire destroyed two headquarters of the Communist party in Valparaiso and near Santiago, and the Santiago headquarters of the Radical party. A bomb damaged the door of the Chilean-North American Cultural Institute, which is run by the United States embassy, and two key oil pipelines into Santiago were dynamited and put out of commission temporarily.

On August 30, three unidentified men opened fire on the residence of Cardinal Raúl Silva Henríquez, archbishop of Santiago. The next day, police said, there were five "terrorist" attacks in the capital and four in other cities.

The sabotage campaign appears to be spearheaded by the fascist organization Patria y Libertad (Fatherland and Freedom). On the night of September 1-2 alone, the group reportedly carried out a dozen assaults.

On September 2, navy troops and police occupied the Catholic University in Valparaiso in an effort to dislodge members of the group who had moved onto the campus. Defense Minister Orlando Letelier said that 340 gasoline bombs were discovered in the schoolyard.

The same day, Roberto Thieme, a leader of Patria y Libertad who was arrested August 26, was indicted on charges of "unlawful association."

The authorities have not limited themselves to these moves against the rightist instigators of the wave of sabotage, however. They have demonstrated their "evenhandedness" by going after the far left as well. On September 1, for instance, the armed forces arrested twenty members of the MIR near Temuco, in the southern part of the country after discovering an underground grenade factory.

"According to an official statement," reported *Le Monde* September 4, "the operation made it possible to uncover a school for guerrillas and a center for training guerrilla cadres." □

## 4,000 Attend Meeting of Workers Front

[The Argentine Frente de los Trabajadores (Workers Front) held its second convention in mid-August. Some 4,000 persons attended, representing unions from all over the country. The following report on the gathering was published in the August 22-29 issue of *Avanzada Socialista*, weekly newspaper of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers party). The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

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On Saturday, August 18, the second plenary gathering of the Workers Front met in Buenos Aires to discuss the national situation, to adopt a program, and to choose an electoral ticket that will represent the class-struggle wing of the working class in the coming elections [September 23]. Its size, its representative character, and the workers democracy that prevailed throughout its deliberations made it the most important gathering of the workers vanguard in the last fifteen years.

The spectators, some 1,600 compañeros from the Juventud Socialista

de Avanzada [JSA—Vanguard Socialist Youth], packed the upper levels of the Federación de Box [Boxing Association]. They provided an impressive backdrop with their chants and their red banners, although they did not take part because they had no vote in the workers gathering, and because the lack of time made it impossible for any of their speakers to get the floor.

Political delegations from the following fraternal organizations took part as observers: ERP fracción roja [Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo (Revolutionary Army of the People) Red Faction] (one of whose members spoke), two factions of El Obrero [The Worker], Socialismo Revolucionario [Revolutionary Socialism], Resistencia Clasista [Class-Struggle Resistance], Compañera Alicia Bonet from the relatives of the Trelew martyrs, and a member of the Centro de Lisiados Peronistas [Peronist Center for the Handicapped].

A great part of the time was taken up with the presentation of the workers delegations, each of which was greeted emotionally and enthusiastically. Since they came from all over the interior

of the country, there were those who saw each other again for the first time in many years; this was true, for instance, of a compañero from Neuquén now in Nordiska, who was able to embrace Méndez, the delegate from Cutral-Co [in Neuquén].

A particularly intense greeting was given to the compañeros who have been fired from their jobs—victims of persecution by the bosses and the bureaucracy—and to those who had just finished fighting battles, such as that of Cutral-Co or the Sanfranciscazo, one of the leaders of which, Compañero Martínez, was given a big ovation.

After the meeting had gone through the list of delegations present, a presiding committee was elected. The compañeros stood up, to bursts of applause, as they were nominated and elected. One of the most enthusiastic ovations—a high point of the meeting—was for the compañeros of the Provisional Committee of Materfer and Concord, in whom the gathering recognized the inheritors and continuators of the exemplary leadership provided by the [now banned] SITRAC/SITRAM [Sindicato de Trabajadores Concord/Sindicato de Trabajadores Materfer—Concord Workers Union/Materfer Workers Union] in the Fiat factory in Córdoba.

Honorary presidency of the gathering was given to Mateo Fossa and the working class of Uruguay, Bolivia, and Chile.

Compañero Páez presented the report on the first point. He noted that we are living through historic times, since the political independence of the workers is in the process of taking shape. He described the long struggle to achieve it and stated that the elections will be an instrument for achieving it. To this end, he proposed that the gathering press Compañeros Tosco and Jaime to agree to become the candidates of the Workers Front. His report was followed by discussion, which was pressed for time. A construction worker from Buenos Aires called the bureaucracy the country's "Cosa Nostra" and said that "the time for making Victory-signs is past; now we have to struggle for what we need." Other compañeros also took the floor, while the presiding committee reported on the course of the meeting being held in Tucumán, with which telephone



Jose Paez, PST vice-presidential candidate, addressing public meeting in Cordoba. To his left is Juan Carlos Coral, PST presidential candidate.

communications were maintained.

One speaker proposed that in view of Tosco's decision not to run, the meeting simply go ahead and select its own ticket. This prompted a debate between those who supported the Coral-Páez ticket, with the understanding that Tosco and Jaime would continue to be pressured to accept, and those who wanted to nominate the Coral-Páez ticket directly. The vote was overwhelmingly in favor of the

first position.

The meeting could not go any further because of the lack of time, but closed with an agreement to invite Compañero Coral to speak. His speech [reprinted below] was interrupted frequently by applause. The final shouts and cheers, and the strains of the "Internationale," were an indication that it had been an important day in the march toward building the great, revolutionary party. □

## 'We Want An Instrument of Struggle'

### Coral Speaks to Argentine Workers Front

[The following are major parts of a speech by Juan Carlos Coral to the August 18 meeting of the Workers Front. They were published in the August 22-29 issue of *Avanzada Socialista*, weekly organ of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers party). The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

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Compañeros: As we reach the end of this gathering, we could say that there are two sentiments that we all share: disappointment at the stubborn refusal of Compañero Tosco to assume the position in the struggle that class-struggle and revolutionary sectors throughout the entire country have called upon him to fill; yet also a feeling of legitimate and militant pride because the vitality that has been achieved by the Socialist Workers party and the Workers Front, and that is expressed in this gathering, shows us that we have reached a point where we can make any decision we want without being dependent on the individual will of anybody.

We have come out of an election campaign in which we took part, with our class-struggle and revolutionary approach, in order to speed up the process of building the party and organizing the working class. We saw to the silent but daily task of educating our cadres, carrying out propaganda among those we influence, and agitating everywhere to move the working class forward. But the weakness of

the bourgeois regime is so great that today we find ourselves faced with a new electoral challenge. And our response has not been to sit it out until things clear up, because for us much was cleared up prior to March 11 [date of the last election].

We know how many votes we are going to get, but this is of no importance to us, for proletarian victories have never been measured—nor will they ever be—by election totals, but in the day-to-day struggle. Páez and I are not afraid that we will suffer a letdown over the number of votes we get. Even if we were to receive only two votes—his and mine—we would still run in the elections in order to use them to get out revolutionary propaganda. For there is a worse way of being let down than getting a small number of votes, and that is to live on the hope that the ideal conditions will come along.

We thought it very important—and we continue to think so—that Tosco head up the ticket; and, as was voted on here, we will exhaust all possibilities to persuade him to. This is why we withdrew our candidacy; for Tosco symbolizes this completely new stage in Argentine workers struggles that opened up in 1969. These struggles show—even in the theoretical discussion on the tactics and roads toward taking power—the historical effectiveness of workers mobilizations. All by themselves they were able to kick out the powerful dictatorship of the commanders in chief.

The class-struggle and revolution-

ary sectors that cast blank ballots in March, or voted for the FREJULI [Frente Justicialista de Liberación—Liberation Front for Social Justice, the Peronist coalition], are coming to understand our line, for although Tosco is not turning out to be the candidate, and although others are deserting us, the very fact that they are discussing it in a gathering like this shows that we were right when, *alone*, we started out on this road March 11.

We pointed out that the development and consolidation of the class-struggle currents in the Argentine union movement was a very positive phenomenon, but that if no socialist political content is given to these class-struggle forces their struggle will be deprived of a revolutionary dimension. For it is with the union that we go after the economic positions of the bosses, but in the field of politics it is with the party that we go after the positions of power that they hold and from which they must be removed if we are to build the socialist republic to which we aspire.

Perón, Balbín, and General Cargano have put together the broadest alliance of classes that the country has known. Facing them is this joint, valiant attempt of the Socialist Workers party and the Workers Front to expend every effort to bring together all sectors that want to struggle against the bosses and the bourgeois state. We don't want to grind any special sectarian axes; we don't want a little party that functions as a kind of machine for promoting its own leaders. We want an instrument that can be effectively used in building a socialist Argentina. □

### Propaganda Effort

In still another triumph of Western civilization, U.S. psychological warfare experts have prepared a recruiting poster for the Cambodian puppet army.

The posters, which are on display in the streets of Pnompenh, show a young man in civilian clothes being refused by a prostitute, who tells him: "You don't appeal to me. I only make love with soldiers."

Presumably the next propaganda defense of the American Way in Pnompenh will show a heroin dealer refusing to sell to a civilian addict and saving his wares for soldiers.

## Scab Legislation Ends Canadian Rail Strike

[The following article is scheduled for publication in the September 10 issue of *Labor Challenge*, fortnightly newspaper of the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, Canadian section of the Fourth International.]

\* \* \*

SEPTEMBER 4—The emergency bill designed to force the 56,000 non-operating rail workers back to work was rammed through Parliament in the early hours of September 1. By today most workers had returned to work. It appears that there will be no repetition of the 1966 experience, when thousands of rail workers defied Parliament and stayed on strike for a week.

The "non-ops" are bitter at the government strikebreaking move, but they have been worn down by weeks of rotating strikes.

The terms of the government bill represent a defeat for the rail workers. They had originally demanded a 27 percent raise over two years; Parliament gave them only 17.6 percent. These terms may be revised upward by an arbitrator, but past experience indicates that any increases granted will be slight.

Parliament has condemned the non-ops to continue to suffer substandard wages, and even these meager wages will be devoured by rampant inflation. After the war, the rail workers were among the best-paid and most job-secure of all transportation workers. But automation and government interference in negotiations have drastically altered their position. Today they are among the poorest-paid transportation workers.

The original union demands had included a catch-up factor to begin to redress this situation. They had also taken into account the cost of living, now spiraling upward at an annual rate of over 8 percent.

Job security, work rules, and pensions are also to be settled by the arbitrator.

The bill also removes the right to strike from 36,000 other rail workers.

The trainmen and shopcraft workers will be forced into compulsory arbitration if they fail to reach agreement with the companies.

Union leaders and members who defy the legislation are liable to fines of up to \$1,000 a day or two years in prison.

The unions had earlier indicated a militant response to the initial strike-breaking bill of the Liberals. R.C. Smith, chairman of the negotiating committee of the eight non-op unions, declared, "It is an iniquitous piece of legislation. We are being ordered to betray our members and break their strike under threat of fines and jail sentences."

A statement issued by the negotiating committee and sixty officers of the unions vowed: "We . . . will refuse to order our members back to work on the basis of the legislation as it has been introduced. . . . We cannot and will not comply with the directive to us to break our own strike."

Thousands of rail workers—many of whom had staged wildcat strikes since January against the delays in negotiations and the refusal of the rail barons to bargain—staged demonstrations across the country protesting government strikebreaking attempts.

