

The Israeli Aggression



Chile:

Nazi-Like Atrocities

Argentina:

Peron Orders Purge

Conference Calls Anticolonial Protest

London

Some 100 activists attended a national planning conference of the Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea (CFMAG) September 29 and voted to hold a national mobilization against Portuguese colonialism and white domination of southern Africa on Africa Liberation Day in May 1974.

The conference issued its call to counter the continuing British collaboration with Portugal and the white racist regimes in southern Africa. The mobilization will be the next major step in the movement of solidarity with the African liberation struggle since the July 15 demonstration of 10,000 persons in London on the eve of Portuguese Premier Marcello Caetano's visit to Britain.

Activists who had been organizers of the July 15 demonstration attended the conference from cities throughout Britain. Among the organizations present were the International Marxist Group (British section of the Fourth International), the Communist party, the Portuguese Workers Coordinating Committee, the Africa Liberation Committee (ALC), and Third World First.

The conference also voted to launch a campaign to send medical supplies to the liberation movements in Guinea, Mozambique, and Angola, and to increase its research work into British economic, political, and military complicity with Portugal.

Public concern with the atrocities carried out by Portuguese troops in Mozambique has continued since last July's revelations of the massacre of 400 civilians in Wiriyamu in December 1971. More than 250 persons attended a public meeting in support of the liberation struggle in Mozambique held by the CFMAG and ALC in London September 28.

Plans for the national mobilization on Africa Liberation Day will be further discussed at the CFMAG's national planning workshop meeting November 18, which will be open to all organizations who wish to support the campaign. □

In This Issue

FEATURES	1159	Behind the Watergate Scandal—What Nixon Contributors Got for Their \$60 Million —by Allen Myers
BRITAIN	1138	Conference Calls Anticolonial Protest
MIDDLE EAST	1139	Israeli Regime Aims at "Inflicting Maximum Casualties"—by Jon Rothschild
CHILE	1141	"Pools of Blood" on Sidewalks of Santiago —by Gerry Foley
	1144	Refugees Face Police Interrogation
	1145	Two Swedish Citizens Tell of Torture
	1146	"The Black Carnation" Saved Blanco
ARGENTINA	1147	Peron Launches Purge of His Movement —by Gerry Foley
	1150	PST Assesses Election Results
FRANCE	1152	70,000 March on Besancon to Support Lip Workers—by Jon Rothschild
	1154	Trotskyist Leader Imprisoned
	1155	Employers Take Reprisals After Strikes Against Racism
	1156	Bureaucrats "Support" Immigrant Workers
SOVIET UNION	1157	The Sakharov Case—An Advocate of the "Cold War"?—by Marilyn Vogt
INDOCHINA WAR	1163	Escalating U.S. Terror
U.S.A.	1165	More Works by Trotsky to Be Published
IRELAND	1168	Prisoners Win in Hunger Strike
DOCUMENTS	1167	The Blueprint for Peron's Purge
	1168	PST Statement on Assassination of Rucci
DRAWINGS	1137	Moshe Dayan; 1139, Anwar el-Sadat; 1140, Golda Meir; 1147, Hugo Blanco; 1159, John Dean; 1160, Nixon; 1161, John Mitchell; 1164, Nguyen Van Thieu—by Copain

Intercontinental Press, P.O. Box 116, Village Station, New York, N.Y. 10014.

EDITOR: Joseph Hansen.

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS: Pierre Frank, Livio Maitan, Ernest Mandel, George Novack.

COPY EDITOR: Lawrence Rand.

EDITORIAL STAFF: Candida Barberena, Gerry Foley, Allen Myers, Jon Rothschild, George Saunders, David Thorstad.

BUSINESS MANAGER: Reba Hansen.

ASSISTANT BUSINESS MANAGER: Steven Warshell.

TECHNICAL STAFF: H. Massey, James M. Morgan, Ruth Schein.

Published in New York each Monday except last in December and first in January; not published in August.

Intercontinental Press specializes in political analysis and interpretation of events of particular interest to the labor, socialist, colonial independence, Black, and women's liberation movements.

Signed articles represent the views of the authors, which may not necessarily coincide with those of Intercontinental Press. Insofar as it reflects editorial opinion, unsigned material expresses the standpoint of revolutionary Marxism.

PARIS OFFICE: Pierre Frank, 10 Impasse Guemenee, 75004, Paris, France.

TO SUBSCRIBE: For one year send \$15 to Intercontinental Press, P.O. Box 116, Village Station, New York, N.Y. 10014. Write for rates on first class and airmail. Special rates available for subscriptions to colonial and semicolonial countries.

Subscription correspondence should be addressed to Intercontinental Press, P.O. Box 116, Village Station, New York, N.Y. 10014. Because of the continuing deterioration of the U.S. postal system, please allow five weeks for change of address. Include your old address as well as your new address, and, if possible, an address label from a recent issue.

Copyright © 1973 by Intercontinental Press.

Israeli Regime Aims at 'Inflicting Maximum Casualties'

By Jon Rothschild

When Golda Meir went on Israeli television hours after fighting had broken out along the Suez Canal and Golan Heights cease-fire lines on October 6, she sounded the usual note: "We are called upon to display responsible and disciplined behavior. We must be prepared for any burden and sacrifice demanded for the defense of our very existence, our freedom and our independence."

Moshe Dayan, the Israeli war minister, was less rhetorical. He was reported, also hours after the fighting broke out, to be in "a confident, almost jaunty mood."

"Our first objective," Dayan said, "is to win this war—to throw them back to the cease-fire line and to inflict very heavy casualties on them." Dayan refused to answer specific questions about whether the Israeli army would merely try to reestablish the cease-fire lines or would try to push them still further into Egyptian and Syrian territory.

About sixty hours later, Israeli Chief of Staff David Elazar held a news conference in which the same question came up. When asked if Israeli troops had crossed to the west bank of the Suez Canal, Elazar replied, "Not yet." When asked whether Israeli forces had crossed the cease-fire lines on either front or whether they would do so in the course of the fighting, Elazar said, "Well, I have to remind you that the cease-fire lines are not marked in the terrain. We are now conducting the battle in the terrain. We are moving wherever it is necessary, we are attacking the enemy wherever it is necessary. And we shall destroy them wherever it is possible. The cease-fire lines are not marked on the terrain and we are fighting now on the terrain."

It is reported that Elazar, who was conducting the news conference in English, slipped back into Hebrew at one point, long enough to mutter, "We shall break their bones."

Israeli government officials managed to put forward a two-faceted image. In the United Nations Foreign Minister

Abba Eban hit hard on the claim that the Arabs had committed a dastardly, immoral act by trying to recover some of their own territory on a Jewish holiday. He tried, without much success, to portray Israel in its pre-1967 Western image: a small outpost of reasoned civilization facing a horde of bloodthirsty aggressors.

On the home front, other officials were less ponderous. "We have no doubts as to our victory," said Meir. "There will be some Egyptians there



MEIR: On the warpath again.

[on the east side of the Suez Canal] tomorrow morning I suppose," Dayan said on October 7, "but it won't be very long, certainly not months or weeks, before we destroy them."

Three days after the fighting began, Israeli military spokesmen were pouring out triumphant communiqués describing what government officials were already calling "Egypt's fourth defeat."

Conflicting reports made the real military situation extremely unclear. All that was certain was that the Egyptian army had established bridgeheads on the east bank of the Suez Canal and the Syrian army had moved into the Golan Heights. The Israeli air force had unleashed a massive coun-

terattack aimed at achieving the same total mastery of the skies as it did in 1967. The advance of the Arab armies seemed to have been halted.

It is not reliably known which side shot first to break the cease-fire on October 6. The Egyptian and Syrian regimes claim that the Israeli forces opened up in an offensive attack all along the cease-fire lines and that their forces had only responded to the Israeli attack. The Israeli regime claims the Arabs opened fire first, Syrian tanks rolling into the Golan Heights (Syrian territory occupied since June 1967) and Egyptian tanks and infantrymen pouring across pontoon bridges laid down over the Suez Canal. In the United Nations both sides played the game of hurling "first shot" charges back and forth.

It really makes no difference who fired first. The fact that firing would take place was a certainty from the very moment that Israeli troops established themselves along the east bank of the canal and in the Golan Heights. Since that time, it has been Tel Aviv's policy to create yet another set of "accomplished facts" that "reasonable people" would have to "accept," the accomplished fact in this case being permanent occupation of the bulk of the land conquered during the June 1967 invasion of Egypt, Syria, and the West Bank of the Jordan.

Establishment of the "accomplished fact" then enables the Israeli regime to claim that it has been the victim of aggression when Arab states make some effort to recover territory that was taken from them by force. The argument is roughly analogous to the one advanced by Meir when the Israeli air force shot down a Libyan passenger plane that accidentally strayed over the occupied Sinai last February: The plane had to be shot down because it threatened to commit aggression by refusing an Israeli air force order to land. The argument has served the Zionist state well enough heretofore; there is no reason to change it now.

What is absolutely clear, though, is that even if the Egyptians and Syrians did fire first, the Israelis were fully aware that fighting was imminent. This was confirmed by the initial statements of several Israeli government officials. In the October 7 *New York Times* Terence Smith reported what Moshe Dayan had to say about the outbreak of fighting:

"In his press conference and during an earlier address to the nation over television, Mr. Dayan sought to allay the public's concern about the initial Arab success. He said that Israel had known about the attack before it began but had deliberately decided against a pre-emptive strike in order 'to have the political advantage—or whatever you want to call it—of being the side that is attacked.'

"As a result, he explained, Israel had only begun full-scale mobilization of her reserves at 10 A.M. today [October 6], four hours before the fighting began. 'It will take some time before we are at full strength,' he explained. 'Even if we had to evacuate or lose a few positions in Sinai, I think it was the right decision.'

In her television speech on October 6 Golda Meir also stressed that the Israeli army had expected an attack: "IDF [Israeli Defense (sic) Forces] patrols discovered that numerous military forces had been concentrated near the Suez Canal, as well as on the Golan Heights, in offensive deployments. The information was confirmed by the findings of the patrols. Our forces made the necessary preparations to meet the danger."

On October 6 Abba Eban told reporters at the United Nations that "many hours before the attack it became obvious that any lenient interpretation of the concentration [of Arab forces] was no longer possible." Eban said that four or five hours before the fighting broke out he informed U. S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger that war was imminent.

It is certain, then, that whoever fired first, the Israeli regime was expecting a war, did nothing to avoid it, and in fact has decided to utilize it to the fullest advantage. The question is, What sort of utilization? It can be assumed that at the very least the Israeli armed forces will try to carry out one part of Dayan's initial promise: to inflict very heavy casualties.

In the October 9 *New York Times*

Drew Middleton reported that the Israeli air force had already "dropped more bombs than it did during all the six-day war of 1967." Israeli military communiqués released October 7 were already reporting "massive deep-penetration raids" on Egypt and Syria.

In his October 9 article Middleton discussed the "options" available to the Zionist state once its air force had established hegemony in the air.

"Qualified military opinion . . . is that in view of present losses the Israelis must regroup before pushing on into the Syrian plain. Israeli sources believe that any new advance will carry their forces well beyond El Quneitra, which is within extreme artillery range of Damascus, Syria's capital. . . .

"Political considerations may influence tactics on this front. According to a qualified source, there are 7,000 Jewish families in Damascus and their rescue may be thought worth the risk of a drive on the capital.

"In the Sinai, with the battle for the bridgeheads in the balance, future tactics are unclear. There is good reason to believe, however, that if successful, the Israeli command would seek to establish a force west of the canal from Qantara south to Port Suez, where the southern end of the line could be anchored in the hill formations that rise a mile west of the city and port.

"Possession of a strip of territory west of the canal, it was pointed out, would enhance Israel's negotiating position."

And, writing from Tel Aviv in the October 9 *New York Times*, Terence Smith reported: "It seems clear that the Israelis will pursue the Arab forces beyond the cease-fire lines in an effort to punish them as heavily as possible. But in political terms, the Government remains committed to restoring the 1967 lines after the fighting has stopped."

It has also been noted by alert military commentators that sections of the Israeli army have more than once suggested that occupation of southern Lebanon as far north as the Litani River would be useful from the viewpoint of "security." The present fighting could be an opportunity to rectify the borders in the north, as well as the east and west.

From the standpoint of the Israeli

ruling class, the fighting that broke out on October 6 presents the same opportunities as an action by Palestinian fedayeen. In the April 23 *Intercontinental Press*, we wrote, speaking of the raid on Beirut in which three leaders of the Palestinian resistance movement were murdered:

"The April 10 Israeli terror raid was merely the latest implementation of the long-term strategic Israeli policy of inflicting humiliating military damage on Arab countries. In essence it is no different from the innumerable raids that have been carried out against Lebanese and Syrian villages and Palestinian refugee camps or the shooting down of the Libyan airliner two months ago.

"Each such operation serves a strategic function—demonstrating the absolute hegemony of the Zionist state and its ability (both technical and political) to get away with any outrage, no matter how barbaric. Continual humiliation of the Arab world is a necessity for the Zionist state. It is normal policy, carried out regularly, the target country and the tactical character of the operations varying according to the conjunctural political and military situation.

"Aggressive raids on Arab countries were carried out before there was any fedayeen movement, and they will be carried out as long as the Zionist state exists."

In the current warfare in the Arab East, the Israeli state is simply once more applying that strategic maxim. The broader intensity of the attacks on the Arab masses, the greater number of troops involved, and the greater scale of the weapons involved are only the exigencies of "the conjunctural political and military situation."

If what has motivated the Israeli rulers is clear, the intent of the Arab states is less so. Writing in the Cairo daily *el-Akhbar*, Ihsan Abdel Kuddus, a journalist who often reflects Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat's views, claimed that Egypt was not interested in any cease-fire, but intended to go on fighting until the entire Sinai was liberated.

It is difficult to believe that Sadat actually is aiming at militarily liquidating the Israeli occupation. It is far more likely that he felt compelled to take some military action to try to break out of the diplomatic deadlock in which his regime has been fastened

for three years. His many overtures to U.S. imperialism (opening Egypt to U.S. investment, expelling Soviet military advisers, etc.) had produced no quid pro quo. Washington has put no pressure on Tel Aviv to make territorial concessions in exchange for a settlement. For more than a year, Sadat has been threatening to launch some military action to force Washington to impose a settlement. It may be that the current fighting is his attempt to do that.

If it is, he is likely to find the same lack of response that he did to his diplomatic offers. The U.S. ruling class is united in its determination to preserve Israeli military hegemony in the Arab East, and will remain so determined unless a better police force for imperialism emerges. This is amply demonstrated by Nixon's placing the Mediterranean-based Sixth Fleet on full alert, should Israel have need of assistance in the present fighting. Under such conditions Washington will fulfill any Israeli request for military and political aid. And the Is-

raeli Stalinist assistants may try to use the outcome of the current war as a base from which to move to imposition of such a settlement. If they

do, however, they will have to impose it not only on Anwar el-Sadat but on the Arab masses. That is a considerably more difficult job. □

Youngsters Sprayed With Machine-Gun Fire

'Pools of Blood' on Sidewalks of Santiago

By Gerry Foley

"It pains me,' a spokesman of the junta said, 'to see everybody getting concerned about corpses that don't exist.'" (*Le Monde*, October 4.)

"Last week, I slipped through a side door into the Santiago city morgue, flashing my junta press pass with all the impatient authority of a high official. One hundred and fifty dead bodies were laid out on the ground floor, awaiting identification by family members. Upstairs, I passed through a swing door and there in a dimly lit corridor lay at least 50 bodies, squeezed one against another, their heads propped up against the wall. They were all naked.

"Most had been shot at close range under the chin. Some had been machine-gunned in the body. Their chests had been slit open and sewn together in what presumably had been a pro forma autopsy. They were all young and, judging from the roughness of their hands, all from the working class. A couple of them were girls, distinguished among the massed bodies only by the curves of their breasts." (John Barnes in the October 8 *Newsweek*.)

The daughter of a morgue staff member told Barnes that in the fourteen days following the coup, this one institution had "received and processed" 2,796 corpses. The *Newsweek* correspondent commented:

"No one knows how many have been disposed of elsewhere; a gravedigger told me of reports that helicopters have been gathering bodies at the emergency first-aid center in central Santiago, then carrying them out to sea to be dumped."

The organization of the military take-over impressed some journalists:

"The coup d'etat, staged with textbook precision, had been plotted for almost 11 months," Jonathan Kandell wrote in the September 30 *New York*

Times, "by a military convinced that the late President's experiment in constitutional Marxism had 'succeeded in destroying the economic power of the middle class, which is the basis of our national institutions,' as one officer deeply involved in the planning put it last week."

If their military operations had been staged with textbook precision, the generals were much less precise in keeping their stories straight.

"Admiral Toribio Merino himself admitted in an interview with the Dutch TV station Vara," the October 1 *Der Spiegel* reported, "that 3,500 civilians were killed." Officially, the junta claimed that only 95 had died in their "textbook" operation. "The lie is so cynical," the *Dagens Nyheter* correspondent Bobi Sourander wrote, "that it makes you boggle."

Almost three weeks after the military coup, the full extent of the repression was still far from clear. But enough information had leaked out to send shock waves through the world press. Sourander compared Chile to a country under Nazi occupation.

"Myth after myth about the heroic resistance that is supposed to have taken place in the first days is dying out," the Swedish correspondent wrote in the September 30 issue of the prestigious Stockholm daily. "There were reports of full-scale battles between military units in Santiago. Nothing like that happened. A few hundred snipers resisted for a few days in the cities. That was all. . . ."

"When the military effectively cleared out the factories by shelling them with heavy weapons and sending helicopters over them, the resistance was sporadic and badly organized.

"It led to brutal retaliatory strikes that were rumored to be on the scale of extermination operations. And in



SADAT: Is he trying to force U.S. to pressure Tel Aviv?

raeli ruling class is clearly resolved to maintain its occupation of the vast majority of the lands it seized in the 1967 aggression.

Thus, if Washington and Moscow do impose a "settlement" in the Arab East, it will be one in which the Zionist state maintains the lion's share of its conquests. The imperialists and

this flood of rumors, it suddenly became uninteresting—after some sources had said that all the workers had been shot by the military—that hundreds of workers in one factory, Qumar Nylon, were arrested and collectively tortured.

"The myths are dying just when Chile's military junta needs them. Its soldiers and officers ran amok for five days in pogroms the like of which has seldom been seen since the heyday of the Nazis."

Whether the military intends to exterminate whole sections of the population will probably not be determined for some time. The population has been atomized by repression and censorship. In particular, the teeming shantytowns on the outskirts of the cities—where, from the bourgeoisie's point of view, the most dangerous and economically expendable elements are concentrated—are isolated from each other and from the rest of the country. In these conditions, the intimidating effect of the junta's savage terror is maximized.

"At the same time all sorts of myths are still believed in Chile, where there is no reliable information about what happened and what is happening," continued Sourander's *Dagen Nyheter* report. "In Chile, people are still talking about tens of thousands dead, but no one can confirm or refute these rumors. And they need only be interlaced with a few horrifying facts to create a paralyzing terror.

"Dead bodies are being found in working-class areas. A refuse truck carrying a corpse drives by. Fresh bodies are found in large numbers. Fear spreads and generates treachery and cowardice.

"Everyone knows that the terror is continuing, but no one knows what its dimensions are.

"Already the political persecutions have gone down to the lowest levels. Leftists who cut their hair, took off their ties, and went meekly to work two weeks ago are beginning to disappear. Workers who led union actions in the factory and tended their machines with their heads down for a week after the coup are beginning to be arrested. In the slums, a van comes with soldiers. A few names are called and a few men taken away."

Some idea of the extent of the junta's repression in the shantytowns, or *poblaciones*, was given by Barnes's ar-

ticle in the October 8 *Newsweek*.

"Presumably, the junta believes that since the poblaciones provided the former government's main support, they must be terrorized into accepting the fact of its demise. So the local leaders are now paying with their lives for their love of Allende. Not one población has escaped the terror.

"I spoke with three women from the Pincoya población. One of them, a mother of two, had just found out that she was a widow. She told me this tearful story: 'Soldiers raided our



población last Saturday at 8 in the morning. In the section where we live, they rounded up about 50 men and held them until a police lieutenant came to take his pick. When the lieutenant saw my husband, he made him step forward and told him: "Now you will pay for all you people have done." The *carabineros* took him and a few others to the police station, and the rest were arrested by the soldiers."

The women in this shantytown joined the long lines of relatives and friends waiting outside the giant football stadiums that have been converted into concentration camps. When they heard

that a 17-year-old boy from their neighborhood had turned up in the morgue, shot in the head, they went to check the lists of the dead. "There they found her husband, Gabriel, as well as every adult male from one block of their población."

The military continues to cordon off sections of the city of Santiago to conduct "searches" in the sealed-off sections. The October 1 *Der Spiegel* described the results:

"At night when the curfew has emptied the streets, mop-up squads move in. In the morning, passersby find huge pools of blood on the sidewalks, or corpses covered with newspapers, as for example, on the business street of Huérfanos. Slum dwellers fished forty-five bodies out of the Río Mapocho not far from the Paduel airport, and in the center of Santiago itself several bodies piled up against a bridge over the Mapocho.

"A UN official who was looking for the body of a Bolivian student counted 180 fresh bodies in the morgue, including five children. The head of the registry department has even complained in the press that his clerks are so busy identifying dead bodies that they have no time for issuing marriage licenses."

In some cases, the brutalized police have already taken advantage of the terror to shake down the population.

"I joined a funeral procession of weeping families following three coffins to burial," Barnes wrote. "Carabineros . . . had raided a home in the Parque Santa María población and had picked up three petty thieves aged 18, 19 and 20. A sergeant told them they would be released if they paid 7,000 escudos—only \$5, but a lot of money for the población poor. Their barrio raised the money and the youths returned home. But two hours later a carabinero patrol came back to get them. That was the last their families heard, until they found their names on the morgue list. One of the boys was so riddled with bullets that they could hardly dress him for burial. But the fate of the other two was worse. Coffins in Chile have small window doors over the face of the dead, and the women opened them for me. There were no heads inside."

The junta is capable of anything, as innumerable atrocities throughout the country have shown. Barnes reported a conversation with a worker

in a shantytown. "On the day the coup took place . . . he and one of his sons saw ten high-school students marched from their school, their hands over their heads, after a brief skirmish with carabineros. They were forced to lie face down on the ground, and a policeman walked the line of prone youngsters, spraying them with machine-gun fire."

The conclusion the worker drew was: "They can kill whomever they want to kill. There is nothing, absolutely nothing, that we can do about it."

Despite the demagogic promises it continues to make to the workers, the junta has obviously opted for naked terror to "restore discipline" among the work force. On September 25, the CUT [Central Unica de Trabajadores—United Federation of Workers] was outlawed. One of its leaders, former Minister of Labor Jorge Godoy, has been so badly tortured, according to Sourander's September 30 article, that "he has tried to kill himself." The junta also announced September 28 that it had captured Luis Corvalán, the general secretary of the Communist party, and intended to try him for treason, a capital offense. At the same time, the junta continues to make public accounts of executions of left-wing figures after rapid military trials.

In the October 7 *New York Times*, Jonathan Kandell reported: "Under the first few weeks of the military Government, a rigid labor discipline has been put into effect. Union activity has been suspended. Workers—motivated mostly by fear of losing their jobs—have apparently cut absenteeism sharply. And working hours have been increased by resurrecting a half day of work on Saturdays.

"A tour of a dozen factories in recent days appeared to bear out management claims that employes were hard at work, although their enthusiasm may have been partly explained by the suspension of dozens of workers alleged to be leftist extremists."

In the same issue of the *Times*, Marvin Howe said that the junta's economic policy "has not been spelled out in detail," but that it had "made strong appeals for foreign capital, particularly American capital," and that "initial measures indicate a squeeze on the workers and en-

couragement to producers."

One measure indicating a "squeeze on the workers" was the junta's freezing of wages and refusing to grant the cost-of-living increase due September 30 under the Allende government's law. Since prices have gone up 320 percent over the last year, this step means a drastic cut in the workers' buying power. At the same time, moreover, the currency was sharply devalued.



LUIS CORVALAN

"What this means," Howe wrote, "is that food and petroleum imports, which came in at the lowest rate of 25 [escudos] to the dollar, will go up in price by over 1,000 percent."

So far, there is no sign of the military offering the workers anything but a "firm hand" and a chance to "sacrifice for the fatherland."

"The military regime is seeking its advisers in the most reactionary circles," the October 1 *Der Spiegel* reported, "above all in the Nationalist party. Expropriated landowners have been called into the Ministry of Agriculture; the chairman of the manufacturers association, Sofa, has been

called in as an economic adviser in the Foreign Ministry."

The uniformed conspirators were convinced long before the coup, one told Jonathan Kandell, that only "military methods" could "restore order." They were even more firmly convinced after the right-wing parties failed to get a large enough vote in the March congressional elections to oust Allende:

"It was supposed to be a last chance for a political solution," one officer admitted. "But frankly, many of us gave a sigh of relief when the Marxists received such a high vote because we felt that no politician could run the country and eventually the Marxists might be even stronger." (*New York Times*, September 27.)

Once the Chilean bourgeoisie decided to unleash the generals, it had to accept the consequences at least for the time being. These included handing over economic management to the most retrograde elements and accepting the unforeseeable costs of brutal, irrational, and corrupt military rule. But some voices in the imperialist center that armed and trained the local repressive machine began very quickly to express fears that the overkill in Chile might hopelessly undermine the political bases of bourgeois control over the society.

The most farsighted organ of American imperialism, the *New York Times*, raised an alarm in an editorial September 26, entitled "Off Course in Chile." It warned the generals very pointedly not to go too far: "The junta needs all the help it can get if it is to avert civil war, pacify the country and create the conditions for political and economic recovery. It will not get that help if it persists along the sterile if familiar path of military dictatorship in what was one of the Americas' few remaining strongholds of democracy."

This warning was evidently issued in the name of a section of the American bourgeoisie. On October 1, the Senate passed the Kennedy Amendment calling for suspension of military and economic aid to Chile until "assurances" are given of decent treatment for political refugees. Even if the bill passes the House of Representatives, Nixon need not respect it any more than he has various resolutions calling for an end to the Vietnam war. But it is an indication that an important sector of the ruling class

in the United States is worried about the political repercussions of the slaughter.

Another sign that at least some figures in Nixon's administration have become uneasy was the report in the October 4 *Le Monde*: "For the first time since the coup d'etat the U. S. ambassador in Santiago has expressed 'grave concern' for human rights in the country."

In its October 7 issue, the *New York Times* issued a new warning that Chile was "Still Off Course."

"In a country as bitterly polarized as Chile had become during the Allende Government's attempts to impose drastic Socialism opposed by the majority, prompt pacification and reconciliation could not be expected. But the junta will surely render these imperative long-run goals impossible if it carries out what seems to be a plan to try every major figure of that Government within its reach before military tribunals on charges of treason."

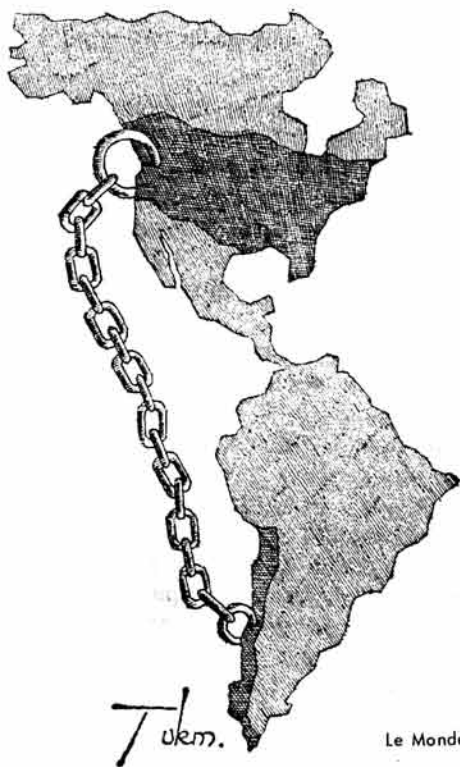
In their determination to impose "order," the military risked destroying all the links between the bourgeois political system and the workers, thus making it impossible for the capitalists to regain any measure of cooperation from the working class.

"The trial of Luis Corvalán, the Communist party secretary-general, is a case in point. Strange as it seems to those unfamiliar with Chilean politics, the Communists not only had played by the democratic rules but had been a force for moderation and compromise within the Allende coalition, repeatedly critical of the more revolutionary Socialists."

The experienced imperialist leaders understand that mere terror cannot long maintain production in a country like Chile, even when there is a high unemployment rate. Furthermore, pure military rule has generally proven quite unstable in countries as developed as Chile. Given unlimited opportunities for looting and extortion, the ground-level command structure quickly becomes utterly corrupt. And as the top command becomes involved in directly running the economic life of the country, the contradictions in the bourgeoisie tend to become reflected in its own ranks in an acute way. Every conflict of economic interests threatens to turn into a civil war. With the military facing the bitter

hatred of the decisive masses of the country, the inevitable faltering of the regime could produce a violent explosion.

"No soldier or Carabinero can venture into certain poor areas on the outskirts of Santiago except in vast army operations," *Le Monde* reported



October 4. "Many have already been killed."

By backing the coup that has produced General Pinochet's murderous regime, the bourgeois parties have been hopelessly discredited in the working class. The "communitarian socialism" of the Catholic Christian Democrats is not likely to attract many workers after the party has backed a take-over by the murder machine, financed and trained by the United States, that has already slaughtered so many of "the Lord's beloved." As

for the bourgeois parties' pretense of devotion to democratic principles, that has been shattered for the foreseeable future.

"The members of parliament who talked themselves hoarse defending the Congress from Allende's assaults," Ramiro de Casbellas wrote in the October 2 issue of the Buenos Aires liberal daily *La Opinión*, "did not bat an eye at the abolition of the legislative branch."

As for the reformist parties, whose leaders and activists are now being cut down in the general slaughter of the working-class organizations, their parliamentary course has also been widely discredited.

"They have not defeated our socialism but only the bourgeois reformists," a worker told Bobi Sourander. "Allende was a coward. He should have given us weapons, us workers. We don't trust bourgeois leaders with bourgeois ideas any more. . . . They wanted to make a revolution with official cars." (*La Opinión*, September 29.)

In the absence of organized resistance by the masses, it was difficult for the ranks of the armed forces to break free from the discipline imposed by their officers. But there is evidence that the unspeakable cruelty and bloodthirstiness of the chiefs has driven an unbridgeable gap between them and the mass of men in uniform.

"Witnesses claim that soldiers shot their officers when they ordered them to execute prisoners," the October 1 *Der Spiegel* reported.

"Another soldier paid with his life for refusing to carry out such an order. He was shot as he threw away his helmet and rifle in protest. The reason was that one of his comrades guarding a line of people standing at a bread outlet in Santiago's Mapocho district shot a child who was crying." □

Latin American Regimes' Complicity With Junta

Chilean Refugees Face Police Interrogation

"As the refugees began to leave the plane, the persons standing on the observation deck began to raise their voices in the Venezuelan national anthem," the Caracas *El Universal*

wrote in its October 3 issue.

The Venezuelans fleeing the reactionary terror in Chile were not, however, greeted with patriotic solidarity by their government. Behind the gates

waited the Disip, the political police.

"While the interrogation of the Venezuelans by the Disip and immigration officials took almost three hours, the questioning of the Chileans will be still more prolonged, since they have to be registered and their activities investigated.

"Because of reports that many persons went on board with false names, the Disip functionaries fingerprinted the passengers so as to be sure of their identity.

"It is said that several of those who took refuge in the Venezuelan embassy and were in difficulty with our authorities . . . gave the diplomatic officials false names."

Thus, apparently the Venezuelan police were not reluctant to take advantage of the junta's pogrom against citizens of their own country, as well as others, to settle a few scores with political oppositionists. There is no reason, after all, to expect that many common criminals would have fled to Chile. In almost all cases, the persons "in difficulty with our authorities" were probably political offenders.

Nor, for all its pretenses about being anti-imperialist, has the Peronist government shown a very fraternal attitude toward the refugees from the blood thirsty proimperialist officers who have seized power across the Andes.

"Deputy Hector Sandler said yesterday that Argentina was not obeying international asylum laws in the way it was handling refugees from Chile," the English-language *Buenos Aires Herald* reported in its October 3 issue.

"The deputy protested that the way in which they were received at Ezeiza in a 'semi-concentration regime,' had little difference with the conditions at the embassy where they sought asylum.

"Sandler said that only legislators had been allowed to see the foreign non-Chilean refugees (who have been given 72 hours to choose another country to go to) and among them were pregnant women, children, and 'at least one person with hepatitis' who had not received proper medical attention. Sandler said there were difficulties in giving the refugees any other form of assistance, which they needed as the Chilean police had only let them leave the country with the clothes they had on and virtually no money."

Another government apparently has not shown much interest in aiding the foreigners being tracked by the murder squads of the junta, not even its own citizens.

"A young American woman from Madison, Wis., with a 2-year-old baby, said she had first gone to the American Embassy for help," Marvine Howe reported in the September 29 *New York Times*. "The woman, who would not give her name, said she was told at the embassy to see the Chilean police. 'And so I came to the Swedish Embassy for help.'"

Frank Teruggi did not make it to the Swedish embassy.

"The death of an American university student, Frank Teruggi, reported yesterday, was confirmed by his friends," Howe cabled October 4 from Santiago. Mr. Teruggi's body was brought into the Santiago morgue on Sept. 22 with a bullet hole in the right cheek and a wound in the neck, a friend said. . . .

"He was arrested on Sept. 20 with his friend David Hathaway, a student from Seattle, in the apartment they were sharing. Mr. Hathaway was released one week later after intervention by the American Embassy but Mr. Teruggi had disappeared from the cell on Sept. 21 and was not seen alive again."

Only the Swedish government, besides the Mexican, seems to have shown any energy in shielding the victims of the junta's pogroms. In an interview quoted by Howe in the September 29, *New York Times*, Swedish Ambassador Harald Edelstam said:

"We know there are lists of people who supported the former regime and

who are considered by the new military authorities as criminals and therefore could be executed." He criticized the indifference of the international organizations: "The United Nations has been very weak; one would hope that the world organization and the Red Cross would take more interest in those who are suffering."

The Swedish government has a reputation for political astuteness. By its activity on behalf of many victims of Nazi terror, it gained important international prestige and diplomatic weight in the postwar world. On the other hand, as the horrors of the junta's pogroms and repression become known, the governments that by their attitude toward the refugees have connived in this terror will pay a heavy price.