In Winnipeg, 1,200 rail workers marched; in Toronto, over 2,000. In Ottawa more than 2,000 carried placards demanding "No forced labor" and vowing "We won't be railroaded." The militant demonstrators repeatedly chanted, "We won't go back," and "Hell, no, we won't go."

Angered and frustrated by how the government was treating them, a small group of Ottawa demonstrators broke through police lines to force their way into Parliament.

New Democratic party (NDP) leader David Lewis blasted the railroads' refusal to offer the workers a decent wage. Speaking in Parliament August 30, he pointed out that Canadian Pacific's 1972 profits increased by 27 percent, and that in the first half of this year they went up 53 percent.

He termed Canadian Pacific a "cor-

porate welfare bum" which had received \$2-million more in federal subsidies than it had paid in federal income tax.

Yet the union spokesmen quickly withdrew their militant words when the Tories added four cents an hour to the government's original terms. R.C. Smith said that the unions had two choices—put up a "militant and valiant fight, or obey the law. . . . We have decided the second course is the best one."

The leadership of the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway, Transport, and General Workers took a membership vote before it ordered its members back.

The defeat of the rail strike is a serious setback to all labor. The non-ops had been saddled with grossly inferior wages, while thousands of other rail workers have overnight lost their right to strike. In addition, the rail workers, through their struggle, had taken the lead in labor's fight against inflation, demanding substantial wage increases to compensate for the soaring cost of living.

Their inability to win these demands will necessarily push back attempts by other groups of workers to win adequate settlements.

Most importantly, the government decision to legislate a return to work is a dangerous step in the direction of a ban on strikes in "essential services" or in the entire public sector. Such proposals are being heard more and more frequently from big-business spokesmen and their press.

The *Toronto Star* commented on the strikebreaking legislation, "The government's position is only a short step away from a declaration that railway strikes which shut down the whole system are not tolerable at all, ever." It goes on to call for a ban on strikes in a wide range of other areas.

The main responsibility for labor's defeat lies with the bureaucrats at the head of the Canadian Labor Congress (CLC, affiliated with the AFL-CIO) and its affiliated unions. No statement of support for the striking rail workers came from the offices

of the CLC brass, much less a call to the ranks to mobilize in opposition to the threat of strikebreaking by Parliament and in support of the legitimate demands of the strikers.

The CLC should have organized massive participation by the entire labor movement in the demonstrations the rail unions called across the country when they were faced by Parliamentary strikebreaking. A solidarity campaign should have been organized in all unions, including labor rallies to inform workers of the danger of court injunctions and Parliamentary scab laws.

Instead, the union brass left the rail workers alone to face the combined might of the rail barons and state machine.

The position of the NDP leaders basically mirrored that of the CLC brass. They also failed to give the rail strike unqualified support. While voting against the final bill, they accepted the legitimacy of Parliamentary intervention to end the strike.

Instead of taking a clear, principled stand, which could have educated many workers, the NDP joined the haggling over the terms under which the rail workers' strike would be broken, finally supporting the Tory amendment when their own amendment was defeated. They then counseled the workers to submit to the law.

Transport Minister Jean Marchand scored a telling point against the NDP in his demagogic speech August 31 in defense of the legislation. "Lewis claims he wants more for the strikers, but he won't go all the way and oppose the idea of back-to-work legislation," Marchand pointed out.

"If the NDP had really taken a socialist attitude, they would have been opposed to any kind of settlement legislated by this House, regardless of public opinion," he continued.

The rail workers, who had shown signs of considerable militancy and willingness to fight government strikebreaking, were also saddled with a weak and inadequate leadership. The strategy of rotating strikes was aimed at avoiding Parliamentary intervention against the workers. It failed to do so. But it did manage to drain the militancy and financial resources of the members.

The railways met the selective strikes

with lockouts, forcing thousands of other workers off the job as well. The union heads blocked from the beginning any attempt to mobilize the full strength of tens of thousands of members.

Important lessons stand out from the entire experience:

- The need for a campaign by labor against antistrike injunctions and legislation, including plans for mass defiance of any such interference by the state.

- The need to mobilize against the threats to deprive sectors of the labor movement of their right to strike.

- The need for the entire labor movement to throw its weight behind groups of workers engaged in key battles with the bosses, as the non-ops were.

- The necessity for the NDP to encourage and to help lead such actions.

While the return to work of the non-ops marks a defeat for labor, the entire battle is far from lost. Other major class conflicts are posed in the next few months in auto and steel. Important strikes are now being waged by the paper workers and the Hamilton [Ontario] civic workers.

The government's attempt to limit or end the right to strike of important groups of workers, and to hold wages down while inflation skyrockets, can be turned back if the labor movement now begins to take steps to mobilize its great potential strength behind the next major group of workers who move out in battle against the united power of the bosses and the government. □

## IRA Figures Marked for Assassination

### Kenneth Littlejohn—Agent Provocateur

By Gerry Foley

"One of my main functions was to assassinate a man called Shamus [sic] Costello, who was the effective Number 1 of the Officials [the Official Irish republican movement], and who had been trained in Moscow. I was also to assassinate another high up member in the Officials, Sean Patrick Garland, who I believe was trained in Cuba. . . .

"I was also told to assassinate MacStiofain (then Chief of Staff of the Provisional IRA) in the summer of 1972, just after operation Motorman. Keith and I waited in a car outside MacStiofain's house, which is at 32 Blackcastle, Navan, Co. Westmeath—but we never saw him. The instructions we were given were that MacStiofain's body was to be blown up so that it was completely unrecognisable. We should also take his car to Dublin Airport, and thereafter money would be sent from Canada to his family so that it would appear that he had absconded with IRA funds. They [the British secret service] would also spread rumours to this effect, which they had previously attempted to do so."

This was the statement given to the

magazine *Time Out* (August 10-16) by Kenneth Littlejohn, a convicted bank robber and acknowledged agent of British intelligence.

Kenneth Littlejohn and his brother Keith claimed to have infiltrated an Official IRA "Special Forces Group," according to the British magazine:

"The Officials have long been regarded by Intelligence as a potential threat to the British Isles. In conversations we had with both brothers [we found out that] the Officials' commitment to lasting social revolution and the creation of the 32 County Workers Republic in Ireland had created the fear amongst British intelligence that the Officials would ultimately be responsible for the 'equivalent,' as Kenneth put it, 'of a Cuba on Britain's doorstep.'"

The August 12 London *Sunday Times* reported that Kenneth Littlejohn first came in contact with the Official IRA while he was on the lam from a payroll robbery charge in England. A professional thief, he tried for a time to get into another racket: "He decided to set himself up in what he called the 'rag trade,'" the London *Sunday Times* continued, "and



hit upon the idea of exporting leather hotpants from County Kerry to England. He formed a company called Whizz Kid Fashions (Ireland) Limited with Robert Stockman, who was to emerge, two years later, as the 'third man.'

Kenneth Littlejohn's business venture ended on a sour note when a Kerry leather merchant demanded payment for a couple of thousand "hot pants," and the English entrepreneur's check bounced. Next he applied for financing from Gaeltarra Eireann, the state-assisted firm that is supposed to provide employment in the Irish-speaking areas. But his credit standing in England did not inspire confidence.

As a failed businessman, there was nothing left for Littlejohn to do but ask the British government to nationalize his operation. He hoped that the contacts he had developed in Ireland would make the proposition interesting to the exchequer.

"It was at this time that Littlejohn became friendly with IRA men," the *Sunday Times* report continued, "and he says he was shown an AK49 rifle by a member of the Officials. He also collected another piece of intelligence: the Officials were planning the assassination of John Taylor, the junior minister of state for Home Affairs at Stormont.

"Neither wing of the IRA readily accepts strangers into its ranks and Littlejohn never succeeded in infiltrating the Provisionals. As one of them said last week: 'Anybody with an English accent who comes to us babbling about guns is either a fool or a British agent.' But the Officials, or at least some members, were prepared to take him seriously, because of his claim to be a professional bank robber."

Even if Littlejohn was prepared to turn on what he regarded as a dishonest employer, there is no reason to believe that as a retired servant of the Crown he was any less anxious to discredit the IRA. The fact that he described well-known veteran republicans like Seán Garland and Seamus Costello as trained in Moscow and Cuba indicates that he still believed what he was told. Unfortunately, however, the Irish guerrilla movements have a history of trying to solve what is essentially a political problem — raising money — by mil-

itary means. So Littlejohn could expect his claims to gain some credence.

What the enterprising Englishman hoped to sell, he said, was his knowledge of the plan to assassinate the Belfast home minister, John Taylor, and the identity of the Official IRA leader who allegedly commanded this mission. This information could be expected to interest the British authorities, and Littlejohn already had an intermediary in mind. His younger brother Keith, in prison in England, had attracted the attention of a society matron interested in wayward youth. She was a friend of the British secretary of state for defence, Lord Carrington.

"Keith Littlejohn was a friend and frequent visitor of Pamela Lady Onslow as early as 1969," James MacManus and Jackie Leishman reported in the August 8 *Guardian*. "A South London schoolteacher, Mrs. Barbara Hughes, who got to know the younger brother then, when she was a youth worker in Bromley, said she had visited Lady Onslow's Kensington home with Keith Littlejohn on one occasion. . . .

"Mrs. Hughes . . . said that Keith Littlejohn was very much the young Borstal [reform school] boy making good during the first half of 1969. He had a steady job and was profiled in the Observer colour supplement."

Perhaps the charitable Lady Pamela thought that a secret mission in Her Majesty's service was just the chance for an adventurous, restless youth. She refused, however, to comment on her role:

"Lady Onslow," the August 14 *Guardian* reported, "spent the weekend at her home in Kensington, London, and would only say to reporters on her doorstep: 'I am glad the weather has been nice for you standing out here.'"

The authorities, in any case, do not seem to require any character references for the kind of job Littlejohn applied for.

"It was disclosed yesterday that British intelligence services receive hundreds of offers to infiltrate and inform on the IRA every year," the August 8 *Guardian* reported. "The offers mostly come from people in, or on the fringes of, the criminal fra-

ternity in Britain, Ireland, and abroad.

"The standard procedure is to accept such offers and make payment if the subsequent information is considered useful."

The elder Littlejohn, however, insisted on meeting with a high official before agreeing to work for British intelligence. Lady Pamela arranged it. At her house he met Geoffrey Johnson Smith, an undersecretary of state in the Ministry of Defence. This was admitted in a Whitehall statement August 6.

This special treatment raises the question of what kind of a deal was made. Kenneth Littlejohn claims that it included immunity from prosecution for any criminal offenses committed in the Twenty-Six Counties and the wiping out of the charges already pending against him in the U.K. Whitehall denied this. However, the August 10 *Time Out* noted: "No explanation to counter Kenneth's version of the 'deal' is offered to show why (1) he should have an ex-directory Ministry number; (2) the Scotland Yard extension of Inspector Cameron Sinclair of the Special Branch should be in his possession."

As for Kenneth's part of the deal, *Time Out* explained: "Kenneth alleged that Douglas [his superior], in London before and after Operation Motorman, provided him with a death list of prominent IRA men, Provisional and Official, who he was to assassinate. It was in many ways a paradoxical demand for the British to make. Kenneth has always claimed that the information he gave to Johnson Smith at the original meeting at Lady Onslow's house concerned the assassination attempt by the Official IRA in Belfast on the life of Stormont Home Affairs Minister John Taylor in 1971. It is impossible to know whether the claim is true, but in his statement Kenneth Littlejohn named Joe McCann, an Official Battalion commander from the Markets area of Belfast as leader of the attempt. McCann, who was gunned down while unarmed by the British army last year, is now widely accepted as being the man responsible. Yet by the summer of 1972 Kenneth claims that the British secret service were instructing him to carry out assassinations on Official and Provisional IRA leaders."

But the patriotic bank robber's main

task was to take part in a campaign of provocations designed to isolate the IRA:

"Littlejohn says that his brief from Douglas Smythe and another MoD [Ministry of Defense] man, 'Oliver,' was to join the IRA Officials, collect information and act as an agent provocateur in the South, with the long-term aim of stirring up public opinion in the Republic against the Officials, although this is denied in the Government statement," the August 12 *Sunday Times* reported. "The object was to force the Premier Jack Lynch to bring in anti-IRA legislation—which, as it turned out, is exactly what happened."

This is the description the elder Littlejohn gave of his career in Her Majesty's service, as related by the *Sunday Times*:

"In fulfilling his *agent provocateur* role, Kenneth Littlejohn claims he took part in two petrol bomb attacks on police stations in the Republic, at Louth and Castlebellingham in September 1972. There were also a number of bank robberies in the South, and one in Newry, Ulster, although there is no evidence that Littlejohn was involved. He only admits to having knowledge of them. But the Officials suspected him of carrying out raids—not for the movement, but as a freelance. In September, they said they wanted nothing more to do with him, so he joined up with other expelled Officials and together they planned the one last raid—the biggest in Irish history.

"Smythe did not know of Littlejohn's expulsion from Official circles. Littlejohn says that the raid was simply a continuation of his *agent provocateur* role, but from all the evidence, it seems probable that he wanted money to start a restaurant—and a new life—in England. He was no longer 'wanted' for the Smethwick [payroll] raid; he claims he had been promised immunity in England for any criminal activity in Eire, and he thought he deserved the gratitude of the British Government for a hard year's spying. His only reward, he says, had been three payments of £25."

The "one last raid" was the robbery of Allied Irish Banks in Dublin on October 13, 1972, which netted £67,000 [about \$170,000]. It was a notably sloppy job carried off with an insouciance that suggested an unusual feeling of security. Kenneth was ar-

rested in England just as he was getting ready to buy a restaurant. He was extradited to Ireland for trial, where he and his brother together got thirty-five years.

Why did the British authorities agree to extradite the Littlejohns? The case was obviously a sensitive one, since they tried unsuccessfully to have the hearings held in secret. Many observers had an explanation. The Littlejohns were not the only agents operating in Ireland.

Nineteen days after the mysterious explosions in Dublin that occurred just as Lynch's new repressive legislation was coming up for a vote, Irish police arrested two spies. British officials have admitted that one, John Wyman, was an agent working for the Ministry of Defence. The other man, Patrick Crinnion of the political branch of the Irish police, was apparently his accomplice. The two were released not long before the Littlejohns were returned to Ireland.

"The serious spying charges were dismissed," the *Sunday Times* noted August 12, "because Mr Condon [the attorney general] refused to tell the court what was in the files. Both men were convicted on minor charges and given three month's jail, but then were immediately released because they had served three months on remand, and they flew together to London on February 13. Inevitably there has been considerable speculation in Dublin and London that Wyman and Crinnion were exchanged for the Littlejohns."

In any case, it seemed clear from all the press reports that prior to his arrest Kenneth Littlejohn had acted like a man who had nothing to worry about, and once he was handed over to the Irish authorities he turned very sour on his ex-employers. Of course, both parties to the original contract knew how much they could trust each other. Littlejohn forced the government to compromise itself by granting him a meeting with a top official. And as for the authorities, as the London weekly *Observer* commented in its August 12 issue: "One cannot afford to be too particular about who is used to infiltrate an organisation like the IRA. . . . (Bulldog Drummond would hardly have been in his element in the Crumlin Road [the prison in Belfast where many IRA prisoners are held])."

Littlejohn's revelations about Brit-

ish intelligence adopting a policy of assassinations in the summer of 1972 are especially interesting. It was about this time, when the mass movement had fallen to a low ebb in Northern Ireland and the spotlight of public opinion was no longer on the actions of the British forces, that a wave of unexplained murders began in the North that has terrorized the population and accentuated the decline of opposition political activity.

Public opinion in Ireland has begun to suspect that British intelligence has been carrying out a reign of terror against Irish people both North and South. In particular, speculations have centered around the December 2 killer bombing.

"The police discovered that the cars used for the bomb attack had been hired in Belfast by a man with an English accent and driving licence," the August 12 *Sunday Times* reported. "Last week, an Irish Minister said: 'You would have difficulty in finding anybody here who does not believe that those bombs were the work of British agents.' The Minister said Irish police investigation is now concentrated on that theory."

Furthermore, it has become apparent that the Irish government was a willing accomplice of British intelligence activities in Ireland. The September issue of the *United Irishman*, the monthly organ of the Official republican movement, published the photograph of a circular sent to police officers on August 18, 1971, a week after the introduction of internment in the North, ordering cooperation with British agents seeking information on members of "the IRA and other subversive groups."

Already the public reaction to the Littlejohn revelations threatens to disrupt the open collaboration between Dublin and London established during the downturn in the movement. A dispatch from Dublin in the August 15 *London Times* warned that "if there are any more unexplained deaths," the Cosgrave government would find it hard to maintain the policy of cooperation. "It is vitally important that this lesson should be learned in Whitehall and Belfast." On the other side, it is important that supporters of the Irish struggle take advantage of this opportunity to focus political opinion against both regular and "special" repression of Irish militants. □

## Austrian Steelworkers Fight 'Social Partnership'

By Hermann Dworczak

### Vienna

During June and July Austria experienced the most important workers struggle since the metalworkers strike of 1963: the strike of 1,300 workers at the Böhler steelworks in Ybbstal. Despite lack of support—and even sabotage—by the metalworkers union, the workers held out for two and a half weeks.

The immediate strike goal of a raise of 2.50 schillings [one schilling equals US\$.056] per hour for all the workers was not achieved, but the struggle at Böhler was anything but in vain.

Today the situation in the factories is completely changed. The management can no longer wheel and deal as before. The Socialist party shop committees, which openly advocated strikebreaking, are discredited and threatened with recall. The change is not confined to the Böhler factories, but is of a general *political* nature.

Since the end of the second world war the Social Democracy has concluded with the bourgeoisie and its representatives the infamous system of "social partnership." One of the products of this "partnership" was the November 1972-May 1973 "stabilization agreement"—in reality a wage freeze. The bargaining for this fall is planned to give wage increases of 12 percent, which would mean a loss of real wages.

The strike affected all three of the Böhler factories: Böhler, Gerstl, and Bruckbach. Three factors contributed to its outbreak:

1. Wages at Böhler have fallen behind those of other factories. For example, metalworkers in Waidhofen, only three kilometers away, receive 5 to 10 schillings per hour more. Within the Böhler corporation—there are other factories in Kapfenberg, St. Agyd, and Vienna—Ybbstal is at the bottom of the scale, 6 or 7 schillings behind Kapfenberg.

2. Sharper competition on the world market is forcing Austrian capitalists to become "ready for Europe" by squeezing more profits out of the workers. They have introduced speed-

ups and "rationalization," and have driven prices up. According to *official* figures, prices of important consumer goods have risen 8 percent in the last year, while wages were frozen.

3. Although the SP union leaders had been forced by pressure from below to open wage negotiations in March, the rank and file were told nothing about the character and amount of demands or about the progress of the negotiations.

On June 25, the workers decided that they had had enough. When the SP shop committees once again refused to provide information on the negotiations, the first department in Gerstl stopped work. Shortly afterward the other departments followed suit, and finally work was discontinued in Böhler as well.

As it turned out, the SPers had agreed with the management on raises of 1.50 to 1.70 schillings per hour—that is, varying raises. The workers turned this down flat, demanding 2.50 schillings for everyone. In this way, they cut across attempts to divide the workers with percentage increases.

It was decided to strike for one day and then hold mass meetings in each of the three plants. Strike committees were formed of members known to represent only the interests of the workers. In this way, the workers showed that they had learned the lesson of their 1970 strike, in which the SP shop committees called themselves a "strike committee" and then concluded a miserable agreement with the management.

At the mass meetings the next day, Böhler and Gerstl voted overwhelmingly for a strike, and the workers at Bruckbach, who had originally accepted the results of the negotiations, declared that they would join the strike as an act of solidarity. Although there were many white-collar employees who favored a strike, this was prevented by the pressure of the higher-level employees. The apprentices, prevented by law from striking, nevertheless made clear their support for the strike.

In addition to arranging pickets and other necessary organizational measures, the strike committees—in which the younger workers were the most active elements—produced almost daily strike bulletins to counteract false rumors deliberately set in motion by the bosses.

Leaflets were also distributed at other large factories in the region, contributing to the wave of solidarity that began almost immediately. Telegrams and material assistance flowed in from all over Austria, including the Böhler company's wire factory in St. Agyd.

In face of the firm strike front and the growing solidarity of other factories, even the SP shop committees had to give verbal support to the strike. The union leaders, on the other hand, sabotaged the struggle from the beginning, refusing to recognize the strike or to provide union strike funds.

At mass meetings July 3, the Böhler and Gerstl plants voted unanimously to continue the strike. (Bruckbach continued without a new mass meeting.)

The wave of solidarity also became even stronger. Especially important was a message from the shop committee of the Judenburg cast-steel factory, where the workers had been abandoned by the union in a strike last November: "We declare our solidarity with your justified wage struggle and with the demand for union recognition of the strike. We hope that, at the least, the union will not desert you as it did us in our just strike last year. In solidarity, we are sending 1,000 schillings from our shop committee treasury."

In this situation, the SP shop committees dropped their mask. After several conversations with the central office of the union, they put out a leaflet attacking the strike and calling for strikebreaking.

After this betrayal, the Bruckbach plant voted to return to work, but Böhler and Gerstl voted 475 to 372 to continue the strike. With stormy applause, the workers voted "no confidence" in the SP leaders of the Böh-

ler and Gerstl shop committees.

As the strike entered its third week, the solidarity continued. Even the youth stewards at the Social Democratic publishing house sent a message of solidarity.

The union bureaucrats then carried out a direct betrayal. First they entered the negotiations as "intermediaries" because the management treated the strike committee as an "illegal body." But as the negotiations neared a conclusion, the bureaucrats let themselves be disavowed and thus blew up the talks. SP functionaries and unionists then began going through the factories trying to hook members "willing to work."

Encouraged by the strikebreaking activity of the union bureaucracy, the bosses threatened to remove the workers from social insurance if they had not returned to work by July 12. Faced with this extreme measure and the fact that they could not count on the least support from the union, the workers decided to end the strike July 11.

Although the strike ended unsuccessfully, this did not create a mood of resignation. It was clear to the workers that *they* had not failed, but rather that they had been forced to retreat by a united front of management and the union bureaucracy.

In the wake of the strike, the bosses have thought it wise to grant some concessions, including negotiations on the extremely low wages of women workers.

Under pressure from the ranks, the union finally was forced to open its strike chest and pay members 90 schillings for each day of the strike.

But the greatest gain is the workers' consciousness of their own strength. They shook off the yoke of "social partnership" imposed on them by the SP.

The struggle is continuing within the factories, in the form of an effort to topple the SP shop committee leaders. To recall them, 50 percent of the members must ask for a special meeting and then win a two-thirds majority.