The fact that a representative of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees has been sent to Chile to establish a shelter for political fugitives indicates the growing pressure of world public opinion. But the junta has shown by its bare faced denials of the obvious repression that it wants to eliminate as many politically suspect persons as possible before public pressure can be mobilized against it. It has been helped in this by the relative silence of most of the big capitalist press about the terror in Chile.

The more quickly protests can be organized against the atrocities of the junta and the complicity of most of the other capitalist governments involved, the more persons will be saved from the most brutal victimizations, and the more certain it is that an unprecedented attack on the right of political asylum will be decisively defeated. □

Imprisoned for Days in Chile After Coup

Two Swedish Citizens Tell of Torture

[Two young Swedes were taken prisoner during the mass roundups that accompanied and followed the military coup in Chile. Claes Croner, 35, is an economist who went to Chile on a contract with the United Nations in 1971. At the time of the coup, he was working for the Institute of Economics and Economic Planning at the University of Chile in Santiago. Hen-

rik Janbell, is a 25-year-old adviser to the Institute of Forestry. He was held for eleven days, first at the Santiago police station, then in the Estadio Chile, and finally in the Estadio Nacional. When they were released, both gave accounts of the conditions in the junta's improvised concentration camps. Their stories were published in the October 1 issue of the

West German magazine *Der Spiegel*, from which they have been translated by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Claes Croner:

Policemen took me from my home and brought me in a jeep to the Estadio Nacional. The Carabineros [national police] were hunting down all foreigners, whether or not they were politically active.

The first night I had to endure temperatures around freezing. The second and third nights I was in a cell with former members of the government, ministry officials, and journalists. These included the head of the agricultural institute, Adrián Vásquez, the deputy director of the state development corporation, Darío Páez, and also the editor in chief of the magazine *Punto Final*, Manuel Cabieses, who at the same time was acting chairman of the Chilean journalists' association.

A local politician had been badly treated by the soldiers in interrogation. His face was cut up and two ribs were broken. He said that the soldiers had taken him before a firing squad. But at the last minute before the officer gave the order to fire, the politician recognized him as an acquaintance of the commander of the Colina garrison. Looking into the barrels of the soldiers' rifles, the condemned man yelled so long for the officer to get in touch with this commander that the officer in fact halted the execution.

Others did not escape. I did not personally witness executions, but on the third night in the stadium, in particular, we could hear them from our cell. It began with terrifying screams and beatings. Then we heard footsteps and gasps, as if someone were being dragged. Shortly after that, shots rang out in the lower part of the stadium lockers. There were ten to twenty of them.

The next night in the cell they told us that the persons shot were poor devils from the La Legua shantytown. The cops claimed to have found them with guns in their pockets and charged them with blowing up a police van.

We heard shots day and night. To some extent this was part of the program of psychological torture. On the first night, the police dragged a wo-

man out of the torture room past a long line of us prisoners. She was screaming like a terrified animal.

On the fourth night, I was put in a special cell for foreigners. Some 153 persons were packed into a few square meters. There were two Dutch priests, two German exchange students from Berlin, an Argentine factory worker, a Colombian harmonica player who had been on tour, and a Cuban asthma patient who had gone to Chile for treatment.

Henrik Janbell:

During my interrogation, they beat me and other prisoners with their rifle butts and kicked us in the kidneys, ribs, and genitals.

A specially devised torture was forcing us to lie on cold concrete for up to forty hours. Soldiers pushed wheelbarrows filled with paving stones over the prisoners.

Swedish Press Reports Chile Escape

'The Black Carnation' Saved Blanco

"The world-famous Peruvian peasant leader Hugo Blanco, whose life was endangered by the military coup in Chile, is coming to Sweden soon," Ulf Nilson wrote from Santiago in the September 24 issue of the Stockholm daily *Expressen*.

This report confirmed earlier ones in the Swedish press. "A few days ago *Expressen*, among others, reported that Blanco—who is considered Latin America's most wanted man—had found refuge in the Swedish Embassy in Santiago. This was denied for various reasons by the Foreign Ministry in Stockholm. It was, however, a fact that Blanco's escape was helped along by Swedes—not necessarily diplomats."

Nonetheless, Nilson gave the Swedish ambassador main credit for getting the Peruvian revolutionist out of the hands of the junta.

"Blanco's rescue was entirely the work of Harald Edelstam, who is now repeating the kind of rescue operations he carried out in World War II Norway, where he was known as 'The Black Carnation' for his completely undiplomatic exploits as an agent.

"Today Ambassador Edelstam inter-

A young man in my cell came out of the torture chambers of the military academy. He had witnessed a group of cadets, commanded by officers, jumping for a long time up and down on the bodies of prisoners lying in a court as if they were a trampoline.

An Argentine who was lying near me in the cell was taken out for interrogation. An hour later he came back covered with blood; his face was one big wound. Hardly was he returned to the cell before they dragged him out again. Shortly afterward, we heard shots. He did not come back. . .

Among the most bestial torturers were civilians. My fellow prisoners claimed they were members of the *Patria y Libertad* [Fatherland and Freedom, a fascist terrorist organization]. The officers were also very fanatical. It often happened that common soldiers and policemen defended prisoners from their murderous frenzy. □

vened personally. By means of a technique I am not permitted to disclose, he was able to get Blanco to the Mexican Embassy in Santiago. Mexico and Chile have a treaty that says Santiago cannot deny Latin Americans who take refuge in the Mexican Embassy safe-conduct out of the country. Edelstam bid adieu to his good friend, who is on his way to Stockholm."

On the same day that Nilson's report appeared, Sweden's most prestigious daily, *Dagens Nyheter*, carried a brief interview with Hugo Blanco in Mexico City.

"The Peruvian peasant leader Hugo Blanco is tired and grim but unbroken, even though once again he is on the run, this time from Chile," Hans-Ingvar Johnsson wrote in the September 24 issue of the Stockholm morning paper. "He appealed strongly for solidarity with Chile."

Blanco told the Swedish journalist: "First I was forced to leave my home in Peru, then my village, then I was deported from my native country, and now I have been expelled from my continent."

Johnsson commented: "Hugo Blanco, thirty-eight years old, former lead-



HUGO BLANCO

er of a movement that sought decent conditions for the peasants in his country, was sitting this foggy Saturday in a cold hotel room in Mexico City on the fringe of his part of the world.

"A few days ago in Chile he saw Latin American generals take power another time; once again he saw friends and sympathizers taken away or killed."

A summary of Blanco's history was given in the September 25 issue of *Dagens Nyheter* by Birgitta Nyblom:

"His story begins, we can say, in the 1950s. Here briefly is how it goes:

"Hugo Blanco was born in the city of Cuzco in the Peruvian Andes. In these mountains lies the valley of La Convención, where he came at the end of the 1950s to work as a subtenant farmer. He came directly from Argentina, where he had studied agronomy and gotten trade-union experience by working while he was in school.

"Blanco had learned about the peasants' hard lot through his father, who was a lawyer and often took up the cause of the poor peasants. The big landowners had always treated the Indian peasants as living property.

"Hugo Blanco got them to demand payment for their work. He began organizing all the peasants into unions: the tenants, subtenants, subsubtenants, and laborers—that is, all

those who were exploited by the landowners.

"A substantial peasant movement started up, whose program included a just division of the land. It set up schools and clinics. The peasants seized the landowners' uncultivated land, occupied it, and began to farm it.

"In 1962, Hugo Blanco carried out a land reform in La Convención. It meant that the union authorized peasants who were badly treated by landowners to take the land they tilled. This example resounded through Peru. It was the big landowners, Hugo Blanco stressed, that the union opposed, not the small proprietors.

"But police and soldiers were called out to drive the new owners off the land. Many peasants were killed in the villages. The unions had to organize self-defense. In November 1962, some 5,000 soldiers were sent in. Hugo Blanco and 300 peasants attacked a police station to get arms to defend themselves. In the ensuing battle, two policemen were killed.

"Hugo Blanco was hunted down like an outlaw, and after a half a year he

was captured and imprisoned. After spending three years in prison without a trial, he was sentenced to twenty-five years at hard labor for rebellion.

"He was sent to the island penitentiary of El Frontón, while a military prosecutor was demanding his death. International public opinion took up Hugo Blanco's defense. The protesters included Bertrand Russell, Isaac Deutscher, and Jean-Paul Sartre. In the international week for the release of political prisoners in the fall of 1968, the Swedish branch of Amnesty International in particular appealed for the freedom of Hugo Blanco and his fellow prisoners through a poster campaign.

"Hugo Blanco and forty-one other prisoners were released in 1971, when the government in Peru changed hands. But after a half year of freedom he was deported, following his participation in a trade-union meeting during a teachers strike. Then he came to Mexico. Later he went to Argentina under a legal visa, but was imprisoned there. After that he was given asylum in Chile." □

Declared Target Is 'Marxism'

Peron Launches Purge of His Movement

By Gerry Foley

"Juan Domingo Perón's order to purge the Peronist movement of all traces of Marxism has reduced the left wing to a state of numbed shock," the *Buenos Aires Herald* reported in its October 3 issue. The daily of the English-speaking commercial community was referring to a secret order issued by Perón to provincial governors meeting October 1 in the Argentine capital. The text was "leaked" the *Herald* said, by the October 2 *La Opinión*. (See our translation elsewhere in this issue.)

This document in fact left little room for doubt that General Perón hopes to accomplish by means of a "democratic" dictatorship what the military rulers of the country failed to do by relying on the traditional repressive forces alone. The "people's general" was moving rapidly to carry out his part of the deal with the military under which he was permitted to return to

the head of the government, i.e., to curb the radical youth and "discipline" the Argentine workers.

The old caudillo's "declaration of war on Marxism" called for a draconian purge of the Peronist movement and the gagging of all oppositionist elements within it. In addition, it contained passages that seemed to call for a war on the entire left, outside as well as inside the Peronist movement. For example, it stated: "Without detracting from their specific functions, the work of the Peronist compañeros in the national, provincial, and municipal governments must be adjusted to serve the aims and advancement of this struggle, since they bear the principal responsibility for defending the social peace."

Another directive, besides calling for a ban on "Marxist propaganda" in the movement, said that "such propaganda" would be prevented by "any

and all means." Some of the "means" were suggested in the following passage: "Full solidarity and support will be given to any compañero or group that might suffer because of acts of struggle committed in the pursuance of the campaign that is being initiated."

In fact, the right-wing Peronists launched a gang war against the left from the very day of *el líder's* return. Near the Ezeiza airport they opened fire on the left-wing contingents gathered to welcome their hero, slaughtering scores of bystanders. At that time, too, "the supreme commander of the Argentine nationality" put the blame for the violence on the left. But then he did so only by innuendo. Now the attacks have become explicit, and Perón has offered official sanction of the rightist goon squads that have been escalating their attacks.

Claims that left-wing guerrilla groups touched off the Ezeiza massacre gave Perón a pretext for removing from the government the liberal Peronists associated with the resistance to the military dictatorship. The still unsolved assassination of the head of the Peronist trade-union bureaucracy, José Ignacio Rucci, on September 24 provided the pretext for declaring "war on Marxism."

Rucci's death was followed by a wave of commando attacks against prominent representatives of all left tendencies. On the same day as the assassination, the Faculty of Sciences at the University of Buenos Aires, a stronghold of the Peronist left, was fire-bombed.

On September 25, Enrique Grinberg, the leader of Region No. 1 of the JP (Juventud Peronista—Peronist Youth), the main left Peronist organization, was assassinated. In the following week, Luis Pedro Frola, a leader of the JP in San Luis, was fired on from an automobile. Juan Zaremba, a representative of the JTP (Juventud Trabajadora Peronista—Peronist Young Workers, another left branch of the movement) complained that members of his organization were "being subjected to systematic persecution and even being kidnapped to intimidate them."

The Communist party headquarters in Mendoza was defaced and leaflets were scattered around the area bearing the signature "the José Ignacio Rucci Commando Group." Also attacked was

the Mar del Plata headquarters of the PST (Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores—Socialist Workers party, an organization that maintains fraternal ties with the Fourth International). Many other threats and assaults were noted.

Along with the wave of rightist terror, the press continued to report actions associated with guerrilla groups. In Córdoba on October 1, a policeman was shot by two youths who were allegedly trying to take his weapons. On the same day in the same city a milk-truck driver was held up and forced to distribute his cargo free



JUAN D. PERON

in a slum area. On October 4, Braniff and American Airlines reported that they had received threats that their passengers would be attacked if they did not pay \$500,000 to various charitable institutions.

The authors of the violent acts multiplying throughout the country remained generally obscure. Among other things, the guerrilla organizations could neither claim nor deny operations because of the Peronist government's reimposition of the ban on reporting their statements.

The regime also tried to exploit the memory of left-wing opposition to Perón's first nationalist government so as to lump the left and right together as tools of imperialism. Since the Communist party had opposed Perón in the 1940s in the name of the Soviet

alliance with "democratic" imperialism, the Peronist bosses could expect their invocations of a "proimperialist left" to strike a chord among sectors of the masses.

In Chubut, Argentina's provisional president, Raúl Lastiri, said: "The minuscule groups that have been shoved to the sidelines of this process [of "national and social liberation"], pursuing obscure antinational aims that coincide with the interests of the unpatriotic reactionaries they claim to be fighting, have placed themselves outside the law. They have merited the profound repudiation of the people that was shown by the total general strike held two days ago to commemorate the event you all know about [the assassination of Rucci]."

These "minuscule groups" were accused in another speech by Lastiri, reported by the October 3 *Buenos Aires Herald*, of seeking only "chaos" in order to wreck General Perón's plans for "national reconstruction":

"President Lastiri himself gave due notice that the government was acting in earnest when he said that the terrorist 'does not care whether a worker, student or a military man is in his gunsight. For those who want chaos, any pretext will do.

"We mustn't fool ourselves. Terrorist action is not merely directed against its victims. It's directed against the Argentine people and its authentic leader, General Perón."

While the Peronist leaders were raising a phony rightist bogeyman, they were leading a real rightist offensive in a blitzkrieg against the left. The liberal Peronists still holding key positions were put under heavy pressure to join the offensive or be ousted.

"The governors were also told to go back to their provinces and purge their own administrations of Marxists," the *Herald* report continued. "The provincial governments of Buenos Aires, Córdoba, Mendoza, Salta, La Rioja and San Luis have all been denounced by orthodox Peronists as being infiltrated by leftist extremists."

Not only was pressure brought to bear on Peronists in local office but the very showcase and bastion of the Peronist left fell to the rightist offensive.

Last May 28, only three days after the Cárpora government took office, the Peronist organizations occupied the universities of Buenos Aires and La Plata, allegedly to forestall sabotage

by the right. Interventors were appointed to assure "popular control."

"Special deans have been appointed in most of the schools," the PST paper *Avanzada Socialista* wrote in its June 7 issue. "Their arrival was received quite enthusiastically by the compañeros of the JUP [Juventud Universitaria Peronista—Peronist Student Youth], as well as other Peronist currents. All hastened to point out—concurring with Puiggrós, the interventor of the University of Buenos Aires—that a new stage was opening in the life of the universities: the stage of the 'national, people's university.'"

Following Cámpora's resignation and the election of Perón, rumors began to circulate that "reactionary infiltrators" intended to remove Puiggrós. On October 1, the interventors in the various schools of the University of Buenos Aires held a press conference to announce that they had learned that the Ministry of Education had asked for Puiggrós's resignation. They issued as strong a protest as they apparently felt was compatible with the "Peronist principle of centralized command."

"As disciplined soldiers of the Peronist movement, we will accept its decision, but we must make known our thinking and our desire that . . . Compañero Puiggrós be confirmed in his position."

The Peronist Professors Organization, ADUP (Agrupación de Docentes Universitarios Peronistas) expressed a stronger protest, saying that it "considers that this development is the result of a series of maneuvers by reactionary and proimperialist sectors inside and outside the movement that oppose opening up the universities to the people."

The ADUP called for a strike in defense of the "people's university. . . until General Perón takes office and decides the next steps to take."

The same day that Puiggrós's removal became known, 20,000 students went into the streets to protest. But the movement was suddenly demobilized, the *Herald* claimed, when Perón came out openly on the side of the right:

"The students had talked of occupying the university yesterday but when they read the text of Perón's tough crackdown . . . they restricted their protest to 'symbolic' takeovers at three faculties."

Perón unmistakably took the side of the trade-union bureaucracy that has been organizing the goon-squad attacks on the left.

"At a secret meeting held in the CGT [Confederación General de Trabajadores—General Confederation of Labor] he [Perón] told labor leaders that the trade unions 'are the backbone of the Peronist movement.' He promised them that he would visit them regularly once a week after he assumes the presidency on October 12.

"Perón's decision to tip the scales so decisively in favour of the right wing in the Peronist movement left the Peronist Youth Movement, which has repeatedly clashed with the CGT, in total disarray."

Perón's policy of basing his regime on the trade-union bureaucracy and labor gangsters is not new in Latin America, where native capitalism is weak. Bourgeois nationalists have generally been forced to base themselves to some extent on working-class organizations so as to gain some leverage against imperialism as well as a mechanism of control reaching deeply into the masses.

In one case in particular, the development of a corrupt trade-union apparatus operating by gangster methods and incorporated into the state has assured a long period of stability for a national bourgeoisie with very limited reformist aims. Mexico is the outstanding success of the Latin American national bourgeoisies and it is apparently the model Perón intends to follow.

The "supreme leader of the Argentine nationality" has, however, set out on this road in more difficult conditions than the Mexican caudillos and apparently has far less to offer in the way of reforms than in his first term. The speed of his shift to the right has not only stunned his deluded young followers but startled better-informed observers such as the prestigious Buenos Aires daily *La Opinión*, which attributed the sudden purge of the university to the general's predilection for the "surprise attack." It also noted that when Perón first rose to power he preferred to settle the most difficult problems before formally taking office, thus avoiding direct responsibility for the most unpopular actions and retaining more room for maneuver.

But this time, Perón seems to have

staked the fate of his regime on a highly risky maneuver. A sudden collapse of the myth of the great anti-imperialist commander would remove the last big political barrier to a revolutionary development of the radicalization in Argentina. In particular, the grip of the Peronist bureaucracy on the unions has been slipping in the recent upsurge. And the traditionally rather democratic local unions—which a decade of military repression failed to smash—could easily handle rightist goon squads, if Perón lost his political influence over the workers.

But the left is also in a dangerous position. The still vastly popular caudillo is obviously moving very fast to crush the socialist movement as a "preventive" operation. Whether he can achieve this will depend on the ability of the revolutionists to maintain and expand their links with the masses and offer an attractive political alternative to Peronism.

So far, Perón has been able to exploit the actions of the guerrilla groups to cover the offensive of the right-wing goon squads and give force to his call for "national unity" and "peace" behind his leadership. The political confusion of the guerrilla groups that are the core and symbol of the Peronist left has been a major advantage. Repeating the standard Maoist phrases about power growing from the barrel of a gun, as well as vague anti-imperialist slogans, these groups have ended up in total political subordination to the great demagogue. A good illustration is one of the chants that was popular at Enrique Grinberg's funeral: "Con el fusil en la mano y Evita en la corazón. [With a Gun in Our Hands, and Evita in Our Hearts]."

On the other hand, the Communist party is following a policy that is the mere inverse of its opposition to the anti-imperialism of Perón's first government. Instead of offering a political alternative to the old caudillo, the CP is blaming the actions of his right-wing followers on a "CIA plot" (thus repeating the error of the left Peronists). It is echoing his calls for "national unity," and calling for a broader national coalition "because the 7,400,000 votes FREJULI [Frente Justicialista de Liberación—Liberation Front for Social Justice] received make a great reserve for the country, along with the other parties that also go to make up the anti-imperialist

spectrum." (*La Opinión*, October 1.) Thus, at the very time Perón is launching an assault on the left, the CP seems to be calling on him to include it and its allies in the government.

The only political alternative that was offered to Peronism in the two

national elections March 11 and September 23 was the "workers and socialist pole" of the PST. Support for the PST's calls for an independent workers revolutionary party should grow very rapidly as Perón abandons his revolutionary pretenses. □

Sees Big Gain in Its Working-Class Support

PST Assesses Argentine Election Results

[Juan Domingo Perón and his wife Isabel were elected president and vice-president respectively of Argentina on September 23 in special elections called to allow the "people's general" to take formal command of the government. They won 61.85% of the vote. The main traditional bourgeois party, the Radicals, got 24.34% and a right-wing formation grouped around Francisco Manrique got 12.11%.

[The only party to oppose the demagogic general from the left was the PST (Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores—Socialist Workers party, a fraternal organization of the Fourth International). The following three articles summing up the results of the PST campaign against Perón are taken from the September 26 issue of its weekly paper, *Avanzada Socialista*. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Who Voted For Us and Where?

Our party made an impressive leap forward in the vote, going from 73,000 (0.6%) [in the March 11 elections in which the Peronist Héctor Cámpora was elected president] to 190,000 (1.6%).

These nearly 120,000 additional votes came from the following places: At least 50,000 votes must have come from Peronist compañeros who split their vote on March 11, voting for Cámpora on the national level and for our working-class and socialist candidates on the local level. Another 10,000 came from districts where we campaigned for the first time, such as Chaco, Corrientes, Entre Ríos, Salta, San Juan, Santiago del Estero, and Formosa. The other 60,000 came from a general increase in our vote throughout the country but essentially

in the industrial belt of Greater Buenos Aires, in Rosario and Villa Constitución, in Córdoba city (and various localities such as San Francisco), in Mendoza, and in Río Negro (especial-ly General Roca).

This shows that the increase in our vote came overwhelmingly from the working class and the industrial centers.

The highest percentage of the vote that our party received was in the city of Buenos Aires, where we got



PAEZ: PST vice-presidential candidate is militant trade-union leader.

2.5%. This might lead to a wrong conclusion that there was a "turn" of the old left toward us. That is not the case. On March 11, Coral got 16,000 votes in the city of Buenos Aires, but our slate of local candidates got almost 40,000.

This time we got 45,000. So there

was no "turn" by volatile sectors but a steady growth, and a political and programmatic consolidation of those compañeros who went part of the way with us on March 11.

The map of the districts in the city of Buenos Aires shows, moreover, that we got our percentage in the poor and working-class neighborhoods (where we received between 2.5% and 3%), such as Boca, Barracas, Pompeya, Soldati, Curapaligüe, Villa del Parque, Almagro, etc. On the other hand, in Palermo Chico and Barrio Norte, our percentage fell below 1.4%.

Our average percentage nationwide was 1.6. It rose to 1.95 in the province of Buenos Aires. But in the industrial areas of Greater Buenos Aires, it was higher. We got 2.66% in Avellaneda; 3.04% in Ensenada; 2.32% in San Martín; 2.25% in Vicente López.

These figures show that we have become a strong current in the workers movement. The proportions could be put this way: In Matanza there was one socialist vote for every 87 Peronist votes (including the Communist vote); in Lomas, 1 for every 28; in Campana, 1 for every 32; in San Martín, 1 for every 29.

This gap narrows in the factories where the proportion of men is greater (more women voted for the Peronists). It can be calculated that in the factories of the most important industrial belt in the country, there is one socialist for every twenty or thirty Peronists. And the gap narrows still more among the activists and militants, where we can say that there is one socialist for every ten supporting the other tendencies.

This means that among the workers vanguard, which is the most dynamic sector of the country and which holds in its hands the fate of the coming struggles and, in fact, the fate of the country, the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores has consolidated itself as a strong and recognized current.

Similar conclusions are indicated by the figures obtained in the rest of the country. The bulk of the votes in Santa Fe come from the working-class and industrial districts of Rosario and Villa Constitución. In the province of Córdoba, the percentage of 1.22 rises to 1.78 in Córdoba city, where we got 7,800 votes, and to 2% and 3% in the working-class neighborhoods

of San Vicente, Altamira, Empalme, Urquiza, etc. In Mendoza we made a big leap forward in Mendoza city, in other industrial departments, and in heroic Malargüe.

All of this points to one political conclusion. The majority of the workers vanguard who are looking for a new organization and a revolutionary socialist line abandoned the various blank ballot formulas that offered no alternative and turned toward the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores. Our 190,000 votes are the basis for the big, new workers party that will grow at a rapid rate when the Peronist government reveals its contradictions, and Perón's movement splits.

* * *

We Waged a Big and Principled Campaign

Our campaign was not well publicized, but it accomplished its objectives. There is hardly an area of the country or a sector of the population, from the working class to the bosses, that has not learned that our organization stands on the left and that within this spectrum we support a class-struggle and socialist solution, that is, that we are fighting for a workers and people's government.

If our propaganda did not get around widely, it was for three reasons. The first was the "peculiar" character of the elections. No one expected them, and their only purpose was to settle a political crisis that had occurred within the bourgeoisie and in particular within the ruling party a few months after it took office. No qualitative change had occurred in the situation since March 11.

In the second place, we deliberately limited and kept down the scale of our campaign. Our compañeros are rooted in the factories and high schools and are a part of the workers and students movements. The party was not ready to take these compañeros away from their posts, since we expect decisive struggles against the bosses, the bureaucracy, and the regime in the near future.

Thus, in the midst of an election campaign, our party did not lose sight of the fact that our main activity has been and will continue to be not "pasting up" posters but participating in the workers and popular struggles in which we have been

in the forefront, as is shown by our activity in support of Chile and our intervention in various social conflicts.

Finally, if our propaganda was not more visible, it was because the bosses control the media and the government offered only very little free radio and TV time. We were able at great sacrifice to scrape together the money to pay for an ad in *Crónica*. But the paper refused to run it as it was and tried to censor it.

Despite these limitations, the well-



CORAL: PST presidential candidate drew nearly 190,000 votes.

defined image our party presented and the clarity of our positions enabled us to reach all sectors and to make a special impact on the vanguard workers, where we made an enormous leap forward.

The axis of our propaganda was the same as has guided all our activity—the struggle to build a new working-class party independent of the bosses and the bureaucracy in order to win a workers and people's government and in this way achieve national and social liberation.

We summed up this orientation and perspective in a seven-point program combining our essential positions on national and international issues, and we put this program forward in all our work.

From the first to the last, we called on the class-struggle and left forces to form a united electoral pole. This

policy, which is a principled one, was much more necessary this time than on previous occasions because of the desertion of the Communist party. Just as in the March 11 elections they tried to form their "popular front" behind the pro-Alende section of the bosses, they tried to do the same thing this time by supporting the Peronists.

For their part, the other left groups called for casting blank ballots. This might have been a correct tactic if the class-struggle left had had no means of expressing its positions. But this ceased to be the case when the parliament repealed the 3 percent clause [which stipulated that any party getting less than 3 percent of the vote would lose its legal status] and our party was able to run and offer a unity ticket on a common platform.

Thus, we offered Compañeros Tosco and Jaime the nomination for president and vice-president so that they could head a united ticket representing the left and the class-struggle current. But because of the pressure of the Communist party and the vacillations of the revolutionists who support Perón, they rejected this offer.

To promote and explain these positions, we held public meetings in Córdoba, Tucumán, Mar del Plata, Neuquén, and Mendoza; and on Tuesday, September 18, we formed a column of workers and youth three blocks long at the demonstration the left held in the Plaza Congreso in Buenos Aires to denounce the Chilean coup. In addition, we held large meetings of workers in Laferrere, Florida, Buenos Aires, Avellaneda, Barracas, and La Plata.

Likewise, throughout the country, the Juventud Socialista de Avanzada [Vanguard Socialist Youth] held mobilizations of its own and in conjunction with other forces in support of Chile. And in many factories, we held small political meetings.

We published an ad in *El Mundo* on Friday, September 21. We pasted up posters in the main cities, but in limited numbers, since it was impossible to compete with the huge quantities the trade unions put up every day for Perón. We took part in several radio and TV programs. After his interview with Minister of Commerce Gelbard [who gave briefings on the state of the economy to the

presidential candidates], Compañero Coral made a statement to the press criticizing the Pacto Social [Social Accord, a class-collaborationist plan backed by the Peronists].

Also, we had to make a statement for *El Mundo* and *La Nación* to clear up a false report of the views expressed by Coral in the concluding meeting of the campaign in Tucumán. [See following article.]

Throughout all this activity, the sales of our paper increased and are now solidly established at 15,000 copies per week, which was the goal set on March 11.

The campaign has promoted the growth of the party in working-class circles by offering an alternative by which the workers could build the new, large proletarian and socialist party that we call for.

The solid growth in our vote is matched by the growth of our party,

and this indicates that compañeros did not vote for us out of any confusion but because they want a socialist Argentina ruled by the workers.

* * *

Who Said Peron Was a Fascist?

On Friday, September 21, *La Nación* and *El Mundo* quoted a sentence from Coral's speech at the final campaign rally in Tucumán. They attributed a statement to him that he never made and that goes against what our party has always maintained. These dailies claimed that our candidate said that Perón was a "fascist." As is well known, our party has always maintained the contrary, that Perón is a nationalist leader who tried to make concessions to the workers movement.

And, to be more precise, although we now add to that characterization that Peronism is not going to play any important anti-imperialist role, we do not think either that he has become a direct agent of imperialism.

We hope that this clarification sets the record straight for these two dailies, which have an obligation, even if they do not live up to it, not to distort the news.

We leave it to the readers to answer this riddle. If we never said that Perón was a fascist, who in the Argentine left maintained this for more than twenty-five years? [Because the Peronists did not give full support to the democratic imperialists in the war against the Axis, they and their most prominent leader were called fascist by the Communist party. This historic position of the CP gave some piquancy to their support for Perón in the September 23 elections — IP.]

Victory for Workers, Defeat for Bureaucrats

70,000 March on Besançon to Support Lip Workers

By Jon Rothschild

Despite freezing rain, interference from the Socialist party mayor of the town, and divisive provocations by the reformist leaders of the major trade-union federations, more than 70,000 people turned out September 29 for the national "march on Besançon" in solidarity with the workers of the Lip watch factory, who are now in the sixth month of their struggle to preserve their jobs.

The size of the march — and its enthusiasm, political level, and degree of organization — represented not only a victory for the workers but also a defeat for the union bureaucrats, who had done all they could to minimize the importance of the march. The result was perhaps best summed up by the headline in the October 2 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde*: "The Success of the March on Besançon Strengthens the Lip Workers' Determination."

The Lip workers occupied the factory last June, after discovering that the giant Swiss trust Ebauches SA, which had just bought the company

from its former owners, planned a massive dismantling of the plant that would have involved laying off a large part of the work force. For two months the workers continued production, sold the watches they made, and paid themselves — in open violation of capitalist law and order.

President Georges Pompidou was forced to dispatch a government "negotiator" to discuss the future of the factory with the workers. On August 14, the regime attempted to tip the balance of forces in the negotiations by reoccupying the factory by means of a predawn police attack. But the workers fought on, organizing solidarity actions throughout France, and continuing production of watches in the "New Factory" established in the gymnasium of the local Jean-Zay school. The negotiations dragged on; Henry Giraud, Pompidou's emissary, presented plan after plan for "reopening" the plant with a much reduced work force. But the workers held firm to their two central demands:

No layoffs; no dismantlement.

The September 29 march was called by the Lip workers themselves. They intended it as a national mobilization of the whole working class, as both a material aid to the Lip struggle and an occasion for the workers to discuss their experiences in struggle and draw some conclusions. In the ninth issue of *Lip-Unité*, the strike bulletin published by the workers, the tone of the September 29 action was set unambiguously:

"We are proposing that the workers of all factories, public and private, that are faced with problems similar to ours set up stands in the assembly area in Besançon.

"Other stands can be set up dealing with the indirect consequences of the industrial policy against which the march on Besançon has been organized and on the struggles that are going on in those sectors. . . .

"The many stands set up will also allow for a better understanding of the various aspects of our struggle.

"Furthermore, meetings and discussions will be organized in various places on different questions. There will be entertainment, film showings, record playing, and singing."

The Lip workers' plans for the march were opposed from two sides. Right-wingers in Besançon threatened to organize a counterdemonstration. In the few days before September 29 posters began appearing around town calling on the population to beware of "invasion by leftist hordes." They were signed: "the silent majority." That source of opposition proved to be insignificant. There was no counterdemonstration and there was no sign that the people of Besançon had anything but support for the Lip workers and the marchers.

The second source of opposition, however, was more covert and threatened to have greater effect.

The week before the march, the leaders of the CGT (Confédération Générale du Travail—General Confederation of Labor, the Communist party-dominated union federation) and the CFDT (Confédération Française Démocratique du Travail—French Democratic Confederation of Labor) held a special meeting for the purpose of drafting a joint communiqué insisting on the "strict trade-union character" of the march. That was a polite way of saying that groups other than the official unions (primarily the far-left organizations) should stay away from the demonstration.

Apparently, the bureaucrats were unable to reach agreement on a common formulation; so they each issued separate statements. The CGT claimed that "some political groups are seeking to distort the significance [of the march] and to disturb its unfolding in the interest of partisan political aims contrary to the interests of the Lip workers." The CGT said it "denounces these diversionary maneuvers, which can only play into the hands of the regime and the employers" and "asks all who are sincerely motivated by a spirit of solidarity with the Lip workers to be vigilant and to hold to the decisions and the slogans of the union organizations responsible for the march and to respect the trade-union character of the September 29 gathering."

As for the CFDT, it issued on September 22 a letter to its regional affiliates from the national executive

committee. The CFDT bureaucrats specifically referred to "far-left groups and organizations," which it claimed were trying to make the march "a people's festival or an 'independent' center of coordination of struggles and of action committees or even an opportunity for a political confrontation with the regime, some [groups] even envisaging 'retaking' the factory."

The bureaucrats' aim was obvious. Over a period of weeks, it was the far-left organizations, and especially the ex-Ligue Communiste and Révolution, that had been building the September 29 march by setting up committees all over the country. The CP leaders continually insisted that the march was a "regional" action and made little effort to mobilize workers outside the Besançon area itself. In fact, the constant theme sounded by the CP and SP leaders was that the march was in danger of being turned into an adventurist attempt to recapture the factory, which apart from being an outright lie was not exactly designed to assure maximum participation.

The day after the CGT and CFDT statements denouncing the far left, *Rouge* (formerly the weekly paper of the Ligue Communiste) and Révolution made statements against the bureaucrats' attempts to scare people away from the march. *Rouge* declared that "by taking action in all the cities

of France, we are only responding to the appeal of the Lip workers themselves." There was no question, *Rouge* said, of trying to retake the factory; the march "has no other goal than those defined by the Lip workers' general assembly." *Rouge* concluded by pointing out that the union bureaucracy was spending more energy in attacking the far left than it was in mobilizing workers to join the march.