The effort may be successful, since this time there is a real alternative to the discredited SPers. The members of the strike committees have already proven their ability to represent the interests of the workers. As the bosses continue the speedup and attempt to "rationalize" by throwing workers into

the street, the Böhler workers will need a class-struggle leadership in the shop

committees to help defend their interests. □

## Seeks to Divide Rangel Supporters

# Venezuelan CP on Anti-Trotskyist Campaign

By Alfonso Ramirez

Caracas

*Tribuna Popular*, published by the Venezuelan Communist party, is on a campaign to maintain that the leftist MAS [Movimiento al Socialismo—Movement Toward Socialism] has concluded something like a pact with the devil—the devil in this case being Trotskyism. Proof of this allegedly lies in the fact that a comrade from *Voz Marxista* [the Venezuelan Trotskyist newspaper] gave a speech at the Casa Socialista del Barrio El Manicomio [El Manicomio Socialist Center] on August 6. The fact that representatives of the center notified the CP newspaper that the center's activities involved the "active participation of various independent organizations, such as the MAS, the MIR [Movimiento de la Izquierda Revolucionaria—Movement of the Revolutionary Left], *Voz Marxista*, CIPES [Comités de Independientes por el Socialismo—Committees of Independents for Socialism], Independent Women, Workers Committees of the Zone, Organizations of Christians for Socialism, CUPA, etc." was not enough to persuade *Tribuna Popular* that if a Trotskyist speaks there it is simply because he has something to say and the others are interested in hearing it. The letter sent by these organizations concludes by inviting the official organ of the Communist party to send a representative to give "a speech on whatever subject it considers to be of importance to the revolutionary movement." *Tribuna Popular* responded by calling the invitation "insolent" and flatly rejecting it.

Its editor, Gustavo Machado, went further. In addition to insisting that an understanding existed between the Trotskyists and the MAS, he told *Ultimas Noticias* that Trotskyism had ceased to be a tendency within the workers movement and had changed into a gang in the service of the CIA.

Apparently such a statement seemed too out of touch with reality to be published in his own paper at a time when no one any longer believes the slanders that were current during the Stalin purges, for the following day, August 9, *Tribuna Popular* called attention to the fact that the French Communist party is defending the Ligue Communiste (French section of the Fourth International) against the ban on it by the Pompidou regime.

In reality, to call men and women "gangsters" who in the past were the favorite targets of the crimes of the Stalin gangs is to turn history on its head. To brand as gangsters those who stood up in the Soviet Union to denounce before the Russian proletariat the betrayal of the bureaucrats is to paint Lenin—the first, who, from his sickbed, called for vigorous action to prevent the degeneration of the workers state—with the same defamatory brush.

Nowhere in the world, Dr. Machado, are Trotskyists gangsters in the service of the CIA, but rather revolutionists in the service of the working class of all countries. They seek to aid the working class to rebel against its capitalist exploiters and to throw the Stalinist imposters onto history's trash heap.

These attacks on Trotskyism (the August 21 issue of *Tribuna Popular* claims to see a relationship between Trotskyism and fascism) are mainly aimed at the revolutionary unity that has developed around the candidacy of José Vicente Rangel. Their illusory aim is to wipe out the base for that unity and to impute to the MAS an alliance with the Trotskyists that has never existed. The closest thing to such an alliance would be our support to Rangel's presidential candidacy; but prior to giving that support, we held no conversations with the MAS, nor

did we negotiate anything with Rangel or anyone else. We simply stated one year ago that as long as José Vicente Rangel made no deals with the bourgeois parties, he could count on our determined backing. For we knew then, and we know now, that he is the only candidate calling for the removal of the bourgeoisie from power. It is to the credit of the MAS that, of the fourteen candidates, it is the only socialist one. And it is not our fault that the CP is supporting the candidate of a bourgeois party.

The false accusations being made by *Tribuna Popular* are designed to sow division in the ranks of the left. This is why the newspaper *Punto* published, under the title "A letter that won't be published" (an allusion to the CP paper), the letter signed by representatives of the Casa Socialista de El Manicomio. These charges boil down, as can be seen from an article by Antonio García Ponce in the August 17 issue of the Stalinist paper, to saying that there is a "convergence between members of the MAS and the Trotskyists." This author sought to draw the Trotskyist devil out of the den of agents of the class enemy (where Gustavo Machado relegated it) in order to lay four basic charges to its account.

The first pertains to the theme of the speech that prompted *Tribuna Popular* to make a fuss in the first place. The point it raises here is true: Trotskyism has always condemned the Menshevik tactic, which Stalin revived, of the popular front; for it casts the working class at the feet of the bourgeois parties, which use it to the exclusive advantage of the bourgeoisie. This is what the party of Antonio García Ponce is presently doing in Venezuela. Instead of joining in behind the socialist candidacy, which is completely independent of bourgeois politics, it is offering its support to a candidate like José Paz Galarraga [candidate of the popular front Nueva Fuerza (New Force)]; it is trusting in remedies of the petty bourgeoisie to solve problems that nothing can resolve. García Ponce goes so far as to apply the same epithet to Rangel—"socialist saint"—that was coined by Pedro Tinoco, the most pro-oligarchy of the fourteen presidential candidates.

What truth is there in the second charge, that we reject Leninist principles of organization? The only or-

ganizations that follow these principles are Trotskyist organizations; and they do so on a level that appears to alarm García Ponce, since he speaks of "international Trotskyism" as if it were a sacrilege. What has happened is that, of these principles, the Stalinists have only retained centralism—and only in the most rigid



MACHADO: Bogged down in "first stage" of revolution.

and despotic fashion. For democracy remains a foreign element to these parties; on a national level, the political line is handed down from above, and on an international level, they are shamefully submissive to the Kremlin bureaucracy.

The Stalinists still put forward the notion of the revolution by stages. And they become angry over the fact that there are people who have reacted against this lie and left their ranks! Were not, then, the Russian, Chinese, and Cuban revolutions (to mention the three most important ones) an uninterrupted process of destroying the old order and constructing a socialist society? It is for good reason that they are backing Paz Galarraga! During the first stage, which they generally call a stage of national liberation, the bourgeoisie is to be the liberator; this stage is no doubt expected to coincide with the five years of Paz Galarraga's presidential term. When it is over, the CP will have to call a convention to decide if the time has come to move up to the next step.

But unfortunately for García Ponce, it is not the theory of stages, but the theory of permanent revolution, that has been confirmed by history.

The fourth charge leveled against Trotskyism is that of "frenzied anti-Sovietism." Who is it that has falsified the history of the Communist party of the Soviet Union? Is it those who have rewritten history, or those who have told the real history of the revolution, and not overlooked the murder of the majority of the Bolshevik leaders under orders from Stalin? Who are the real friends of the Soviet Union? Those who have sought to restore it to its glorious role as a promoter of revolution, or those who sing the praises of peaceful coexistence with imperialism? The anti-Soviets are those who identify with the oppressive rulers of the Soviet people, not those who defend this people and the workers from bureaucratic tyranny.

There is no alliance, nor anything like an alliance, between the Grupo Trotskista Venezolano [GTV—Venezuelan Trotskyist Group] and the MAS. But *Tribuna Popular* should realize that its effort to sow discord among the activists of the left will be in vain, just as all the efforts of Stalinism to isolate the Fourth International from the workers movement will certainly fail. We are not pariahs in the revolutionary movement, for we represent authentic Marxist thought and our record of struggle is clean. We are proud to be called disciples of Trotsky. And we do not believe that any revolutionist will have trouble choosing between Trotskyism and Stalinism for good company. □

#### Chinese Horatio Alger

"... Peking has gone to considerable lengths," observed the August 27 *Far Eastern Economic Review*, "to make amends to some of the casualties of left-wing extremism during the Cultural Revolution—men of little political significance but whose personal sufferings were substantial. One professional enjoyed a generous income, a self-contained flat (still a luxury in most cities), a chauffeur-driven car and an entourage of secretaries and assistants. In 1966, all perks and titles were stripped from him, and his salary slashed in half. His very considerable talents were forgotten as he laboured at a factory bench. This year, he has not only been restored to his former dignity and privileged living standards but he has been repaid the difference between his actual earnings and the salary he would have received had he remained at his post."

## Emerging Opposition Currents in the Soviet Union

By Ted Harding

[The following article is reprinted from the spring 1973 issue of *International*, theoretical journal of the International Marxist Group, British section of the Fourth International.]

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The political atomization of Soviet society is perhaps the most difficult of Stalin's legacies to overcome. However, after decades of life under a system of terror which froze society in a state of immobilism and inertia, people in the USSR are slowly reacquiring the habits of forming and expressing independent political opinions. Ever since Stalin's death in 1953, a rise in political consciousness has been increasingly apparent. It has been an uneven process, but the long-term trend is undeniable. Moreover, in the last few years the process has been accelerating. This growing repoliticization, and the various opposition groups it has thrown up, are the signs that the beginning of the end of the bureaucratic ascendancy is now imminent.

The struggle of the new Soviet oppositions for the political regeneration of their society is taking place under extremely difficult conditions. An appreciation of some of these conditions is central to an understanding of the contemporary dissident movement.

### Problems of Opposition

First, there are tremendous obstacles standing in the way of the theoretical development of that opposition. Stalinism bequeathed Soviet society a profound ideological disarray by discrediting the ideas of Marxism. The struggle to discover the real meaning of revolutionary Marxism is the major ideological task facing the Soviet oppositions.

In this struggle for Marxist theory, the Soviet oppositions are without access to information about world revolutionary developments. This means that the Marxist dissident gets

very little support and encouragement from developments outside the Soviet Union and cannot profit from the discussions and experiences of the international revolutionary left. The May 1968 events in France, for example, whose importance in the rise of revolutionary vanguards in Europe needs no emphasizing, are totally unknown to the Soviet dissident. All he can know about May 1968 is what he read in his press and what he heard from the Voice of America. The Soviet press presented the events as the sabotage,



PYOTR GRIGORENKO

by a section of students led by "werewolves" like Cohn-Bendit backed up by Katanga mercenaries, of the peaceful efforts of the French Communist party to win better wages for workers. Needless to say, the Voice of American Imperialism did not present a much truer picture of events.

Secondly, the Soviet dissident is denied knowledge of his own history. The period of the twenties is a closed book. Documents of that period are all kept under lock and key in closed library sections. It is danger-

ous for a Soviet citizen even to study carefully books of that period which the authorities themselves have published. One Soviet student was recently expelled from Moscow University for an intensive reading of a Bukharin text on sale at Soviet bookshops. Ivan Dzyuba, a Ukrainian dissident, had his entire Lenin library confiscated for taking an "unhealthy" interest in Lenin's writings on the national question.

Thirdly, in the purges Stalin eliminated an entire generation of Bolsheviks. An official Yugoslav estimate is that between 1936 and 1938, 3 million people were executed, 6 million were sent to camps (few to return), another 8 million were arrested. This of course does not include the hundreds of thousands who were victims of earlier repression, or the thousands of Trotskyists shot in the Vorkuta camps. With the physical annihilation of an entire generation of Bolsheviks, the revolutionary Marxist tradition in the Soviet Union received a monumental defeat. When sections of Soviet youth began once again to become to some degree politicized, they tried to search out former camp inmates and remaining old Bolsheviks—but these were few and far between. Whenever the youth did come in contact with an old Bolshevik who could answer their questions, and offer a key to the understanding of contemporary society, their political development was remarkably rapid. The old Bolshevik Kosterin, when released from concentration camp, politicized a circle of people whose names read like a Who's Who of the Soviet opposition—Grigorenko, Yakir, and Yakhimovich, to name only a few.