The Lip workers were not impressed by the bureaucrats' scare tactics. In its September 29 issue (published the day before the march), *Le Monde* reported that a general assembly of the Lip workers had made public the officially sanctioned composition of the march. "Behind the union leadership, Lip personnel, and the delegations from factories that are on strike," wrote *Le Monde*, "the demonstrators will march by region and *département*. But three political formations have been authorized to form contingents and will be interlaced with the *département* delegations. They are the PSU [Parti Socialiste Unifié—United Socialist party], *Rouge* (weekly of the ex-ligue Communist), and the Organisation Communiste Révolution.

"This is the first time in a demonstration supported by the CGT that revolutionary groups have been officially admitted. Nevertheless, the CGT at no time has met with representatives



Part of the 70,000-strong march on Besançon September 29. Size of action and militancy of participants was setback for labor bureaucrats.

of these groups; the CFDT served as an intermediary."

Even though the bureaucrats had to yield under pressure from the Lip workers, they still tried to throw their weight around a bit on the eve of the march. By the night of September 28, according to *Le Monde*, some ten to fifteen thousand persons had already arrived in Besançon. At Châteaufarine, on the outskirts of town, the various groups and delegations were setting up their stands, holding discussions, singing, and so on. The cops were maintaining a discrete absence from the area.

"The various far-left organizations that had called for support to the march," the October 2-8 issue of *Lutte Ouvrière* reported, "had set up their stands, and during the entire night they were the scenes of animated discussions, real mini-meetings where everything was under debate. There were many curious or sympathetic visitors who came over to the stands while they were waiting for the electrical system for the entertainment to be repaired."

Some "representatives" of the CGT, the October 1 *Le Monde* reported, came over to the stands of *Rouge*, *Lutte Ouvrière*, and *Révolution* and demanded that they be dismantled because they were unauthorized. Heated exchanges occurred and the CGT people finally gave up and walked away. In fact, apparently in a rage over their inability to halt the discussions going on at the far-left stands, the CGT members dismantled their own stand and stormed off.

Le Monde's reporter noted that despite the "diligent" mediation efforts of the CFDT, it was not known on September 28 whether the CGT would agree to march along with the "revolutionary militants" on the next day.

But march they did. The *Rouge* contingent numbered thousands; the other far-left groups also turned out in force. When the CGT marchers chanted "The only solution is the Common Program!"—a reference to the class-collaborationist scheme of the CP-SP electoral alliance—the far-left demonstrators answered with "The only solution is revolution!" The Besançon march, *Le Monde* remarked in its October 2 issue, was the second demonstration in which the CGT officially agreed to march alongside demonstrators from far-left organizations, the

first being the April 2 demonstration last spring during the struggles against the Debré law.

Le Monde's reference to the March-April mobilizations is especially significant. During those demonstrations the traditional workers organizations were forced by the mobilization of a broad layer of militants no longer under their control to enter a united front with action committees composed largely of revolutionary-Marxist militants. The demonstrations represented a significant change in the relationship of forces between the far left and the reformist bureaucrats.

The September 29 march did not represent such a dramatic shift—the action was still under the control of the CGT and CFDT leaders. But the fact that they were compelled to allow the participation of the far left in an action that basically involved a workers struggle was another sign of the changing political climate in France. And the first to benefit from that change were the Lip workers.

In *Lip-Unité* No. 9, the negotiating committee reported the following about their talks with Pompidou's emissary:

"After a long discussion about guaranteeing employment, Mr. Giraud retained his desire to lay off 334 workers at Lip, mainly in the machine section. He was seeking to get us to accept the principle of 'exterior reclassification.'"

"We categorically rejected this. We demand a plan that will keep everyone in the factory. After that, we are willing to discuss possible changes within the factory.

"It is clear that Mr. Giraud and the regime that supports him are entrenched in a rocklike fortress. To dynamite it we need to increase our forces still further.

"It is in that spirit that we are preparing the March on Besançon."

October 1, just two days after the march, had been Pompidou's deadline for having the Lip factory operating again, under bosses' control and with a reduced work force. He didn't make it. That perhaps accounted for the petulance of Mr. Giraud, who opened the October 1 negotiating session (the eleventh since August 14) by saying: "I will take back 989 persons [of the nearly 1,300 Lip workers]. Take it or leave it."

The workers did not take it. It can be assumed that the March on Besançon had something to do with their intransigence. In any case, Giraud stayed to talk, and the session was an unusually long one. Whether the workers will be able to hold their ground against the regime and the treachery of the bureaucracy may well depend on their ability to continue to organize national and international solidarity on the September 29 pattern.

Michel Recanati Challenges Regime on 'Antiwrecker Law'

French Trotskyist Leader Imprisoned

On September 17 Michel Récanati, a 23-year-old leader of the now banned Ligue Communiste, formerly the French section of the Fourth International, turned himself in to the court of Alain Bernard, a Paris magistrate. The Pompidou regime had had a warrant out for Récanati's arrest since July 9 but had been unable to find him.

Récanati is charged with violation of the so-called antiwrecker law (*loi anti-casseurs*), witch-hunt legislation allowing the government to prosecute any leader of any organization that sponsors a demonstration at which

violence occurs. Specifically, he is alleged to have organized the antifascist demonstration in Paris on June 21 in which demonstrators clashed with police protecting a fascist meeting against immigrant workers. The clashes were the government's pretext for outlawing the Ligue.

When Récanati turned himself in, he was accompanied by his attorney, Yves Jouffa. Récanati explained to assembled journalists what he intended to do: "I was the one assigned by the Political Bureau of the Ligue Communiste to make contact with other political formations interested in getting

the Ordre Nouveau meeting banned. I intend to explain to Mr. Bernard exactly what my role was. I can tell you that our essential objective was to stop this meeting and not to have clashes with the police."

Récanati was questioned by Bernard for more than three hours and was remanded to La Santé prison pending trial. On September 24 Jouffa requested his client be granted political-prisoner status, a request that has not yet been answered.

The Comité pour l'Abrogation du Décret de Dissolution de la Ligue Communiste (Committee for the Abrogation of the Ligue Communiste Dissolution Decree) has been the main organizer of the massive campaign in defense of the Ligue that has already won the release of two other arrested ex-Ligue leaders, Alain Krivine and Pierre Rousset; it immediately issued a communiqué protesting the jailing of Récanati. It said, in part:

"This imprisonment, after the release of Krivine and Rousset, is all the more scandalous in that it comes just as the racist campaign unleashed June 21—which is what the counterdemonstrators were opposing—is broadening and has led to the murder of immigrant workers. The Comité pour l'Abrogation du Décret de Dissolution de la Ligue Communiste calls on all antifascists, all antiracists to mobilize immediately in a unified way to inflict yet another defeat on Marcellin [the profascist minister of the interior] by forcing the release of Michel Récanati."

The September 21 *Rouge*, formerly the organ of the Ligue Communiste, explained why Récanati had decided to turn himself in: "Michel Récanati, as a seasoned revolutionary militant, has no great confidence in the minister of the interior or in the government. So while Krivine and Rousset were being held in prison, he saw no reason to deliver himself to Marcellin's counterrevolutionary hysteria. But now that this hysteria has been broken by the mobilization of revolutionary militants and the reactions of the workers movement, Michel Récanati has no reason to avoid interrogation by the examining magistrate, all the more so since a not inconsequential part of the judiciary has shown that it is not in position to cater to Marcellin's every whim."

Rouge noted that the prosecutor's dossier on Récanati is somewhat thin.



MICHEL RECANATI

The only "evidence" against him is that he signed a letter sent out in the name of the Ligue's Political Bureau inviting more than a dozen organizations to a meeting to discuss what to do about the fascist rally of June 21. Further, he attended that meeting and proposed that it issue a joint appeal for a counterdemonstration at the fascist rally. And in fact, the counterdemonstration was never banned by the police; that is, it was a legal action, although it was attacked by cops.

Given such "evidence," it is obvious that if the regime insists on bringing Récanati to trial, a clear test of the "antiwrecker law" would be posed. And that trial would soon become a forum for denouncing the regime's repression

and its role of complicity in the wave of racism currently sweeping France. "Today," *Rouge* commented, "Michel Récanati sits in a cell at La Santé. Paradoxically, his imprisonment is much more embarrassing to the government than an arrest warrant was. What is needed now is a campaign of petitions, of trade-union motions, of political statements of protest.

"Once more the walls will speak, demanding the release of Michel Récanati. Once more thousands and thousands of workers, youths, militants will mobilize to win this release and to challenge the regime to dare to bring Récanati and Krivine to trial under the scandalous antiwrecker law."

It may be that the regime aims to hold Récanati in prison as a scapegoat, since most other aspects of its ban on the Ligue seem to have become unenforceable. On September 20, for example, the ex-Ligue held a mass meeting in the Mutualité in Paris. The government did not attempt to interfere with the meeting. According to the September 23-24 *Le Monde*, more than 4,000 persons attended.

In his speech to the meeting, Alain Krivine defended the Ligue's June 21 demonstration:

"The development of the racist campaign in the country proves that we were a hundred times, a thousand times right on June 21 to accept the responsibilities that we did. When a government decides to make the immigrant workers scapegoats, when it tolerates the spread of racism, when it expels foreigners, then it is showing that it has launched a declaration of war against its own working class. It holds the same class hatred for the foreign workers that it does for the workers of its own country." □

Immigrant Workers Fired at Citroen

Employers Take Reprisals After Strikes Against Racism

Ahmed, who did not want to be further identified, is a Moroccan who has worked for nearly three years in a Citroën plant in Paris. On Sep-

tember 14, he was one of thousands of immigrant workers who went on strike to protest a wave of racist violence in France. (See *Intercontinental*

Press, October 8, p. 1115.)

When he returned to work after the strike, he reported to the Paris daily *Le Monde*, he was told to go home for three days, without pay, naturally. He was given no explanation, but later received a registered letter explaining that he had been "absent without excuse" on September 14. Now he is afraid for his job.

Sixteen immigrant workers in his department walked out on September 14. "All of them suffered sanctions," Ahmed said. Nine were fired; seven were forced to pick up their time cards and leave the factory.

"The day before the strike, the general foreman made a discrete little inquiry to find out who was planning to stay out for the strike. The day after the strike, a Saturday, they told us, 'There is no work for you; go on home.' Then, on Monday, we were all called in for a meeting with the general foreman; an interpreter was present. They told us, 'Around here either you work or you go home.'"

In the following days, the strikers kept getting shifted around inside the factory, usually being assigned to the hardest jobs. "One day they shifted me around seven times," said Ahmed. "I was able to take it; but not everyone was. The management kept saying over and over again, 'If you don't like it, you can always resign.' Many did. That's a big help to the employers, because they can say that these people were not fired. That's what's going on at Citroën."

On September 27 a delegation from the Comité de Défense des Droits et de la Vie des Travailleurs Immigrés (Committee to Defend the Rights and Lives of Immigrant Workers) and the Mouvement des Travailleurs Arabes (Movement of Arab Workers, the group that called the antiracism strikes) went to see the Citroën management to ask for an explanation about the reprisals taken against the strikers. They were told: "Write us a letter. That's what the postal system is for."

Ahmed told *Le Monde* that about a dozen workers from Turkey had already been brought in to replace the Arab workers.

The reprisals in the factories have been paralleled by government-directed reprisals. The September 28 issue of *Rouge*, French Trotskyist weekly,

reported that expulsion proceedings have been initiated against Bashir Menni, a 24-year-old Moroccan student who is a leader of the MTA. Menni, along with Larbi Boujenana (Algerian) and Mohammed Najer (Tunisian), two other MTA leaders threatened with expulsion, is contesting the order.

They have decided not to go before the immigration commission but instead to take their case to the public. A campaign has been launched to demand the rehiring of the Citroën workers and the annulment of the expulsion proceedings against Menni, Boujenana, and Najer. The MTA (71 Rue Louis Blanc, Paris-75018) has called for "two weeks against racism" in October, aimed at continuing the action against repression and pogromist violence.

Despite the repression, the strikes of the immigrant workers did succeed in winning two partial victories—a reflection of the fact that both the

French and Algerian governments have been forced to respond to the immigrants' new militancy.

On September 19, Algerian President Houary Boumedienne announced the temporary suspension of further immigration to France until the Pompidou regime does something to guarantee the immigrants' rights and safety.

And on September 24, French Minister of Labor, Employment, and Population Georges Gorse announced that he was postponing his deadline for immigrants to "regularize" their situations. Regularization means obtaining residency visas and labor cards. Basically, it is a means of weeding out "troublesome elements" among the immigrants by denying them papers and then expelling them. Gorse's original deadline was September 30. It is now October 31. Whether it will become effective then depends on the immigrants' ability to fight on successfully. □

Strikes 'Play Into Hands of Racism'

Bureaucrats 'Support' Immigrant Workers

After the immigrant workers in France conducted massive strikes against racism in September, the bureaucrats of the CGT (Confédération Générale du Travail—General Confederation of Labor, the Communist party-dominated union federation), the CFDT (Confédération Française Démocratique du Travail—French Democratic Confederation of Labor, the Socialist party-led federation), and the FEN (Fédération d'Education Nationale—National Education Federation, the largest teachers union) felt compelled to do something to manifest their alleged support for the immigrants.

So they called a special day of action against racism for September 25. Georges Ségué, head of the CGT, was less than enthusiastic about the anti-racism strikes, which he described as "minority actions, which, even if motivated by noble and innocent ideas, can only increase the immigrants' isolation; and if initiatives of this nature were to continue to occur, they would only be playing into the hands

of racism and divisiveness."

It is not especially surprising, therefore, that September 25 activities left something to be desired in the way of militancy. One September 25 event, for example, was a meeting sponsored by the three union federations at the Bourse du Travail in Paris.

"It is altogether positive for the central unions to mobilize the workers against racism," the Trotskyist weekly *Rouge* commented. "But this day of action is, for one thing, much too late in coming, when you consider the murders of Algerian workers that have been going on for more than a month and the general racist campaign launched in Marseille. And furthermore, the meetings got a much smaller response than the strikes organized by the Mouvement des Travailleurs Arabes [Movement of Arab Workers], especially those in Bouches-du-Rhône, Var, and Paris.

"But above all, once again, our 'advanced democrats' introduced exclusion into the meeting. The MTA had

asked to speak at the Bourse du Travail meeting. It was refused. So, when the last speaker at the meeting, a representative of the Amicale des Algériens [Brotherhood of Algerians], an organization linked to the Algerian government, approached the microphone, a good part of the audience started chanting, 'Let the MTA speak!' That slogan was widely taken up again when the chairman adjourned the meeting.

"Certainly the union leaders have not come up with anything new here. After the meeting at the Cirque d'Hiver at which the Ligue Communiste

was defended without being granted the right to speak, we have the Bourse-du-Travail meeting, at which the MTA is muzzled. All this does is sow division when what is needed is unity.

"No exclusion! Workers democracy!"

Undoubtedly the bureaucrats acted out of concern for the immigrant workers. After all, why should a group that mobilized more than 30,000 immigrants in an unprecedented strike be given the floor at a meeting against racism? That would obviously play into the hands of the racists, however noble and innocent the speaker might have been. □

Corrections in Interview With Psaradellis

[The October 1 issue of *Intercontinental Press* published an interview with T. Psaradellis, a Greek Trotskyist, in which he commented on the new situation in Greece since the junta's amnesty of political prisoners. The interview was translated from the September 14 issue of the French Trotskyist newspaper, *Rouge*.

[The September 28 *Rouge* printed a letter from Psaradellis in which he corrected several mistakes made in the translation from Greek to French. We reprint below Psaradellis's letter.]

* * *

Dear Rouge,

You published my interview in your September 14 issue (No. 220). A translating error, no doubt, seriously altered the meaning. Thus, I would like to rectify the most important

points, without commenting on the rest.

1. It is very wrong to assert that the freed prisoners were broken by the repression; on the contrary. It is enough to read their statements in the bourgeois press to realize that for them, the release was just a beginning.

2. Far from contenting themselves with a pure and simple boycott of the present [junta-controlled] unions, the workers organizations are waging a persistent struggle against the "appointed leaderships," which obviously entails work within the unions.

3. The crisis of the Communist party is doubtless feeding the formation of a revolutionary vanguard, but its crystallization into a revolutionary party—leaving aside what nucleus it will be formed around—is obviously a much more complicated problem.

Revolutionary greetings
T. Psaradellis

ratization of Soviet society. As a dissident who recognizes the impasse in Soviet economic and cultural development that has resulted from bureaucratic mismanagement, Sakharov has been drawn more and more into defending political victims of the regime.

Because of Sakharov's international reputation and prestige, the Kremlin up to now has refrained from arresting him or otherwise forcing him to stop his activities. But it has sought to establish an atmosphere in which it could plausibly assert that Sakharov's "anti-Soviet" views overshadow his previous contribution to Soviet science.

The broad press campaign launched in late August was foreshadowed in February, when *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, organ of the Soviet Writers Union, attacked Sakharov for the ideas he had expressed in his 1968 article *Progress, Coexistence, and Intellectual Freedom*. But since the concepts he had set forth there were merely a logical extension of the Kremlin's "peaceful coexistence" line, the bureaucracy was able to produce little in the way of substantive criticism and settled for calling Sakharov a "god's fool" (*yu-rodivy*).

In March Sakharov was called in for KGB questioning in connection with his appeal in defense of Yuri Shikhanovich, a dissident mathematician who had worked with Sakharov in the Human Rights Committee and had been arrested.

In July, after a Swedish newspaper published an interview with Sakharov, TASS and the Soviet press condemned him for having "slandered" the Soviet system.

The real, although unvoiced, charge was that Sakharov had criticized the *bureaucracy*.

Sakharov condemned the "lack of freedom" and the "bureaucratizing" of the government which "only strives to maintain the existing system." He described the enormous benefits enjoyed by the privileged layer (as a member of that layer he was in position to know) and the great material advantages that administrators enjoy over the rest of the Soviet people: supplemental salaries, access to cheaper but higher-quality merchandise, etc. He condemned the "monolithic structure of the state," which discourages innovation and personal initiative. He called for a multiparty system as a means for broadening public dis-

The Sakharov Case—I

An Advocate of the 'Cold War'?

By Marilyn Vogt

First of Three Articles

In the midst of the Moscow frame-up trial of Pyotr Yakir and Viktor Krasin during the final week of August, the Kremlin opened a press campaign against Andrei Sakharov.

Sakharov, who is well known for his role in the development of the Soviet hydrogen bomb, helped found the Moscow Human Rights Committee in 1970. Since the late 1960s he has been an outspoken advocate of democ-

cussion and instituting a more democratic structure.

On August 15, soon after the Swedish interview, Sakharov was called in for questioning by Deputy Prosecutor General Mikhail Malyarov and warned not to make further contact with foreign correspondents.

On August 21, in direct defiance of Malyarov's warning, Sakharov held a press conference with foreign correspondents. In addition to informing them of the intensification of KGB harassment, Sakharov said that unless the economic agreements flowing from the détente with the capitalist West were accompanied by democratization of Soviet life and some reduction in Soviet isolation from the outside world, the détente would represent "a great threat."

This statement gave the Kremlin the opening it had been waiting for.

On August 29, *Pravda* featured an open letter condemning Sakharov signed by forty members of the Soviet Academy, of which Sakharov is a member. During the following weeks the bureaucracy solicited and published in the Soviet press similar condemnations and letters of "indignation." These follow-up letters were signed by highly placed Soviet writers, scientists, and professionals, as well as "common people." They condemned Sakharov as an opponent of "peace" because of his statements questioning the détente.

Sakharov's statements, if reported accurately, left him open to this charge. He opposed the détente if it did not "include some kind of control on this country [USSR] so that it cannot become a threat to its neighbors," according to a report by *Washington Post* Moscow correspondent Richard Kaiser. Leo Gruliov, in the August 23 *Christian Science Monitor*, quoted Sakharov as saying that "if the West, in effect, accepts the Soviet rules of the game," i.e., rapprochement without a guarantee of democracy in the USSR, "such rapprochement would be dangerous in the sense that it would not solve any of the world's problems and would mean simply capitulating before a real or exaggerated Soviet strength."

The August 22 *New York Times* summarized Sakharov's warning by stating that "large amounts of Western technological aid to the Soviet Union would help the [Soviet rulers] get rid

of economic problems they cannot solve on their own and would enable them to concentrate on accumulating strength." Sakharov was quoted as stating: "As a result the world would become helpless before this uncontrollable bureaucratic machine." Such a policy, Sakharov said, would mean "cultivating a country where everything that happens may be shielded from outside eyes. . . . Nobody should ever be expected to live next to such a neighbor, especially one who is armed to the teeth."



ANDREI SAKHAROV

Statements of this kind, featured in the press of the capitalist West, provided welcome material for the Kremlin's propaganda machine. From out of nowhere came declarations of support for "the heroic efforts of our party's Central Committee and Soviet government directed toward détente between countries and peoples."

Various Soviet academic figures dissociated themselves from Sakharov, whose activities "discredit the honor and dignity of Soviet scholars." They were joined by metalworkers and blast-furnace workers who could not "understand how a man who grew up under Soviet rule, received an education and the title of scientist itself on the resources produced by Soviet toilers, could so shamelessly slander our way of life." Film makers, writers, musicians, and physicians all joined in the attack.

The denunciations pictured him as

advocating "cold war," as opposed to the "peace-loving Leninist policy of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its Central Committee and Soviet Government." (Letter of "Indignation" from a Collective Brigade, *Pravda*, September 4.)

The U. S. capitalist press, politicians, and trade-union bureaucrats—opponents of workers democracy not only in the USSR but everywhere else—also tried to take advantage of Sakharov's statements.

Prominent capitalist newspapers in the United States, such as the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*, featured editorials condemning "Moscow's latest assaults on individual liberties." Politicians like Senator Henry Jackson, who supports sending more arms to Israel and Iran to be used to suppress workers struggles in the Middle East, and Wilbur Mills, chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee and one of the most powerful Dixiecrats in Congress, issued public statements deploring the repression of human rights in the USSR.

United Federation of Teachers President Albert Shanker and AFL-CIO President George Meany—racist labor bureaucrats who have long been active opponents of workers democracy in their own unions—have taken advantage of Sakharov's remarks to present themselves as ardent supporters of democracy in the Soviet Union. Meany criticized the bill in Congress that would grant the Soviet Union most-favored-nation status, saying that it "would be an abandonment of this nation's principles to support free nations, free economics and free peoples."

These forces—supporters of U. S.-financed repression of workers struggles from Southeast Asia to Chile—don't really care what happens to Sakharov and the other victims of KGB repression. They are merely exploiting Sakharov's statements to promote anti-Communist propaganda. But Sakharov was not responsible for the way the imperialist propaganda machine seized on what he said. Nor was he responsible for the fact that the imperialist propagandists are able to make their attacks sound plausible because of the destruction of workers democracy in the Soviet Union since the days of Lenin and Trotsky. □

What Nixon Contributors Got for Their \$60 Million

By Allen Myers

[This is the second part of a report on the manner in which the Nixon campaign raised more than \$60 million in 1971 and 1972. The first installment appeared in the October 8 *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

The Friends of Robert Vesco

I've never stolen any money. The only thing I did was to try to get the president reelected. I never did anything mentally or morally wrong.

—John Mitchell commenting on his indictment in the Vesco case.

* * *

At least one major CREEP contributor, Robert Vesco, actually went so far as to put persons influential in the Nixon circle on his payroll, but his efforts nevertheless met with considerably less success than did ITT's. The Vesco case promises to attract considerable attention to the financial dealings of the Nixon gang in coming months as the trial of two former cabinet members—John Mitchell and Maurice Stans—proceeds.

Vesco's need for friends in high places originated in early 1971, when he and a number of business associates took control of Investors Overseas Services (IOS), a gigantic complex of mutual funds, banks, real estate holdings, and insurance companies.

The operation of IOS had always appeared a bit shady to the SEC, and in 1968 the company had signed a consent decree prohibiting it from affiliating with any company under SEC jurisdiction. Since Vesco at the time was chairman of a U.S. firm, International Controls Corporation (ICC), his control of IOS appeared to violate the decree, and the SEC began an investigation in March 1971. The agency reportedly was also looking into the manner in which

Vesco gained control of IOS: Apparently he and his associates, through a series of loans to dummy corporations, had used IOS assets to buy up IOS stock.

A few months later, in July 1971, Vesco approved the hiring of a "consultant" named Donald F. Nixon. For the latter, who was twenty-four years



DEAN: Pressured Casey to delay subpoenas in Vesco case.

old at the time, this appears to have been the first venture into the world of high finance. According to newspaper reports, prior to his employment with Vesco the young man lived in a "commune" somewhere in the Midwest, with the result, it seems, that he was regarded as a black sheep by his father, F. Donald Nixon, who is a brother of Richard Nixon.

The consultant was hired through the good offices of Gilbert Straub, a director of ICC and a friend of F. Donald Nixon and Edward Nixon, another brother of the president. Apparently there was both familial and official concern about Donald Jr.'s ability to fill the job. Jack Anderson later quoted F. Donald as saying of his son:

"That dumb bastard. John Ehrlichman talked to him for a couple of hours and told him he had to behave himself over there [in the Vesco empire]. You know, he told him he was the President's nephew and couldn't do anything to embarrass the President."

Vesco appears to have had fewer reservations about the abilities of his new consultant. According to the *New York Times* of May 4, 1973, he told associates at the time: "I'm doing the Nixons a favor, it can't do any harm."

Vesco had need of a favor himself early in the following December, when he was jailed in Switzerland on a Swiss investor's charge that he was misusing IOS funds. John Mitchell was contacted about the arrest by Harry L. Sears, a Vesco lawyer and a prominent New Jersey politician who was later to be chairman of Nixon's 1972 campaign in New Jersey. Mitchell called the U.S. Embassy in Switzerland, which arranged Vesco's release.

At this time, Vesco was attempting to buy up Intra Bank, a bankrupt Beirut holding company in which the Commodity Credit Corporation—a branch of the U.S. department of Agriculture—was a shareholder. CCC officials and the U.S. Embassy in Beirut opposed the deal because of Vesco's association with IOS.

On December 17, 1971, three Vesco representatives—Straub, Sears, and Laurence B. Richardson, the president of a Vesco-controlled corporation—met with John Ehrlichman in the Executive Office Building to enlist the aid of the Nixon gang.

Ehrlichman admits meeting with the three but denies that he agreed to help them. But in the April 28, 1973, *Washington Post*, Philip Greer quoted a "well-informed source" as saying "that the meeting on Dec. 17, 1971, was actually the second time Ehrlichman had been asked for help and that he agreed both times."

"According to the source," Greer wrote, "there was no discussion of the meeting of any potential campaign

contribution by Vesco. 'It was more in the sense of "We've been taking care of Junior [Donald F. Nixon] for you and we'd like you to do a favor for us",' the source said. Sears and Richardson, he said, did little talking, while Straub and Ehrlichman discussed the Intra Bank purchase. 'There was also a lot of talk about Junior and how he was doing,' the source said.

"The discussion also ranged over the SEC investigation of Vesco's affairs and the jailing in Geneva,' the source said."

Vesco's attempt to take over Intra Bank was unsuccessful, but he and his partners were probably more interested in other matters. An SEC civil suit filed November 27, 1972, charges that during this period Vesco, Straub, Sears, Richardson, and thirty-eight other persons began looting IOS-controlled mutual funds of some \$224 million. In view of the continuing SEC investigation, Vesco decided it would be a good idea to contribute to Nixon's reelection campaign.

According to Sears's later testimony to the SEC, Vesco originally thought that \$500,000 would be about right to impress the uncle of his youngest consultant, but Sears persuaded him to be a little more frugal and donate only \$250,000. The indictment, handed down May 10, 1973, mentions both figures, saying that in conversation with Stans, Vesco offered "to give at least \$250,000 and possibly \$500,000 to the Committee for the Re-election of the President."

According to the indictment, Vesco made this offer at a meeting with Stans on March 8, 1972, and Stans specified that the contribution, of \$250,000, should be in cash. Immediately afterward, Vesco met with Mitchell to discuss the SEC investigation.

The indictment says that Stans told Vesco the contribution would have to be made before April 7, the date on which the new reporting law went into effect. Something went amiss, however, and the money was not actually delivered to Stans until April 10 by Richardson and Sears. They gave Stans \$200,000 in cash; Vesco later sent a check for the other \$50,000.

(Sears later said in a sworn deposition that he had checked with Edward Nixon to be sure that the \$200,000 was to be in cash and that Nixon confirmed that cash was wanted.)

On the same day, the indictment

continues, Sears met with Mitchell and told him Vesco's money had been delivered. Mitchell arranged for Sears to meet later in the day to discuss the investigation with SEC chairman Casey and G. Bradford Cook, who was then the SEC chief counsel in charge of the IOS investigation. Sears had further meetings with the two in May, June, July, and August.

"Stans," the indictment charges, "would and did conceal the origin of the Vesco contribution from members of the finance committee staff, would and did cause incomplete records to be made, would and did thereafter cause such records to be destroyed, and would and did cause false and fraudulent reports to be filed with GAO [General Accounting Office] in order to conceal the Vesco cash contribution and the uses to which it was put.

"It was further a part of said conspiracy that . . . Mitchell would and did cause John W. Dean III, the counsel to the President of the United States, to communicate with Casey . . . to seek postponement of the return date of SEC subpoenas served on employees of International Controls Corp. in order to prevent or delay disclosure by them of facts relating to the secret Vesco contribution.

". . . Stans would and did cause G. Bradford Cook . . . to delete all specific references to the \$250,000 in cash delivered to Vesco's office on April 6, out of which the secret Vesco contribution was made, from the draft of the proposed SEC civil complaint. . . .

"Stans would and did cause Cook . . . to request the SEC staff not to file transcripts of testimony relating to the said \$250,000 with the United States District Court for the Southern District of New York."

A few hours before the indictments were announced, Cook gave an interview to Scott R. Schmedel and Les Gapay of the *Wall Street Journal*. The story he told them indicated, behind its defensive tone, that Cook had been paid off for his help by being appointed SEC chairman. (Nixon appointed Cook to the post in February 1973; he resigned May 16 under pressure because of the charges in the indictment.)

"Mr. Cook," Schmedel and Gapay wrote, "said Mr. Stans was a long-time family acquaintance and that they went goose-hunting together in Texas last fall: 'I was walking with Stans

in the marsh. There was some idle chitchat, and since we were at a slow point, I had the case on my mind.' Mr. Cook said he asked Mr. Stans if he knew where the rest of the \$250,000 of Vesco money had gone, since \$50,000 already had been publicly reported as contributed to the Nixon campaign. Mr. Cook said, 'I suspected it also went to the campaign' but that Mr. Stans 'made no comment.' Mr. Cook said the SEC believed the money had been brought to the U. S. illegally. He said at later dates Mr. Stans asked him if the SEC was investigating what the missing \$200,000 was used for or merely whether it was taken out of the Bahamas bank. Mr. Cook replied that hadn't been determined yet.

"Mr. Cook said that in another 'chitchat' after the election . . . [Stans] asked Mr. Cook what his plans were. Mr. Cook, who had been in charge of the SEC's Vesco case while he was the agency's general counsel, had a few months before been named head of its market regulation division. He said he told Mr. Stans he would 'make a run for the chairmanship' of the SEC. After some discussion, Mr. Cook said, Mr. Stans at a later date said



NIXON: "You people are my friends and I appreciate it."

'he would put in a good word for me' with the White House."

It is not entirely clear why the efforts in Vesco's behalf were not successful in completely quashing the SEC investigation. Vesco was obviously not

satisfied with the return on his investment, according to the indictment:

"In October [1972] . . . Vesco would and did threaten to disclose the facts surrounding the secret \$200,000 cash contribution . . . unless an SEC sub-



MITCHELL: Secret meetings with big contributors.

poena issued to Vesco was withdrawn. . . . Sears would and did relay Vesco's threat" to Mitchell.

In November, the indictment added, Vesco sent a memorandum to F. Donald Nixon, "the purport and tenor of which was to threaten disclosure of the secret cash contribution and other adverse consequences unless the S. E. C. was directed to drop all legal proceedings against Vesco."

It may have been that the Nixon gang felt that a mere \$250,000 was not enough to buy more than a little pressure on the SEC. Certainly Vesco was less frugal in some of his other investments, particularly in Costa Rica. Part of Vesco's Costa Rican activities are mentioned in the indictment:

"Vesco would and did cause the President of Costa Rica, José Figueres, to send a letter addressed to Richard M. Nixon, the President of the United States, specifically referring to the SEC investigation of Vesco and indicating his concern that adverse publicity emanating from the SEC against Vesco might jeopardize the development of Costa Rica as 'a show-piece of democratic development' in the Western Hemisphere."

Vesco had, in fact, contributed greatly to the "development" of Costa Rica if not to its "democracy." Approximately \$60 million of the \$224 million Vesco is accused of looting from IOS is thought to have been invested in Costa Rica. Some of this investment has been made in a round-about fashion: Between August 1972 and January 1973 at least \$325,000 was deposited by Vesco-controlled companies in Figueres's New York bank account. Figueres has acknowledged that Vesco invested approximately \$2 million in the Figueres family business. This may not be the entire extent of business dealings between the two: On May 23, 1973, a Costa Rican congressman charged that the entire \$60 million went into companies headed by Figueres's son.

Vesco's Costa Rican investments proved more fruitful than the investment in CREEP. When the New York grand jury began looking into the \$200,000 contribution, Vesco fled to Costa Rica. In June, the Costa Rican courts refused a request for his extradition. He is now reported to spend his time alternately in Costa Rica and the Bahamas. (The prime minister of the Bahamas, Lynden O. Pindling, says Vesco has made "generous contributions" to the ruling Progressive Liberal party.)

It appears that in their relations with the Nixon gang, Vesco and his associates never dealt directly with anyone nearer the top of the hierarchy than Ehrlichman, Mitchell, and Stans. This was probably a mistake. There is evidence, in addition to the ITT affair already discussed, that it pays to deal directly with the boss.

'This Is the Way the System Works'

Now, there was an advantage in getting early money. Anyone who has ever run for office knows that the early money is the hardest to get.

—Maurice Stans in testimony to the Senate Watergate committee.

* * *

On January 24, 1972, Ralph Nader and three consumer groups filed suit against the Nixon administration, charging in effect that the Nixon gang had been raising "early money" for the campaign at the expense of the

government and consumers. Nader accused the Nixon gang of making an unjustified increase in government price supports for milk in exchange for campaign contributions from dairy cooperatives.