Finally, the Soviet bureaucracy maintains a massive apparatus of police repression. The existence of this secret police apparatus is of course a sign of the chronic instability of the regime: It is evident that social control in the Soviet Union can only be maintained by direct and constant invigilation. The police system pene-

trates society, isolates the individual, and fragments his socio-political existence. Under such conditions, discussion and political debate is an extremely dangerous enterprise. The bureaucracy unleashes one wave of repression after another in a desperate effort to suppress even the most partial repoliticization. Over the last year, the Soviet leadership has opened up its latest sweeping campaign against dissidents. Hundreds of oppositionists have been arrested—over 150 in the Ukraine alone.

So if the Soviet oppositions often appear naive, confused, and feeble, Marxists in the West, before leaping to criticize them, should make a serious effort to understand the difficult conditions in which they develop.

### Opposition Currents

For Trotskyists, there are four key questions concerning opposition in the Soviet Union. 1) To what extent does it exist within the working class? 2) To what extent do the various dissident groupings understand that the central political contradiction of Soviet society is that between the working class and the bureaucracy? 3) To what degree have they broken with all conceptions of the reformability of the bureaucracy? 4) Do the demands they raise have an antibureaucratic revolutionary dynamic?

These questions cannot at present be answered adequately. It is almost impossible to ascertain the relative weight and importance of the various oppositional currents in the Soviet Union because of the very scanty information that reaches the West and the necessarily clandestine nature of much of their activity. There is no need to dwell on the problems of making a proper analysis, but clearly these are formidable.

There are three broad trends of anti-bureaucratic opposition in the Soviet Union. The most visible from outside the country is constituted by the dissident intellectuals. These have focussed primarily on the issue of civil rights, fighting for the intelligentsia's most cherished right of free expression and communication. But the denial of such basic democratic rights in the Soviet Union is an absolutely indispensable aspect of bureaucratic rule. The bureaucracy cannot grant such rights as freedom of speech, press, and assem-

bly without fundamentally undermining the very basis of its power. The struggle of the intellectuals for democratic rights is therefore situated within the dynamic of permanent revolution. In order to secure democratic rights, the intelligentsia has ultimately to pose the question of the abolition of the bureaucracy as such.

The second major current of anti-bureaucratic opposition in the Soviet Union is the struggle of the national minorities. In a society where 46.6 percent of the total population is non-Russian, the issue of national oppression is critically important. The struggle to end national oppression in the Soviet Union is intensifying sharply, as the recent riots in Lithuania indicate. In the non-Russian republics a powerful indigenous proletariat has been created by the development of industry. It is they who are destined to be the leaders of the national minorities in all their future struggles.

Finally, there is opposition within the working class, which is at present focussed on questions of poor living conditions, price increases, etc. Unfortunately, we know least about this most important of all oppositions. In fact, as one Soviet dissident, Andrei Amalrik, has written: "No one, not even the bureaucratic elite, knows exactly what attitudes prevail among wider sections of the population." The upper strata of society, he continues, have "a surrealistic image of the working masses." (*Will the Soviet Union Survive Until 1984?*, London, 1970, p. 30.)

There are, of course, other forms of opposition to the existing regime—some of them extremely reactionary. Among the most important of these are the Jewish movement to leave the Soviet Union for Israel; the various religious groups such as the Baptists; and the various Russian nationalist and Slavophile groups. It would be wrong to leave the impression that these currents are insignificant: quite the contrary.

Russian nationalism/Slavophilism, for example, is becoming a major influence among the upper strata of Soviet society. This current is reactionary through and through. It is racist and chauvinist. It attacks the regime for "betraying traditional Russian values," and attacks Marxism as a "foreign transplant." It rejects the October Revolution as "un-Russian," and eulogizes the "mystical qualities of the

Great Russian soul." The credo of this current is best expressed by a recent samizdat document called "A Word to the Nation," signed by "Russian patriots." The "patriots" write: "We are facing the threat of biological degeneration. This danger threatens not only us but the entire white race. If we do not take timely measures we may live to see ourselves playing the part of pawns or at best passive observers in the battle between the black and yellow races for world supremacy. Democratic institutions do not play a healing role, but rather aggravate the disease. . . . more important to us than the victory of democracy over dictatorship is the moral reorientation of dictatorship, an ideological revolution of sorts. . . . Long live the victory of Christian civilization over the chaos which has arisen against it! Long live a great, single, and indivisible Russia!" ("A Word to the Nation," *Survey*, Summer 1971.)

It is well known in the Soviet Union that Slavophiles have the backing of many high party and secret police officials. While a left oppositionist like Grigorenko is locked up for over three years in a psychiatric hospital, notorious reactionaries like Osipov produce and circulate their rubbish in relative freedom. The officially sponsored "Rodina (Motherland) Clubs" are known to everyone in the Soviet Union as one of the principal centers of this form of reaction.

These right-wing elements of opposition, however, despite their importance, will not be examined in this article, which will confine itself to those with an antibureaucratic revolutionary dynamic.

### Working-Class Opposition

The struggle of the Soviet working class against the bureaucracy has centred primarily on questions of social and economic inequality, low wages, poor living conditions, price increases, and the severe factory regime. This struggle is bound up with the state of the Soviet economy, which must therefore be described briefly.

The Soviet economy today suffers from a deep malaise. Figures for 1971 show that the growth of real income per capita has been the slowest for nearly a decade. The 1972 statistics for the yearly plan-fulfillment of the

current five-year plan show that there has been no significant increase in consumer goods. The plan for housing in 1972 was once again underfilled by 10 percent. In the same period, national income per head grew about 3 percent per annum; but if one takes into account recent price increases, then the growth in national income per head is negligible. At the same time as the economy stagnates, the educational level, industrial experience, and expectations of the Soviet working class have increased. The promise of a consumer society, which the bureaucracy held out to the working class after Stalin's death, has failed to materialize, and there is bitter resentment.

Unable to organize itself into genuine trade unions or other autonomous organizations, with no real possibility for expressing its class interests, the Soviet working class has remained seemingly passive. Of course, any organized form of opposition with generalized demands is difficult in the context of a factory regime which keeps detailed files on every worker, where every worker must carry a "labour book" which registers his work record, and where an extensive system of informers on the shop floor keeps the secret police informed of opinions expressed. Under these conditions, much working-class opposition is an opposition of despair, expressed through individual acts. This takes the form of industrial sabotage, extremely shoddy production, high rates of absenteeism about which the press complains almost daily, rampant alcoholism, and what Soviet bureaucrats call "acts of organized hooliganism."

But the Soviet working-class opposition has not been limited to this type of activity. There have been literally hundreds of occasions in the last decade when the working class has broken out into more open protest, often in the form of violent spontaneous outbursts. It is interesting to note the speed with which these outbursts develop, and how quickly they spread if the bureaucracy fails to contain them by cordoning off the city in which they occur. In 1962, for example, when Khrushchev announced price increases in meat and dairy products, the action was greeted in many factories in the Soviet Union with sit-down strikes, work stoppages, and street demonstrations. In Novo-

cherkask the working class marched to the Party headquarters to protest against the increases. This march sparked off a riot, and within a day the riots had spread to other cities in the region, such as Donetsk (the mining centre) and Zhdanov. Special KGB [secret police] divisions had to be flown in to suppress the disturbances. A similar situation occurred last summer, when large-scale riots were reported in Dneprodzerzhinsk and Dnepropetrovsk, sparked off by a strike in protest against low living standards.

An interesting form of working-class protest took place in Krasnodar, in the Kuban, several years ago. Here the working class, exasperated by the shortage of consumer goods, staged a three-day stay-at-home strike. But perhaps the best organized of strikes to have taken place recently was the Kiev hydroelectric plant strike in the Ukraine. Here the workers actually organized mass meetings which were addressed by their own elected representatives, where bureaucrats who tried to address the workers were physically evicted from the platform. The strike was about housing shortages. But during demonstrations which the workers organized, banners were raised calling for "All power to the Soviets."

Recently several leaflets circulating chiefly in Leningrad raised the slogan "For a general strike." This example, like the others mentioned, is an indication that it will not be very long before the proletariat reenters the political arena.

In the context of the economic crisis as felt by the working class, it is important to emphasize the crucial role played by women in the protest actions. There is almost total employment of women in the Soviet Union, but on the average they receive 50 percent of the male wage. Furthermore, they still carry the burden of housekeeping, cooking, and queuing, and are therefore more acutely aware of the shortages than men. In Novocherkask in 1962 it was working-class women who, having calculated the cost of the price increases in terms of the family's weekly income, initiated the demonstrations.

A final observation about the pattern of working-class opposition relates to the tendency for unrest to occur most frequently in the peripheral

areas of the Soviet Union—that is to say, in areas at quite a distance from the central Moscow-Leningrad region. This does not mean that strikes have not taken place in the central regions—indeed they have, at the Moscow Moskvitch plant, for example. But large-scale activity, and mass actions involving all sectors of the working class, nevertheless occur more frequently in the peripheral areas.

There is a good explanation of this. The bureaucracy finds it most difficult to penetrate the peripheral areas, especially the non-Russian republics, and therefore a greater measure of spontaneous action is possible in these regions. Also, the central regions are highly favoured in terms of the flow of consumer goods and employment possibilities. Material shortages and unemployment are much more severe in the "provinces." This pattern has serious implications for the process of political revolution, for it means that those areas which are of the least strategic importance have the greatest opportunity for action.

## The National Movements

The various movements of the oppressed nationalities are the only significant oppositional current to date



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to have involved both workers and dissident intellectuals in the same or-



ganizations. For example, it was in helping to organize the Crimean Tatars, exiled *en masse* from their homeland by Stalin, that Grigorenko and his group of civil rights activists achieved something like a mass following. In order to understand the national movements, it is essential to grasp some of the main features of the national question as it is posed in the Soviet Union today.

The early Bolshevik nationalities policy encouraged the development of the national languages and cultures in an effort to raise the educational and cultural level of the non-Russian masses who had been oppressed by the Tsarist regime. It was also part of a policy to ensure that the non-Russian masses could participate in and control the administrative apparatus in their republics—an apparatus which under Tsarism had been totally in the hands of the Russian colonizers. Such a policy was obviously not to the liking of the former Tsarist officials, and this stratum of the colonizing petty-bourgeoisie was subsequently to flock to the banner of Stalinist reaction. The essence of the Leninist nationalities policy, expressed by a Communist at the Twelfth Party Congress, was that "it is better to force ten Great Russian chauvinists and nationalists to learn the language of the country in which they live than to force one peasant to torture his native language in a government office." For the Stalinists, it was better to force ten peasants to torture their native language than disturb one Great Russian bureaucrat.

Today, in most of the non-Russian republics, the linguistic division coincides with the social division. Ivan Dzyuba, a Ukrainian oppositionist, writes: ". . . here the national question again develops into a social one: We see that in city life [in the Ukraine] the Ukrainian language is in a certain sense opposed as the language of the 'lower' strata of the population—caretakers, maids, unskilled labourers, newly hired workers, rank-and-file workers, especially in the suburbs—to the Russian language as the language of the 'higher,' 'more educated' strata of society—'captains of industry,' clerks, and the intelligentsia. And it is not possible to 'brush aside' this social rift. The language barrier aggravates and exacerbates social divisions." He concludes, "It is wrong to oppose social problems to national

problems on the pretext that the former are more important and immediate. National problems are always social problems as well, problems of political class strategy." (*Internationalism or Russification?*, London, 1970, pp. 135-6, 193.)

The national movements in the Soviet Union vary considerably, involving nations at different stages of development, with radically different historical pasts. I will here examine only the political currents within the Ukraine—the largest non-Russian republic, with a population of over 40 million, a highly developed industry, and a territory larger than France. These can be divided broadly into Marxist and nationalist.

The Marxist current in the Ukrainian movement is best exemplified by Dzyuba, by Vyacheslav Chornovil, and by an organization which emerged in the early sixties called the Union of Workers and Peasants. This current attacks Great Russian chauvinism in the name of internationalism, and argues for a return to Leninism. It is also the grouping which has best understood the social consequences of Russification policies for the working class, and that the bureaucracy's nationalities policy is part and parcel of a more general reactionary socio-economic policy. Chornovil, recently arrested, expressed the collective positions of this group when he wrote: "I categorically state, contrary to all illogical assertions . . . that I have always firmly adhered to the principles of socialism and continue to do so. . . . I cannot imagine true socialism without democratic freedoms; without the widest political and economic self-government of all the cells of the state organism down to and including the smallest; without a real guarantee—and not merely a paper one—of the rights of all nations within a multinational state." (*International Socialist Review*, September 1972, pp. 41-2.)

The Marxist current has, however, been divided on how to achieve this aim. Dzyuba, Chornovil, and others tended to act as individuals, and not as an organized group. Moreover, they insisted on the employment only of peaceful, constitutional means of expression: petitions, open letters, public protests. But last year the KGB carried out mass arrests among this grouping, and there is every indica-

tion that there is now serious rethinking of strategies on their part.

The Union of Workers and Peasants took a different approach. They understood the organizational tasks facing the opposition, and set about building a socialist party with a programme and with the intention of carrying out revolutionary propaganda. Although the platform of this group never reached the West, we have a general idea of its contents from the writings of L. Lukyanenko, a former Communist party ideological worker and founder of the group. He wrote: "As a result of studying Soviet reality, in 1960 I came to revise the earlier draft programme and began to think that it was not the independence of the Ukrainian SSR that was essential for improving the life of the people, but the liquidation of bureaucratism." The Union's programme included a call to end the "curtailment of the rights of the trade unions, whose leaders had become the best tools of the managers in violating socialist legality," liquidation of "bureaucratic methods of administering the national economy," "full democratization of the soviets of workers deputies," and a radical improvement in the lot of the peasantry. (*International Socialist Review*, September 1972, pp. 41-2.) Lukyanenko was sentenced to death. After much protest, the death penalty was commuted to fifteen years imprisonment.

Within the Ukraine there is also a straightforward nationalist movement. This is strongest in the western regions. It is not "bourgeois" nationalist, as it does not question the property relations established by the October Revolution. But it is nationalist in that it counterposes Ukrainian nationalism to Russian nationalism. Some nationalists, patterning themselves after the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, a partisan group which fought both the Germans and the Red Army, organized conspiratorial parties using clandestine methods of struggle, including terrorism. One such organization was the Ukrainian National Committee, composed of forty Lvov industrial workers. Two of its members were executed for allegedly planning terrorist attacks.

## Russian Dissident Intellectuals

The oppositional current that has attracted the most attention in the West

is that of the Russian dissident intelligentsia. The real preface to their dissent was written in 1956 by Khrushchev, when he gave his "secret speech" exposing Stalin. Khrushchev's revelations were part of an attempt to restore a sense of confidence in the bureaucracy. As part of this new course, the Khrushchev party leadership permitted two short periods of relaxed controls over political and cultural life in the Soviet Union. It was during this period that the first of the post-Stalin Russian intellectual oppositions arose: the so-called cultural opposition. The cultural opposition was a movement of writers, artists, and poets who pressed for a "thaw" in the intellectual environment. This opposition did not question the bureaucracy as such, nor did it really raise in a clear way fundamental questions of democratic rights. The cultural opposition set out to liberate the creative process: It demanded the right of the artist to render reality in genuinely realistic terms; it fought the total banality of official Soviet culture. Although the debates of that period may have centred on such seemingly innocuous grounds as the "need for greater sincerity in literature," it became abundantly clear that to grant the writers and poets a freedom of criticism not enjoyed by citizens, and above all by workers, "was to make artistic creation an inevitable instrument of social criticism." (The Development and Disintegration of World Stalinism, SWP Educational Bulletin, New York, 1970.) By 1965 the bureaucracy was backtracking furiously on its concessions to the intellectuals. It reimposed strict censorship, and began to arrest those writers who still insisted on "sincerity in literature." The trial of Sinyavsky and Daniel, two writers who perhaps more than anyone else had come to symbolize the values of the new cultural opposition, ended the period of that opposition and gave birth to the "Democratic Movement"—an array of individuals and groups who initiated a struggle for democratic rights.

The brutal treatment of Sinyavsky and Daniel, and the arrests of other writers, shocked the dissident intellectuals into a realization that artistic freedom without fundamental political freedom was unthinkable. It was not, however, until 1968, beginning with protests around the trial of Ginzburg and Galanskov, that the Democratic

Movement really surfaced. And with the Democratic Movement arrived samizdat (literally, "self-published")—the written material increasingly circulated in the Russian underground.

The Democratic Movement's campaign for civil rights is understood by the activists of that movement to mean the democratization of Soviet society. The most frequent demands of this movement are: an end to the arbitrary arrests of individuals by the secret police, strict adherence to the Soviet constitution, an end to press censorship, and the rehabilitation of all former concentration camp inmates. This movement also organized demonstrations against the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia. And one of its members, Galanskov (who recently died under mysterious circumstances in a concentration camp), marched against the American Embassy in Moscow to protest the invasion of the Dominican Republic.

Politically, the Democratic Movement is diverse. It ranges from Leninists like Grigorenko to liberals like Sakharov. These diverse tendencies do, however, take a common stand on the Soviet constitution, and they stress the importance of law as a mechan-



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ism for securing civil rights. But what divides the Democratic Movement is how to achieve a return to socialist legality.

The liberals, usually well-placed figures in the Soviet academic establishment, try to convince the bureaucracy

that, in the interests of its own preservation, it must introduce a measure of civil rights. As moderate men, the liberals want democratization, but "without causing undue commotion and mass disturbances." (*Intercontinental Press*, December 4, 1972, p. 1354.) If faced with the choice between the two, they would no doubt beat a hasty retreat into the bosom of the bureaucracy.

But within the Democratic Movement there are also "radical democratizers." (Ibid.) The Soviet dissidents best known to the West come from this circle: Yakir, Bukovsky, Yakhimovich, Grigorenko, Litvinov, and others. Mobilizing public opinion independently of the bureaucracy, publicizing violations of civil rights with courage and self-sacrifice, they have achieved some success in causing a shift in the public consciousness. But these "radical democratizers," though vocal on the question of democratic rights, have said little about the economic and political rights of the mass of workers and peasants. Acting as individuals, they have had no strategy for drawing the working class into the struggle for civil rights.

With the arrest of scores of "radical democratizers" last year, a more political current within the dissident movement has emerged, a current which recognizes the limitations of the legalistic-constitutional orientation of the Democratic Movement. Many dissidents have come to the conclusion that what is required is a more scientific analysis of the system they are trying to change. They are also beginning to understand the need to develop new forms of organization—even the need to build clandestine parties with an orientation towards the working class.

Recently quite a few clandestine parties have come to our attention. We know very little about them, because of the strict secrecy which surrounds their activity. We learn of their existence, for example, in one or two sentences in the *Chronicle of Current Events* after members have been arrested. They often apparently number no more than a dozen individuals. Frequently, the only indication of their politics is the name they have chosen. Recent examples have included: the Russian Socialist party, which circulated a leaflet in Leningrad calling on workers to launch a general strike;

the Party of Nonparty Workers Struggling for the Restoration of Socialism; the Democratic Union of Socialists; the Union of Communards; the Party of Young Workers; and the Party of Real Communists.

It is too early to assess the role these political groupings will play in the coming political revolution. Certainly the economic crisis in the Soviet Union has created a social climate where revolutionary ideas can find a ready response in the working class. Fearing this possibility, the Soviet secret police has intensified its efforts to search out and destroy any incipient organizations. But a clandestine form of organization, as op-

posed to the "open protests" of the civil rights activists, has permitted these groups to exist in some cases for a considerable period of time, and to gain invaluable experience for future struggles.

Perhaps as important as the existence of these groups—no matter how much terror they may strike in the minds of the KGB—is the huge body of underground literature, samizdat, which the new political attitude has fostered. Today in the USSR there circulate periodicals, full-length books, historical and philosophical essays, translations, and pamphlets dealing with strategic and tactical problems of political opposition. Samizdat plays

a crucial role in the development of political consciousness. It has become the chief medium for the working out of political ideas.

The bureaucracy has become painfully aware of the threat which the samizdat system poses to its hegemony of political expression. It therefore took a decision to put an end to samizdat at all costs, and with this aim it unleashed a wave of mass arrests in January 1972. But the production and circulation of samizdat literature has nonetheless continued unabated. It will continue to give political expression to the forces which are now increasingly prepared to give battle to the bureaucracy. □

## Fifty Years of Stalinist Treachery

# First Ventures as the Gravedigger of Revolutions

By Milton Alvin

This year marks a half century since Stalinism first appeared in the world labor movement. The anniversary offers an opportunity to assess its historical record and to use it as a lesson and a warning. This is needed by those who have not had their own experiences with Stalinism nor studied it and discovered the baneful influence it has had on twentieth century history.

The following catalogue of crimes is only partial. It consists of those betrayals that were most prominent and did the greatest amount of damage to the cause of the working class and historical progress. For a full treatment of the subject a number of books would be required. What follows is a mere summary treatment.

Stalinism first appeared in the Soviet Union in 1923. As general secretary of the Communist party of the Soviet Union, Stalin had been putting his favorites into offices around the country quietly and without attracting too much attention. However, Lenin noticed the behavior of Stalin and some of his appointees and offered Trotsky his cooperation in giving battle to this spearhead of the rising bureaucracy. Trotsky accepted Lenin's proposal that they work together on this problem and plans were made accordingly.

However, Lenin's final illness prevented him from participating in the project and Trotsky was left to find other allies to carry on the struggle. In his testament to the party, Lenin proposed that Stalin be removed from the post of general secretary and a more loyal person be found to fill it. Before he died in early 1924 Lenin broke all personal relations with Stalin.

The supporters of Stalin within the Soviet Union were

mainly those who were seeking special privileges in an impoverished country that had been ravaged by seven years of wars. They included many elements who had opposed the revolution in 1917 and even some who had served the other side in the civil war that followed.

The Soviet Union suffered from war-weariness, it was isolated as the only workers state surrounded by a hostile imperialist circle, its economy was in poor shape as a result of the years of wars, and it had a low cultural level inherited from Czarism.

The Stalin faction in the Bolshevik party turned towards nationalist ideas as an adaptation to these conditions and won control over all government and party institutions. In the struggle within the party the Trotskyist opposition stood on the Marxist-Leninist program of internationalism. However, unfavorable conditions brought about its ultimate defeat.