These contributions were said to total \$322,500 by the end of 1971. (This estimate was later raised to \$422,100.) The increase in supports, the suit estimated, would cost the government \$126 million in fiscal 1972.

As it later turned out, the advantage to the dairy owners was considerably larger. The president of one cooperative estimated the total value of the increase at \$500 million to \$700 million.

Most of the facts surrounding the case are no longer disputed even by the Nixon gang. The sequence of events was as follows:

1. On March 12, 1971, Secretary of Agriculture Clifford Hardin announced that there would be no increase in government price supports for milk.

2. On March 22, the political fund of Associated Milk Producers Incorporated gave \$10,000 to the Nixon campaign.

3. The next day, March 23, representatives of Associated Milk Producers and two other dairy groups—Dairymen Inc. and Mid-America Dairymen Inc.—met in the White House with Nixon and Hardin.

4. On March 24, Dairymen Inc. gave \$25,000 to the Nixon campaign.

5. On March 25, Hardin announced that a "new analysis" of farm costs made it necessary to raise milk price supports from \$4.66 to \$4.93 a hundredweight.

6. After Hardin's announcement, additional contributions from the dairy industry began to flow into the Nixon campaign. By mid-May \$85,000 had been received and by the end of the year at least \$422,100 had come in.

This sequence of events by itself would be sufficient to indicate the nature of the deal between Nixon and the dairy owners. But since the suit was filed, additional evidence has been uncovered.

Among the papers turned over to the Senate Watergate Committee by John Dean was the record of a discussion about "the milk money" between Dean and H.R. Haldeman on May 18, 1971. The summary was

prepared by Gordon Strachan, an aide to Haldeman who sat in on the meeting. It demonstrates that they knew additional contributions from the dairies would be coming in in the future.

The discussion concerned the question of how the money would be used, Haldeman proposing that "the milk money be funneled into committees and into 1701 to pay operating expenses." (1701 Pennsylvania Ave is the address of CREEP.)

The two White House assistants also took up the question of whether to report early campaign income and expenditures. Strachan's summary noted: "Dean and Haldeman agree that the expenditure should be kept low so that if the decision to report is made, the facts don't look too bad. Large expenditures, and the activities of the milk money, would remain non-reporting."

Further evidence of the fact that the dairy operators agreed to contribute some specific sum in exchange for the raising of price supports was provided by Murray Chotiner in a deposition taken in connection with the suit. Chotiner is a long-time crony of Nixon and has been associated with his dirtier campaigns ever since he managed Nixon's first campaign for Congress in 1946.

In his deposition, Chotiner testified that after milk price supports were raised, the dairy contributions did not come in as rapidly as expected. He said he called an executive of one of the large cooperatives and told him "that contributions had not been made that I understood were going to be made."

More than a year after the deal between Nixon and the dairy owners, the *Washington Post* obtained and published two letters in its August 25, 1972, issue. The first was written March 29, 1971—four days after the price support increase—by Gary Hanman, chairman of ADEPT, Mid-America Dairymen Incorporated's political fund.

"I can assure you," Hanman wrote to another dairy official, "that the TAPE [American Milk Producers Inc. political fund] and ADEPT programs, as well as SPACE [fund of Dairymen Inc.], played a major role in this administrative decision."

Another 1971 letter from William A. Powell, the president of Mid-Amer-

ica, was somewhat more philosophical but equally frank:

"The facts of life are that the economic welfare of dairymen does depend a great deal on political action. If dairymen are to receive their fair share of the governmental financial pie that we all pay for, we must have friends in government. I have become increasingly aware that the sincere and soft voice of the dairy farmer is no match for the jingle of hard currencies put in the campaign funds of politicians by the vegetable fat interests, labor, oil, steel, airlines and others.

"We dairymen as a body can be a dominant group. On March 23, 1971, along with nine other dairy farmers, I sat in the Cabinet Room of the White House, across the table from the President of the United States, and heard him compliment the dairymen on their marvelous work in consolidating and unifying our industry and our involvement in politics. He said, 'You people are my friends and I appreciate it.'

"Two days later an order came from the U.S. Department of Agriculture increasing the support price of milk to 85% of parity, which added from 500 to 700 million dollars to dairy farmers' milk checks. We dairymen cannot afford to overlook this kind of economic benefit. Whether we like it or not, this is the way the system works."

In an interview with the *Post* Hanman said that the dairies had also been contributing to congressional campaigns. In his June 6, 1973, column, Jack Anderson described the results of these investments:

"In the name of 'consumer protection,' the Senate Agriculture Committee has passed legislation that would raise milk prices and fatten the bank accounts of the big milk cooperatives."

The legislation, Anderson said, had been drafted by American Milk Producers Inc. and Dairymen Inc. He continued:

"Dairy contributions of more than \$50,000 to seven committee members may . . . have helped mute senatorial objections.

"They are Sens. Richard Clark (D-Iowa), \$7,500; Carl Curtis (R-Neb.), \$2,000; Bob Dole (R-Kan.), \$2,500; James Eastland (D-Miss.), \$15,000; Jesse Helms (R-N.C.), \$1,000; Walter Huddleston (D-Ky.), \$18,000; Hubert Humphrey (D-Minn.), \$4,100."

Even after the Nader suit had been filed—and denied by the White House—the dairy cooperatives continued paying off Nixon. In the June 2, 1973, *New York Times*, Ben A. Franklin reported that government investigators had uncovered evidence that a dairy organization called Lehigh Valley Cooperative Farmers had given CREEP \$50,000 in \$100 bills in late April and May 1972. CREEP did not report these donations as required by the campaign law.

Franklin quoted J. Curtis Herge, a former CREEP official, as saying he had told the FBI that "the entire transaction was carried out under the instructions" of John Mitchell.

Earlier, former CREEP treasurer Hugh Sloan had told the GAO that the \$50,000 had been part of \$63,000 in cash that he was told represented "anonymous contributions."

"A G. A. O. spokesman," Franklin wrote, "said that Mr. Sloan, knowing the anonymously given cash to be a violation of law, had decided to 'hold' the money pending efforts to identify the donors. But no identities had been supplied by last July, the G. A. O. learned, when Mr. Sloan turned the money over to Frederick C. LaRue, a former Mitchell aide who was then assistant director of the Nixon campaign.

"Mr. LaRue reportedly has told Government investigators that part of the cash was paid out, in turn, to the Watergate burglary conspirators, for lawyers' fees and to obtain their silence concerning details of the break-in conspiracy."

Nixon is now resisting a demand by Nader's lawyers that he be required to turn over to the courts secret White House tape recordings of the March 23, 1971, meeting. On September 18, 1973, White House special counsel J. Fred Buzhardt told the judge hearing the case that Nixon's position is that secrecy of the tapes "is fundamental to the preservation of the Executive's ability to perform his constitutional duties."

* * *

The contributions to the Nixon gang mentioned in this article total approximately \$2.5 million—only 4 percent of the more than \$60 million the gang received in 1971-72. While

the manner in which the remaining \$58 million was raised must be left to the imagination, there is every

reason to believe that the Nixon gang has good reason to want to keep it secret. □

Sihanouk Says Aid Cut Off by Hanoi, Peking

Escalating U.S. Terror in Indochina

From the signing of the Vietnam cease-fire agreement January 28 until the end of July, the United States government supplied the Saigon air force with 142,000 bombs, rockets, and flares and 13.8 million rounds of small-arms ammunition, David K. Sipler reported from Saigon in an October 2 dispatch to the *New York Times*. The information was provided to Sipler by U. S. military officials.

The figures, Sipler noted, indicate a continuing high level of combat by the puppet regime:

"The ammunition was part of the 'one-for-one' replacement permitted under the Paris accord. The agreement allows each side to replenish war material that has been destroyed, damaged, worn out or used up. Officials estimate that the bulk of the replacement ammunition has been used in combat, indicating that the South Vietnamese Air Force has been more active than has been reported."

Additional quantities of ammunition have been provided to Thieu's navy, which received, Sipler wrote, some 8,200 rounds of ammunition during the six-month period. "Two-thirds was for ammunition for five-inch guns used on ships for shore bombardment and antiaircraft defense. The remaining third was for three-inch guns, primarily antiaircraft weapons.

"The largest quantity of ammunition has been delivered to the South Vietnamese Army since the cease-fire, but the army has refused to make public even the over-all dollar amount, arguing that such information could aid the enemy."

Another dispatch in the same issue of the *Times* indicated that Thieu's army is having no difficulty in "using up" the ammunition supplied by Washington. James M. Markham described a battle near Thanh Duc, a town on the road between Saigon and Tay Ninh. He called the fighting "the

heaviest in the military region surrounding Saigon since the January cease-fire agreement."

Thieu's generals claimed that the battle had begun with an attack on their forces by troops of the Provisional Revolutionary Government.

"But according to soldiers involved in the action," Markham wrote, "the battle was actually set off by a Government assault on a long-standing Vietcong military enclave, which was still being attacked with rockets by helicopter gunships late today."

This assault on PRG territory, Markham noted, "appears similar to Government operations elsewhere, notably in Binh Dinh Province on the coast, where South Vietnamese forces are attempting to clear away enclaves of Communist troops."

The replacement of ammunition represents only a small part of U. S. investment in the maintenance of its puppet dictator. Nixon has requested "aid" to South Vietnam of \$2,500 million during the current fiscal year. Of this, \$1,900 million is specifically earmarked for military uses. Moreover, ostensibly "humanitarian" programs are also used to support Thieu's military forces. In an analysis of the South Vietnamese economy in the August 19 *New York Times*, Sipler wrote that one-third of the funds of the Commercial Import Program and 80 percent of Food for Peace programs go to Saigon's army, navy, and air force. U. S. assistance for agricultural, health, and education programs totals 0.80 percent of U. S. "aid."

Two experts on South Vietnam, Don Luce and Fred Branfman, recently described for a U. S. congressional committee how Washington's aid is used by Thieu. They were particularly concerned with the plight of political prisoners and U. S. funding for Thieu's secret police.

In 1964, Luce said, Saigon had

10,000 members in its National Police. By 1973, thanks to U. S. "aid," the figure had grown to 120,000.

"These police interrogate, torture and spy on the entire population of south Viet Nam. They extort bribes from those whose identification papers have not been stamped by election officials. Whole families must make payments to escape arrest during nightly house searches. Even shoe shine boys caught sleeping on the streets in violation of curfew must pay off the National Police."

U. S. aid to the police was forbidden by the Paris cease-fire agreement, but is continuing under another name. The department previously known as Public Safety is now called Public Works, Public Administration and Technical Support. Luce also described the Nixon administration's ambitious plans for expanding secret-police operations:

"The preliminary 1974 Budget Presentation, made before the signing of the Paris Agreement, allocated funds to 'establish, by the end of FY [fiscal year] '75, a central records system containing 12 million individual biodata documents and 11.5 million dossiers.' Upon completion, this program would put two-thirds of the south Vietnamese population under political surveillance. What has happened since the ceasefire? The goal is no longer listed, but:

"Surveillance methods are being taught to police trainees in the U. S.

"The Computer Science Corporation of El Segundo, California, has reportedly received a contract from the U. S. Agency for International Development to provide computer services to the police agencies in south Viet Nam.

"The U. S. contribution to the piaster budget of Public Safety Telecommunications has doubled in the last year."

Luce and Branfman cited figures compiled by a Saigon organization, the Committee to Reform the Prison System, indicating that Thieu is holding more than 200,000 political prisoners in violation of the cease-fire agreement.

"While in Saigon," Branfman testified, "I learned that the political prisoner problem has actually been increasing since the Paris Accords. Not only has the GVN [Government of Vietnam, i.e., the Saigon puppets] steadily continued to arrest people on

political grounds, but it has even begun arresting members of groups which had not been touched since 1965."

Branfman was in South Vietnam for seven weeks in June and July interviewing prisoners, former prisoners, and relatives of prisoners. He said that he "learned in Saigon that all Vietnamese over the age of 15 are required to carry ID cards on pain of imprisonment. These cards are linked to a central computer containing bio-dossiers of more than ten million Vietnamese. Every family is required to keep a 'Brown Book' listing all people staying in the house. Surveillance is carried out by 120,000 uniformed and plain-clothed police, as well as tens of thousands of part-time informers who spy on friends, neighbors and fellow employees.

"I regularly saw uniformed police on every street corner waving down passerbys to check their ID cards."

Branfman was told that Operation Phoenix—the CIA's arrest and assassination program—was responsible for many of the political prisoners:

"In most cases . . . it is peasants who are arrested during mass sweeps. Father Tran Van Thong, Catholic chaplain of Chi Hoa and a firm supporter of the GVN, told me that most of the political prisoners at Chi Hoa had simply been hapless victims in mass sweeps through their villages. A former Phoenix adviser and U. S. army officer told me that U. S. officials had set monthly quotas for arrest and assassination by district during his Phoenix service in 1969. He believed that most prisoners were taken indiscriminately by Vietnamese officials trying to meet their monthly quotas. This point was also repeatedly made by former political prisoners."

All the prisoners and ex-prisoners he talked to, Branfman said, reported that they had been tortured. The most frequent tortures were electric shock, water torture, beatings, and in the case of women prisoners, sexual assaults.

"In general, torture sessions would last for several hours—though in some cases they might go on for a day or longer. They would be interspersed with meetings with police who would demand that the suspect admit working for the NLF, and accuse friends, acquaintances or relatives of doing so.

"In every case the torture period was ended by the prisoner signing a confession prepared by the police. The suspect would also be forced to sign a statement saying that he or she had not been tortured. . . .

"All ex-prisoners stressed that torture was a matter of course. It often was not accompanied by specific demands until the end."

In order to evade the provision of the Paris agreement requiring the re-



THIEU: Dollars pay for giant secret-police network.

lease of political prisoners, Saigon has reclassified them as common-law criminals.

"Re-classification," Branfman testified, "began before the ceasefire and has continued since. It has been reported in letters from prisoners smuggled out of all the prisons. . . . The U. S. Embassy in Saigon confirmed this practice to Senator Kennedy in a letter dated April 3, 1973."

Nixon clearly intends to extend the same sort of system of control into the parts of Cambodia still under the rule of Lon Nol. His current budget already contains \$170 million for military aid to the puppet regime, and Lon Nol's minister of information has recently begun floating the suggestion that this figure should be increased by \$360 million a year to compensate for the fact that U. S. planes are no longer supposed to bomb in Cambodia.

As Nixon prepares to escalate the U. S. aggression, Prince Norodom Sihanouk has publicly complained that his forces are no longer receiving adequate aid from China or North Vietnam. Sihanouk's remarks were made in interviews in Algiers during the conference of "nonaligned countries."

Writing from Algiers in the October 1 *Far Eastern Economic Review*, T. D. Allman quoted Sihanouk as saying, "China remains faithful to us, but China is playing the big-power game with America now, and so cannot help as much as it would like."

Of the North Vietnamese government, Sihanouk said, "We thank them for training our troops. But we have had to do without their active support since June 1972. They are not even helping us get supplies any more. They want us to negotiate with the Americans and Lon Nol—the same way they negotiated with Nixon and Thieu. . . .

"North Vietnam wants our victory to be deferred because the Vietnamese are afraid that a victory for us would bring American retaliation on them. Also, they want US aid for the reconstruction of their country."

"We signed a treaty with North Vietnam, with the Provisional Revolutionary Government and with the Pathet Lao in south China in 1970," Sihanouk added. "We pledged to fight together until the end, against US imperialism. I am wondering now, what was the value of that treaty? America keeps pouring arms into Phnom Penh, while North Vietnam does not aid us."

As a result, Sihanouk has revised his expectations: "Until recently, I thought we would have a quick victory. But without supplies, what can we do? North Vietnam has withdrawn its caches of arms from Cambodia to South Vietnam, so we no longer have access to them."

He summed up his fears of the results of the détente: "If Vietnam decides to let the present situation continue—to allow an American-backed regime to stay in Saigon—then our cause is lost." □

Correction

In last week's article "What Nixon Contributors Got for Their \$60 Million" there is a reference on page 1126 to an article by Tad Szulc in the August 11 issue of *Nation*. The article actually appeared in the August 11 *New Republic*.

More Works by Trotsky to Be Published

[The following interview with Naomi Allen, a representative of Pathfinder Press, was obtained by Peggy Brundy. It appeared in the September 21 issue of *The Militant*, a socialist weekly published in New York.]

* * *

A review of *Leon Trotsky Speaks* by Louis Sinclair in a recent British periodical raised some interesting questions about how much of Trotsky's writings have been translated into English. Sinclair is the author of the 1,100-page *Leon Trotsky: A Bibliography* (Hoover Institution Press, 1972).

Sinclair asks in his review, "How much of Trotsky's writings are indeed translated?" and answers, "Remarkably little." He gives some examples from Trotsky's early (pre-1917) and middle (1917-29) periods, adding, "In this respect, the post-1929 works come out better."

Since Pathfinder Press in New York is the world's biggest publisher of Trotsky's works, I took some of my questions to Naomi Allen, one of the editors of its current series *Writings of Leon Trotsky* (1929-40). Some of the information I obtained in this interview may be of interest to readers of *The Militant*.

Brundy: Is Sinclair's assessment in this review accurate? If so, does it mean that I've been wrong in assuming considerable progress has been made in translating and publishing Trotsky's works in the last four or five years?

Allen: We have to begin by recognizing that Sinclair is the outstanding authority on this question. Without the benefit of his pioneering work, Pathfinder's *Writings* editors—currently George Breitman, Sarah Lovell, and I—wouldn't be able to even discuss the question with any certainty.

On the basis of Sinclair's own work, however, I'd have to say that his statement—"remarkably little" of Trotsky has been translated—is correct only in a relative sense. A few weeks ago, when we counted the num-

ber of Trotsky's works currently in print in English, we found 41 books and 15 pamphlets.

There aren't many contemporary full-time writers today who have that many titles in print. And of course Trotsky, who has been dead for 33 years, was engaged in other activity besides writing.

So it's obvious that Sinclair's statement was intended relatively. The thought he was expressing was that the proportion of Trotsky's writings that has been translated is small, remarkably small, considering what an important writer he is.

But I don't think his opinion on that question has any bearing, one way or the other, on your other question—whether or not there has been considerable progress in the last few years. This is primarily a factual question. And the fact is that more of Trotsky's writings have been published in English in the past four years than in any similar period since Trotsky's death in 1940, or for that matter, than in any similar period during his life.

Although the number of Trotsky's books in print in English still leads the way, I think a similar trend can be discerned in many other languages. Some of his works have even been published again in Russian, though not in the Soviet Union.

Brundy: I suppose that Sinclair's statement about the publishing record of the post-1929 works being better is also relative, but can you add anything on that? How much better? What proportion of the writings from 1929 to 1940 has been translated?

Allen: Before that question can be answered, it's necessary to make an important distinction. Are you asking about everything Trotsky actually wrote, whether it was published or not, or about his writings that *have been published*, by him or since his death?

We can't really give a meaningful answer about everything he wrote, because a lot of that not only has not been published but is not even available for public inspection. Most of the material in this category is in the closed section of the Trotsky Archives at Harvard University. And it will not

be made public until 1980, in accord with the arrangement Trotsky made with Harvard in 1940.

He made this stipulation at the beginning of World War II as a way of protecting the people written to or written about in his letters of the 1929-40 period.

All we know about this correspondence is what Isaac Deutscher has written about it. Deutscher received permission from Natalia Sedova, Trotsky's widow, to examine it in 1959, when he was writing his three-volume biography of Trotsky.

Deutscher said the closed section consists of 45 boxes, all from 1929 to 1940, containing 309 folders with about 20,000 documents and letters. He wrote, "approximately nine-tenths consist of Trotsky's correspondence with his followers." That is, they are political writings concerning revolutionary strategy, tactics, organization, etc.

Some of these 18,000 or so documents were printed in internal bulletins of the Trotskyist movement at the time they were written and have been included in our *Writings* series. But at best that would be a small fraction of the total.

Brundy: You're saying there may be 18,000, or 15,000, or even 10,000 more documents by Trotsky that will be available in 1980? Even if each averaged only one page in print, that would be an addition of 10,000 printed pages!

Allen: Yes, and 10,000 printed pages would come to around 30 additional volumes. So you can see why I prefer that we discuss what Trotsky wrote that has been published in any language. There we are on more solid ground.

Brundy: All right, what proportion of Trotsky's published work of the period 1929-40 has been translated into English?

Allen: We're able to report that all of it has now been translated, and will be in print by the end of 1974 or early 1975. A few items we don't yet know about may turn up before then, but they'll be included too.

Brundy: Then the whole *Writings* series will be done by early 1975?

Allen: Yes, although it has turned out to be a bigger job than was first projected early in 1969. At that time the plan was to print only what had already been translated into English. Along the way, as interest developed

in the project, we decided to translate everything that had been published in any language.

We even began to get hold of articles and letters that had not been published anywhere—thanks to individuals who had private copies of such items, and to the Trotsky Archives at the Harvard College Library (the open section).

We also decided, after four volumes had appeared, to supply copious annotation for the benefit of readers who are not familiar with the names of political figures and organizations of the thirties—that is, most readers.

And we further decided to convert the large-format facsimile style used in the first four volumes to standard-size book format.

All these decisions not only added to the work, they also required a change in the number of volumes to be published. Two years ago we thought there would be 11 *Writings* volumes, in addition to two specialized "companion" volumes, *The Struggle Against Fascism in Germany* and *The Spanish Revolution, 1931-39*.

But in the meantime we were acquiring so much "new" material that we had to expand the number of volumes covering Trotsky's Mexican exile (1937-40) from three in the first edition (large format) to four in the second (standard format). For the same reason, we increased the number of "companion" volumes from two to four.

Besides the volumes on Germany and Spain, we have already published *The Transitional Program for Socialist Revolution*, and we will be coming out with a collection called *Leon Trotsky on France*, which is an expansion of the old *Whither France?* So altogether there will be 12 volumes in the *Writings* series and four additional new books, for a total of 16.

Brundy: And that will complete the translation into English of everything Trotsky wrote during his last exile, 1929 to 1940, that was published by him or has been published in any language since?

Allen: That's right. And I want to add some statistics that shed light on the quantity of Trotsky's published work from his last exile.

When we have finished publishing the *Writings* books and their companions, the total of Trotsky's writings from that 11 and a half year period will come to somewhere between 9,500 and 10,000 printed pages in standard

book format. That will be the equivalent of between 28 and 30 volumes.

Measured in this way, we'll be able to say that Pathfinder's 16 volumes since 1969 will have more than doubled the previous amount of writings in English from Trotsky's last exile period. (I'm not counting pamphlets or parts of other books.)

We're proud of this achievement, and all the more so because it took place during the same years that we greatly expanded our list of authors. Pathfinder is no longer known only as the publisher of Trotsky but also as the publisher of James P. Cannon, George Novack, Hugo Blanco, Malcolm X, Farrell Dobbs, Evelyn Reed, Ernest Mandel, Rosa Luxemburg, Eugene V. Debs, and many others.

Brundy: Before we leave those statistics, let me ask one other question. If Trotsky wrote 28 or 30 volumes in his last 11 and a half years, how much did he write altogether in the forty-odd years of his revolutionary career?

Allen: I'm not sure. The quantity of material in the closed section at Harvard is too uncertain to permit anything but guesses at this point. My own would be around 100 volumes.

Brundy: Are there any other Trotsky books in prospect now that the *Writings* series is almost completed?

Allen: Oh yes, there are several others in various stages of preparation. One is a collection of Trotsky's writings on China during the 1920s and '30s, including everything in the old book *Problems of the Chinese Revolution* and much more, some of it never published before in any language.

Another is a book called *Political Portraits*, a collection of Trotsky's sociological and psychological sketches of many of his contemporaries, both friends and opponents.

I think it will arouse considerable interest as an example of the Marxist method skillfully used in a field where the results have all too often been disastrous. Both these books will be published by Monad Press and distributed by Pathfinder.

But while I'm at it, I would like to announce something else—Pathfinder's decision to start a new Trotsky series, bearing the overall title *The Challenge of the Left Opposition*.

This will cover the period from the autumn of 1923, when the Russian

Left Opposition was organized, to February 1929, when Trotsky was exiled to Turkey and the *Writings* series begins. It will include all the books and pamphlets from that period that have any connection with the Left Opposition's struggle against Stalinism and that are not already in print.

That is, it will include *The New Course, Lessons of October, Towards Capitalism or Socialism? (Whither Russia?)*, and *The Platform of the Opposition*, as well as many other articles that were translated before but published only in periodicals, plus many that will be translated for the first time.

It will not include material that is already in print elsewhere, such as in *Problems of Everyday Life, Leon Trotsky on Britain, The Stalin School of Falsification, The Third International After Lenin, The Permanent Revolution*, or in the projected collection on China.

Although initial work on the project has already started, it is too early to say with certainty how many volumes the new series will amount to. At present it seems likely to become three substantial volumes. If everything goes well, the first should appear around the time the *Writings* series is completed. □

Chance to Learn New Skills

Under the headline "Sensational disclosure about Adolf Hitler," the West German paper *Deutsche National-Zeitung* carried the following advertisement in a recent issue:

"The method by which Adolf Hitler influenced friends and enemies consists of a few simple practices that can easily be learned by any normally gifted person. We can reveal to you the secret of these practices, which have been carefully guarded by a few initiates and which will aid you in your private and professional life. Order our cassette recording and take a big step toward your goal: POWER, RESPECT, and WEALTH. *Guarantee*: If the method doesn't work for you, your full purchase price will be refunded. If you order within one week, you will not only have a head start on your competitors, but will save DM 10. The offer is limited!"

The price of the recording was listed as DM 38 [US\$15.70], or for those who hesitated a week, DM 48. But anyone who would wait that long probably is not qualified to be anything more than a Himmler or a Goering.

The Blueprint for Peron's Purge

[A blueprint for a sweeping witch-hunt of the left was handed to the Peronist provincial governors at an October 1 meeting with the provisional president, Raúl Lastiri, and Minister of the Interior Benito Llambi, according to the October 2 *La Opinión*. It was signed by the Consejo Superior Peronista (Peronist High Council). Perón himself reportedly attended the meeting and read the document to the assembled officials. In the same issue, the Buenos Aires daily published a copy that it said it had "managed to obtain." The text follows. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

I. The Situation

1. The murder of our compañero, José Ignacio Rucci, and the treacherous way in which it was done, mark the high point of escalating attacks against the Movimiento Nacional Peronista [Peronist National Movement] by the subversive, terrorist Marxist groups. This systematic campaign amounts to a war against our organization and our leaders. This war has taken various forms, for example:

a. A campaign of defamation against the leaders of the Movement, seeking to demean them by slogans, rhymes, and insults, attributing personal defects to them, and accusing them of "betraying" General Perón or his doctrine.

b. Infiltration of the Movement by these Marxist groups with the twofold aim of: (1) perverting the doctrinal tenets of the philosophy of *justicialismo* [social justice] and promoting positions that may appear more radical; (2) involving our followers (especially the youth) in tumultuous and aggressive actions and thereby putting our enemies at the head of the mass movement, which by themselves they could not stir up, so that they can direct it in accordance with their goals.

c. Threats, assaults, and attacks designed to create a climate of fear or uncertainty among our cadres and to

intimidate the population in general.

d. The murder of Peronist leaders.

2. This war is directed fundamentally against the country. Although it appears to affect our Movement, it is aimed at preventing the formation and functioning of the government that, by the decision of the majority of the Argentine people, General Perón will preside over.

The crime committed against Compañero Rucci, especially considering the method and timing of its execution, indicates that the aim is to destroy the Movimiento Nacional Peronista and its leaders, while at the same time creating a situation of social chaos that would make it possible to thwart the people's government.

3. This war that has been imposed on us and cannot be avoided forces us not only to defend ourselves but to attack the enemy on all fronts and with the greatest decisiveness. On this depend the life of our Movement and its future opportunities, as well as the lives of its leaders.

II. Directives

1. *Mobilization*. The Movimiento Nacional Justicialista [National Movement for Social Justice] must mobilize all its human and material resources in this war. Anyone who refuses to collaborate in this struggle will be expelled from the Movement.

2. *Doctrinal reaffirmation*. We must wage an intense campaign to propagate and reaffirm the doctrinal principles of the Movement, clarifying their fundamental differences with Marxism. We will not permit any pro-Marxist elements to interfere with this campaign under the pretext of carrying on a debate or anything like that. They will be excluded from all meetings and from access to the organs of the Movement.

3. *Information*. The leaders at all levels and the Peronist masses must be informed of the position taken by the Movement toward the Marxist groups. The circumstances that determined this position must be explained to them, and they must be convinced of

the necessity of participating actively in the struggle against our enemies.

4. *Declarations*. Groups or sectors functioning anywhere that claim to support Peronism and General Perón must publicly declare where they stand in this war against the Marxist groups and actively participate in the operations that are planned to carry this struggle forward. Likewise, they must obey these directives.

5. *Unity*. For the purposes of this struggle the fundamental thing is to consolidate the unity of the movement. To this end:

a.) The orientations and directives emanating from General Perón in his capacity both as the head of the government and as the head of the party must be obeyed, passed on, and supported without any kind of vacillation or argument. This is the authentic expression of the centralized command accepted by Peronists.

b.) No one can raise personal questions or group and sectoral quarrels that affect or interfere with the struggle against Marxism.

c.) Every Branch of the Movement will act with strict discipline to carry out the programs or plans of action developed by the corresponding higher leaderships.

d.) We will not permit any commentary, rhymes, or the use of any means of communication against any of our leaders. Anyone who resorts to this sort of thing, or spreads it, or tolerates it will be considered an enemy of the Movement and expelled. The defense of all begins with the defense of each one.

e.) We will not permit any group to use expressions designed to denigrate other Peronist groups or exalt one group to the detriment of the others.

f.) Questions that arise within the party will be taken up exclusively by the highest authority of the Movement in each Branch. No internal question will be considered more important than the struggle that we are now undertaking.

g.) Objections to governmental actions executed by Peronists holding public office will also be taken up exclusively by the highest Peronist authority involved, with a report to the highest authority of the Movement in each Branch.

h.) All persons who show themselves in any way linked to Marxism, or to

the political positions or actions of the Marxists must be expelled from the local organizations of the party.

i.) In demonstrations or public rallies, the Peronists will use every means to prevent factions linked to Marxism from taking part.

j.) Full solidarity and support will be given to any compañero or group that might suffer because of acts of struggle committed in the pursuance of the campaign that is being initiated.

5. *Intelligence.* In all districts an intelligence system will be organized for the purposes of this struggle and will be connected to a central body that is to be created.

6. *Propaganda.* The Marxist groups will be prevented from spreading their propaganda, especially when they try to cause confusion by presenting it as Peronist. Every means will be used to prevent the dissemination of such propaganda.

7. *Popular Participation.* It will be made clear to the population of every locality what the position of the Movement is, as well as the motivations and meaning of this struggle. The objective of all this is to inspire everyone to support the struggle and participate in it.

8. *Means of Struggle.* Every means will be used that is considered effective at each place and time. The leaders in each district will assess whether the means proposed are needed.

9. *Government Action.* Without detracting from their specific functions, the work of Peronist compañeros in the national, provincial, or municipal governments must be adjusted to serve the aims and advancement of this struggle, since they bear the principal responsibility for defending the social peace. To this end:

a.) They must immediately carry forward measures to enforce the principles of the philosophy of justicialismo.

b.) In their activity they must keep in constant touch with the popular sectors and be on the alert to solve problems.

c.) They must participate in the struggle that has been initiated, using all the resources of the state to block the plans of the enemy and repress him with the greatest severity.

d.) They must offer the fullest collaboration to the organs of the Movement mobilized in this struggle.

10. *Penalties.* Desertion from this

struggle, failure to cooperate in it, participating in any kind of action favorable to the enemy and even tolerating him, as well as the failure to exe-

PST Statement on Assassination of Rucci

[The following statement was published in the September 26 issue of *Avanzada Socialista*, the weekly of the PST (Partido Socialista de Trabajadores—Socialist Workers party) following the assassination September 25 of the general secretary of the Argentine trade-union federation. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

As we go to press, we have just heard the first news of the deaths of José Ignacio Rucci and his driver as well as the mortal wounding of one of his companions. We do not know who is responsible for this action.

Whoever did this, we must state once again, in the case of this killing of one of the most resented bureaucrats and one whom we have most criticized, that the method used against Rucci was not a working-class method and therefore is alien to us.

We have continually opposed Rucci, and there are attacks on him in this very issue which was printed before his death, but we have done so from the standpoint of defending workers democracy and the interests of the working class. We want the workers to have genuinely representative leaders that they can respect and who are democratically elected. Therefore, we have fought the clique that today controls most of the unions as well as the national federation and of which Rucci was a part.

But it is the workers themselves, by mobilizing and making their opinions felt in a democratic way, who will clean out this clique by their own class methods and replace it with a new leadership.

Therefore we condemn this action, since it was not carried out by the workers, even though it may be claimed that it was done in their name and because of their feelings and their needs.

At the same time, we call attention to the danger that this action may be

cut these directives, will be considered the gravest dereliction and will lead to expulsion from the Movement, with all its consequences. □

used by the union bureaucracy to step up its constant campaign of persecuting militant activists and class-struggle tendencies.

As regards the problem that the CGT has now of choosing a new leader, we say that the only ones who have the right to choose a replacement are the rank and file, who have never been consulted. We call for holding factory assemblies and scheduling a National Congress of Rank-and-File Delegates of the CGT to select a new general secretary. □

Irish Prisoners Win in Hunger Strike

Twelve republican political prisoners in Dublin's Mountjoy Jail won a victory October 4 when their demands for better treatment and recognition as political prisoners were granted by prison authorities. The twelve had conducted a hunger strike since September 10 in support of their demands.

According to the September 21 issue of the Dublin Provisional republican paper *An Phoblacht*, the strikers were Donall Barr, Michael Branigan, Joe Cahill, Colm De Altuin, Gerald Graham, Donall MacCarthy, John McIlheney, Michael Nolan, J. B. O'Hagan, Gerry O'Hare, Pat Reynolds, and Pat Ward.

The demands won by the prisoners included recognition as political prisoners; the right of political prisoners to be housed together; remission (reduction of sentences proportionally to time served, normally one month per year); the right to associate freely with each other from 8:30 a.m. to 8:30 p.m.; the right to watch television at night; and better recreational facilities.

The protest began, *An Phoblacht* reported, when sixty-one political prisoners refused to take dinner in their cells. The prison authorities responded by declaring that the protesters would be denied parcels and visitors for fourteen days. The twelve prisoners then resorted to the hunger strike to defend their rights. □