The most important new programmatic point the Stalinists imposed on the party was the theory that socialism could be built in a single country, in this case the Soviet Union. This was contrary to what Lenin and all Bolshevik leaders had taught and believed. Stalin himself, when he still gave lip service to internationalism, had written that a socialist society would require successful revolutions in a number of countries. But he now changed his tune in accordance with the needs and desires of the growing bureaucratic caste that he led. This group had narrow views and was interested in gaining economic privileges in the USSR and not in helping to advance socialist revolutions in other countries.

This was the first great betrayal: in the field of theory. It was soon followed by others in practice. Within the government and the Bolshevik party the Stalinists step

by step eliminated democratic rights and installed arbitrary and dictatorial regimes. The traditional proletarian democratic rights that Bolsheviks had enjoyed in Lenin's time, the right to differ with the leadership, to advance ideas freely and to have them discussed by the party, were destroyed by the Stalin machine.

In 1923, while Lenin was still alive but unable to do any political work because of a stroke, Stalin advised the leaders of the German Communist party not to make a revolutionary bid for power. Although they had an excellent opportunity to take advantage of a favorable situation created by a severe economic and political crisis, Stalin used his newfound power to throw cold water on the idea of moving towards a revolutionary solution. Trotsky volunteered to go to Germany to help, but this offer was refused by the Stalinists.

The German CP leaders were more disposed to follow the conservative line of Stalin than the revolutionary line of Trotsky. In that way an excellent opportunity was lost for a long period of time.

Shortly after this setback, Stalin sponsored a committee of Soviet and British union leaders that was supposed to improve relations between Great Britain and Soviet Russia. However, it proved to be only a left cover for the conservative British unionists. When the British coal miners carried on a long strike in 1926 that developed into a general strike, British union leaders were able to use the prestige of their relations with their Soviet counterparts to knife the strike in the back. This led to a historic defeat of the British labor movement.\*

After this setback the British discarded their Soviet friends of yesterday like so many dirty shirts. They no longer needed their "leftist" image and further continuation of the joint committee could only be an embarrassment to them.

While these events were taking place, Stalin and his supporters foisted a treacherous policy upon the young and inexperienced Communist party of China. That country was in the throes of unprecedented revolutionary upheavals. Stalin, by then in complete control of the Communist International, ordered the Chinese Communists to join the bourgeois Kuomintang, founded by Sun Yat-sen and after his death led by Chiang Kai-shek. The CP had to submit to Kuomintang discipline and give up its program and independent existence. Although Chinese Communists were uneasy with this policy and wanted to follow an independent course, the prestige of the Communist International was so great among them that they deferred to its position.

Within the Soviet CP, Trotsky and his supporters fought for an independent policy for the Chinese Communist party. These views were hidden from the Chinese, who knew nothing of the replacement of Lenin's program by Stalin's.

At the peak of the struggle in China in 1927, Chiang Kai-shek turned on his Communist allies and killed an estimated 20,000 in Shanghai alone. Learning nothing

from this lesson, the Moscow Stalinists ordered the Chinese CP to make a bloc with the so-called Left Kuomintang, but the latter soon made its peace with Chiang and broke with the Communist party.

Desperate to produce something that would make their policy look good at a forthcoming CP congress in the USSR, the Stalinists had the Chinese CP suddenly reverse itself and call for the formation of soviets in Canton. This ill-starred venture, entered into with no preparation, led to a terrible defeat and ended the revolutionary period in China's big cities. Thereafter the Chinese CP and its followers had to fight in the countryside and eventually to give that up for the "long march" to a remote corner of the country.

The defeat in China was of such large proportions and so indefensible before public opinion in the Communist movement that Stalin quickly expelled Trotsky and his allies from the party so that they could not be heard. All the oppositionists were deported to remote villages in Siberia. A purge of the Soviet CP and other parties in the Communist International followed.

After these expulsions the Stalinists made an abrupt 180-degree turn from five years of right opportunism to ultraleft sectarianism. In the Soviet Union forced collectivization of individually owned farms was carried out. This took on the proportions of a civil war against the peasantry, who resisted collectivization.

Armed forces were used to collect grain from the defiant peasants. In retaliation the peasants slaughtered their cattle, hid their crops, and planted as little as possible. The result was a catastrophe for the country. Food shortages plagued the cities and starvation was widespread. Cannibalism was reported in some areas.

Forced collectivization ran directly counter to the Marxist program of persuasion of the peasantry to give up individual farming in favor of more modern and efficient large-scale cooperative farms. The crisis in agriculture that Stalin's policies produced persisted for decades.

The Stalinists, who had for years opposed Trotsky's proposals for instituting a series of five-year plans to build the economy, now announced such a plan of their own, borrowing here and there from Trotsky's program. However, the plan was bureaucratically carried out and fell short of the goals set.

The Stalinists turned against their former right-wing allies, and they were removed from their posts both in the Soviet Union and throughout the international. Many were expelled. The new ultraleft policy was adopted in the name of a so-called Third Period, the first two being the 1917-1923 revolutionary upsurge and the second the 1924-1928 period of relative capitalist stabilization.

The Third Period was announced as the final crisis of capitalism that would end with the revolution successful everywhere. The ultraleft policy was spread to all countries and prevented members of Communist parties from working with any other working-class tendencies. For example, Stalinists formed their own trade unions everywhere and refused to join existing unions. All opponents of the Stalinists were labeled as fascists of one kind or another.

In the United States the reformist Socialist party, headed by Norman Thomas, was called "Social-Fascist" and the 1932 Democratic party candidate for president, Franklin

\* See the recently published *Leon Trotsky on Britain*, Monad Press. Distributed by Pathfinder Press, Inc., 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. British Dist: Pathfinder Press, 47 The Cut, London SE1 8LL.

D. Roosevelt, was called a fascist. Variations of this policy were carried out by Communist parties in all countries.

The greatest evil occurred in Germany, where the Nazis were growing and making a bid for power. They were opposed by very large Social-Democratic and Communist parties, which had numerical superiority, if their forces were combined in a common struggle. However, the CP leaders, following the ultraleft sectarian line made compulsory by the Kremlin, refused to offer the Social-Democratic party a united front against the Nazis. They called them Social-Fascists and a greater danger than the Nazis.

The conservative Social-Democratic leaders were not interested in any united fronts with the Communists. But their members wanted to fight the Nazis. Despite frequent

and forceful appeals from Trotsky to form a united front to fight the Nazis, the CP turned a deaf ear, calling Trotsky a fascist tool.

The division of the workers parties enabled Hitler to win power and proceed to destroy all opponent parties, unions, and other organizations not controlled by the Nazis.

This was the heaviest defeat suffered by the international working-class movement up to that time. The main fault lay with the Stalinists, who stubbornly kept their eyes on the conservative leaders of the rival Social-Democratic party, overlooking the millions of members of that party who wanted to fight fascism but were not ready to join the Communist party to do so.

(To be continued.)

## Defends Continued Cover-Up

# Nixon Launches His Watergate 'Counterattack'

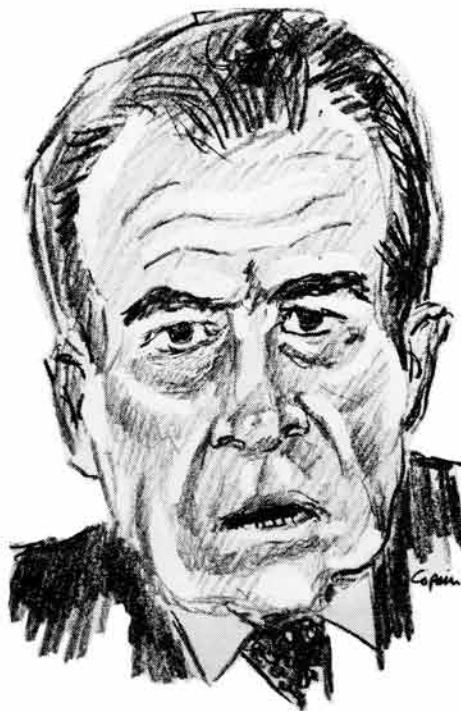
By Allen Myers

Richard Nixon called his second press conference in two weeks September 5 to launch his long-expected "counterattack" in the Watergate scandal.

The central weapon in this counter-attack could not be stated openly, but could nevertheless be clearly discerned in Nixon's remarks. It consists of an appeal to the U. S. ruling class against the liberal members of Congress who want Nixon to "come clean" in the hopes of restoring public confidence in the capitalist government.

Since it has become clear that neither the liberals nor the sectors of the bourgeoisie for whom they speak have the stomach for the messy business of impeachment, Nixon was able to argue, quite plausibly from the ruling class's standpoint, that the continuation of the scandal only hampers his efforts to carry on the business of U. S. imperialism.

The argument took the form of an attack on Congress implying that pre-occupation with Watergate had kept that body from acting on "administration initiatives, those initiatives that I believe are bipartisan in character and of vital importance to the American people." Nixon said he would attempt to spur Congress into action by sending it a new State of the Union message covering inflation, domestic and military spending, arms negotia-



NIXON: Considers half an audit better than none.

tions with the Soviet Union, and the "energy crisis."

He went on to warn the press that it was responsible for the public distrust of him and the rest of the Nixon gang. The media, he complained with obvious self-pity, had been attacking

him "by innuendo, by leak, by, frankly, leers and sneers." And he explained that the press would have to change its attitude in order to restore "confidence" in his administration:

"... it's restored by doing something. We have tried to do things. The country hasn't paid a great deal of attention to it. And I may say the media hasn't paid a great deal of attention to it; because your attention, quite understandably, is in the more fascinating area of Watergate."

Nixon's decision to "tough it out" implies a strategy of continuing efforts to hamstring the Senate Watergate committee and special prosecutor Archibald Cox, hoping that the public will eventually tire of hearing of the scandal. When and if that point is reached, *Newsweek* magazine reported in its September 10 issue, Nixon is expected to fire Cox and sweep the whole affair under the rug:

"The underlying premise... was that the President could hold off a final [court] decision [on the secret White House tapes] with various delaying tactics—appeals on the constitutional issues, the merits of the case, perhaps even Judge Sirica's evaluation of conversations on the tapes—and spend the time rebuilding his public support. By then, the thinking goes, he could argue that any Supreme Court ruling closer than 8-1 or 7-2

in favor of Cox was not the 'definitive decision' he had promised to obey; given enough public exhaustion with Watergate, he might even get away with it. 'Who's going to lead the charge at that point?' asked one White House operative. 'The Chief Justice? The Attorney General?'

"The tough-it-out strategy currently taking form counts even Cox and Richardson expendable; the White House is no longer quite so tremulous as it once was at the reaction that would surely flow if the two men whom the President himself brought in to clean up the Watergate mess should suddenly depart with their mission unaccomplished. 'Cox couldn't have been dumped a month ago, and if he quit now or was fired, and if [Attorney General Elliot] Richardson quit in protest, it would be tough to handle,' said one insider. 'But it will be less tough further down the line.'"

### 'Jackass Caught in a Hailstorm'

Despite the possibility that he may himself be indicted for corruption, Vice-President Spiro Agnew has been assigned a major role in Nixon's counterattack. At a Republican fundraising event in Illinois September 8, Agnew complained of the "persecutorial atmosphere hanging over the American political system."

The "persecution" bothering Agnew is not the government's harassment, bugging, burglarizing, and intimidation of the antiwar movement and the left, but the public interest in Watergate and the hearings of the Senate committee. Agnew echoed Nixon's complaint that "the morbid preoccupation with Watergate threatens the ability of a government to concentrate on problems it was elected to solve."

He went on to attack the Ervin committee and defend his boss with a not very flattering comparison. Lyndon Johnson, Agnew said, once told Nixon that "sometimes 'the presidency is like being a jackass caught in a hailstorm—you've got to just stand there and take it.'"

"Well, President Nixon has been standing there and taking it ever since Senator Ervin has been doing his rain dance in that Washington committee room."

After several more minutes of these poetic flights, Agnew finally got around to the real point—the fact that

the scandal is revealing too much about the methods of capitalist politics and government:

"We have reached the watershed of Watergate. In spite of that, it is obvious that some in this country are going to continue to attempt to milk this issue dry. Those embittered critics of this administration and this party who could not discredit us at the polls in November will make every effort—no matter how reckless—to discredit us now."



EHRlichman: Indicted for burglary.

"But I wonder if they've ever stopped to consider how hollow a victory theirs will be if the presidency and our two-party system are crippled in the process."

### Forecast: Hail, Followed by Hot Air

It remains to be seen whether Nixon's counterattack will win him any relief. Nixon, of course, has a number of shelters not available to the unfortunate beast of Agnew's parable. On the other hand, four-footed jackasses do not create their own hailstorms.

A large, dark cloud continues to hover over Nixon's San Clemente, California, and Key Biscayne, Florida, estates. After the disclosure that \$10 million in government funds had been spent on his property, Nixon at his September 5 press conference decided to brazen it out with the incredible assertion that the expen-

ditures had "reduced the value of the property."

Apparently on the theory that anyone who believed that story would believe anything, Nixon went on to deny that there had been anything improper in his failure to pay taxes on the profit from the resale of part of the San Clemente estate to his millionaire friends Robert Abplanalp and C. G. Rebozo. In this transaction, Nixon made a gain of at least \$490,000. (For an account of the complicated wheeling and dealing involved, see *Intercontinental Press*, July 2, p. 804.)

"The IRS [Internal Revenue Service]," Nixon said, "has had a full field review, or audit, of my income tax returns for 1971 and 1972, and included in its audit the transaction . . . in which some argue there was a capital gain and some argue that there were [sic] not. It's a matter of difference between accountants."

"The IRS, after its audit, did not order any change. If it had, I would have paid the tax. It did not order a change."

Aside from the absurdity of the pretense that the IRS treats the president in the same manner as it does an ordinary taxpayer, Nixon's defense of his tax evasion raised another problem. This was the question of why an audit of Nixon's taxes for 1971 should have included the San Clemente deal, which Nixon maintains occurred in 1970.

Congressman Jack Brooks charged on August 31 that documents relating to the sale had been altered, changing the apparent date of the deal from January 8, 1971, to December 15, 1970. Nixon's remark raises the possibility that the change was made in order to put the sale outside the scope of the IRS audit.

Further evidence that Nixon is covering up shady financial deals was provided September 4 when the *New York Post* reported that the private audit of Nixon's finances released August 27 had not been complete. Officials of the auditing firm told the *Post* reporters that the information released by the White House had been "extracted" from the full audit.

Moreover, the audit did not—as Nixon maintained in his press conference—"give the lie" to persistent rumors that Nixon first purchased the San Clemente property with funds

"left over" from his 1968 campaign.

The *New York Post* reporters, Joshua Friedman and Ralph Blumenfeld, quoted members of other auditing firms who explained that such an audit does not indicate the source of funds.

"You're really reporting on what's there and where it went," one said, "not necessarily where it came from."

A spokesman for another firm was even more explicit: "If we audited Nixon and stumbled on a sack of money under his desk, we'd just put it down as an asset."

At his press conference, Nixon refused to release the complete report, claiming that the portion made public August 27 was "a full disclosure."

Another storm of his own making broke over Nixon's head September 6, when the *Washington Post* carried a report by Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein that Nixon had had the Secret Service tap the phone of his brother, F. Donald Nixon, for over a year.

The tap was apparently ordered because of Nixon's fear that his brother's financial dealings would cause him embarrassment. Donald Nixon has in the past been involved with billionaire Howard Hughes and was also an associate of financier Robert Vesco. Vesco has been indicted on charges of donating \$250,000 to the Committee to Re-elect the President

(CREEP) in 1972 in order to secure the help of John Mitchell and Maurice Stans, both former members of Nixon's cabinet, in curtailing an investigation of fraud charges against him. Mitchell and Stans are scheduled to go on trial September 11. Vesco has fled the country to avoid a trial.

Nixon's deputy press secretary refused to comment directly on the *Washington Post* article, but in another burst of Nixonian hot air he said he was "certain that any monitoring of the president's immediate family by the Secret Service would have related to the protective function of the Secret Service."

### More Gangsters Indicted

Four members of the Nixon gang were indicted by a Los Angeles grand jury September 4 in connection with the September 1971 burglary of the office of Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist. The defendants are John Ehrlichman, formerly Nixon's top domestic adviser; David Young and Egil Krogh, formerly deputy assistants to the president, who directed the secret "plumbers" group of White House spies; and G. Gordon Liddy, who is already in prison for his part in the Watergate burglary.

Ehrlichman is charged with perjury, burglary, and conspiracy to commit burglary; Krogh with burglary, con-

spiracy, and solicitation of burglary; Young with burglary and conspiracy; and Liddy with burglary and conspiracy.

After entering a plea of not guilty September 6, Krogh told reporters that he thought the burglary had been a "mistake." But he added that "at the time in 1971 when this job was presented to me as something of extraordinary national importance, I understood it was fully authorized and lawful."

This is likely to be the defense of all four of those charged. Ehrlichman has already used the argument in his testimony before the Senate Watergate committee.

Their trial is certain to bring up again the question of the secret White House tapes. Both Krogh and Ehrlichman have said that Nixon ordered Krogh to "investigate" Ellsberg. Nixon has admitted this, but denied that he ordered Krogh to do anything illegal. The precise wording of Nixon's instructions will therefore be of importance in the trial.

The defendants can be expected to insist that the government, in the form of the prosecutor, produce the tapes. If the government, in the form of Richard Nixon, refuses, the judge will have to dismiss the case. And then the four would be under no pressure to win lighter sentences by telling what they know about the boss. □

## Frelimo Appeals for International Support

# Mozambique Fighters Denounce Portuguese War Crimes

[Recent revelations of massacres of civilians conducted by Portuguese troops in Mozambique have placed Lisbon's colonial wars in Africa in the center of international attention, provoking broad opposition to complicity on the part of European governments. (See *Intercontinental Press*, July 23, p. 900 and July 30, p. 935.)

[The following communiqué on the massacres and world reaction to them was released July 13 by FRELIMO (Frente de Libertação de Moçambique — Mozambique Liberation Front). We have taken the text from the August 10 issue of *Rouge*, French Trotskyist

weekly. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

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Recently, world attention has been drawn, with a mixture of horror and indignation, to the testimony of Spanish and British missionaries describing the massacre by the Portuguese armed forces of nearly 400 Mozambique civilians in a village in Tete Province.

While hailing the international condemnation and denunciation of this act of genocide, FRELIMO would like

to stress the fact that this massacre should not be considered an isolated incident. In fact, such massacres by Portuguese troops in Mozambique are common; they are inherent in colonial domination.

As early as 1960, more than 500 villagers in Mueda in northern Mozambique were massacred with grenades and machine guns during a peaceful demonstration demanding independence from the Portuguese authorities.

Several times, FRELIMO has published detailed accounts of other Portuguese atrocities against the people

of Mozambique. These accounts (some of them submitted to the United Nations Commission on Human Rights) described the bombing and destruction of entire villages, the deportation of populations, the torture and murder of prisoners of war, and the Portuguese army's utilization of chemical warfare against the liberated territories. We will recall just a few examples:

- In June 1970 Portuguese troops came to the village of Joao in Tete Province, assembled all the inhabitants they could find (sixty persons in all, some of them children), and ordered them to dig an enormous hole "so that you will be able to protect yourselves from bandits." The inhabitants obeyed. Then the Portuguese told them to climb inside "to see if it's big enough to hide you." The hole was not big enough; the inhabitants dug deeper. Then the soldiers said, "Try again." The people climbed inside once more. When all the inhabitants were inside, the Portuguese opened fire. They murdered the sixty people and buried them there.

- In another village, in Xidecunde, in February 1972, Portuguese soldiers locked sixteen persons (men, women, pregnant women, and children) in a house and then tossed in grenades. Fifteen persons were killed, among them four women and six youngsters. Only one person survived, a woman who had an arm torn off by one of the grenades.

- On September 28, 1972, in Angonia in Tete Province, the Portuguese locked nearly thirty persons in a house and then set it on fire. All the people inside were burned alive. They had been accused of knowing the hiding places of some FRELIMO guerrillas.

- At the beginning of December 1972, after successive FRELIMO attacks in the city of Tete, Portuguese troops combed neighboring villages and arrested sixty persons. They were locked in a house and burned alive.

- In May 1973 Rhodesian troops from Mucumbara massacred fifteen persons in a village. Others were taken away in helicopters and were never seen again.

- At the end of 1971 Portuguese soldiers in Tete ordered civilians to leave their villages; then, when the civilians were on the road to their destinations, the soldiers attacked

them from helicopters and massacred them.

In our reports we have also denounced an infamous practice that has become common among the Portuguese soldiers: the murder of pregnant women by slicing their abdomens open with bayonets and ripping out the fetus, with the aim, according to their own declarations, of "pre-



CAETANO: Portuguese war criminal.

venting the birth of new terrorists." Sometimes, they put explosives inside the body of the murdered woman, so as to kill other villagers during the burial.

More recently, others in Mozambique, in particular the missionaries, have raised their voices to condemn these crimes. We recall, for example, the glaring evidence given by the White Fathers of the Missionary Congregation when they decided to leave Mozambique in May 1971 because they were so revolted by the crimes and tortures being inflicted on the people of Mozambique.

In October 1972 Father Alfonso de Costa, a Portuguese priest who was expelled from Mozambique, revealed during a press conference held in Europe that he knew from an un-

impeachable source that more than a thousand Mozambique civilians had been massacred just in the province of Tete between March 1971 and May 1972.

The colonial repression spares no one. In June 1972 some 1,800 persons were arrested in southern Mozambique, accused of being in contact with FRELIMO or of working for it. In January 1973 two priests were arrested and sentenced to five months and twenty months in prison for having denounced the activities of the Portuguese army. In mid-June 1972 thirty African representatives of the Presbyterian church were arrested and imprisoned; two of them, the head of the Presbyterian church in Mozambique and a member of the local ecclesiastical council, were assassinated in prison. When the authorities announced their deaths in December 1971, they claimed that they had committed suicide.

There is no need to look very far for the reasons for these acts of barbarism. It is enough to quote the commander in chief of the Portuguese army in Mozambique, General Kaulza de Arriaga: "Portuguese strategy in Africa must lead toward creating a balance between the black and white populations." After having approved the export of slaves to Brazil, he affirmed the present aim of Portugal's action: "... on the one hand, the growth of the white population; on the other, the limitation of the black population." He could not have been more explicit.

It is the *fascist policy of genocide*, reinforced by the frustration of the colonialist troops, who have suffered setback after setback in their war against the people of Mozambique, that is the real cause of these bestial acts.

Such is the context in which the atrocities denounced by the British and Spanish priests should be understood.

Several times we have expressed regret that world opinion, that people who love peace and freedom, had not played their full role in denouncing and condemning Portuguese colonialism. We hope that world reaction to the recently revealed crimes of the Portuguese army indicates a growing understanding of the real nature of Portuguese colonialism and of the imperative necessity of fighting it. □