
Dredge up 'Terrorist International' Slanders

U.S. Right-Wingers Try To Revive Witch-Hunt

French Students Protest

Mobilizations Against Fontanet Law



Britain

Wilson Upholds Tory Wage Controls

List Prisoners Held

Communauté Vietnamienne, a Paris-based organization of Vietnamese Catholic neutralists, has issued a detailed report charging that the Thieu regime holds 201,200 political prisoners.

The document, which is based on inquiries made in South Vietnam and interviews with former prisoners, also reports that many victims of torture charge that U.S. advisers were present during their "interrogation" sessions.

According to the March 26 *Le Monde*, the document provided the following information on where the political prisoners are being held:

13,200 are imprisoned in the four large prisons built especially for political prisoners (Con Son, Thu Duc, Tan Hiep, and Dalat).

12,000 in the forty-eight military prisons.

33,000 in interrogation centers.

50,000 in prisons located in all provincial capitals, or about 1,000 per province.

25,000 in the nine urban prisons.

68,000 in district and village prisons.

The prisoners in the last category are being held in small, scattered concentration camps maintained by Thieu's "pacification" forces, as well as in the district centers. It is clear that Thieu is trying to conceal the actual number of political prisoners by dispersing prison compounds as widely as possible.

In an attempt to counter the increasingly embarrassing evidence attesting to the accuracy of the 200,000 figure, Graham Martin, U.S. ambassador to Saigon, has come up with the remarkable claim that a study conducted by the U.S. Embassy staff found no more than 35,000 prisoners.

Furthermore, the March 15 *Washington Post* reported, Martin "said that among these prisoners there are probably not more than a handful of political prisoners—which he defined as persons imprisoned solely because of opposition to the government—and that he had not yet been given the name of a single prisoner who, when checked out, fell into this category." □

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U.S. Right-Wingers Attempt to Revive Witch-Hunt

By Andy Rose

[The following article is reprinted from the April 5 issue of the U.S. revolutionary-socialist weekly *The Militant*. The column by Victor Riesel and the statement by Roberto Santucho, referred to in the article, will be found in the "Documents" section of this issue.]

* * *

Right-wing politicians and yellow journalists in the United States have seized upon the kidnapping of Patricia Hearst by the Symbionese Liberation Army in an effort to revive public support for discredited and widely opposed police-state measures.

Prime targets in the "terrorist" scare are prisoners groups, Black militants, and a variety of radical organizations, including the Socialist Workers Party.

The witch-hunters of the House Un-American Activities Committee (now called the "Internal Security" Committee), the Subversive Activities Control Board, and the FBI have been in retreat ever since the late 1950s when the McCarthyite hysteria began to ebb away.

Today millions of people have been repelled by the revelations of White House "plumbers," wiretaps, break-ins, and "enemies lists." Exposure of Nixon's 1970 secret spy plan for illegal attacks on the Black and antiwar movements provoked a significant public outcry.

Recent court actions have begun to penetrate the secrecy around such government plots. The FBI has been forced to release directives by J. Edgar Hoover, which, although heavily censored, constitute damning admissions of how the government sought to "disrupt" and "neutralize" the Black Panther Party, Socialist Workers Party, and other groups.

More evidence appears almost every week pointing to government complicity in the murders of Malcolm X, Martin Luther King, and numerous Black Panther leaders.

The Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance have won

substantial backing for their suit demanding a halt to harassment, spying, and armed attacks on the party and its supporters.

In the present political climate of concern for democratic rights and distrust of the government, the witch-hunters are obviously fighting a rearguard action. They hope the SLA kidnapping, however, will provide ammunition for a renewed reactionary offensive.

Nixon immediately sensed an opportunity to drum up support for the death penalty. He directed Attorney General William Saxbe to add killing of a kidnapping victim to the list of crimes for which capital punishment should be reinstated.

California Senate Report

The California Senate Subcommittee on Civil Disorder issued a report March 13 urging "constant surveillance" of radical groups and establishment of networks of neighborhood informers under the guise of preventing political kidnappings.

The committee singled out for attack radicalized Black and Chicano prisoners and groups such as the United Prisoners Union, which includes inmates and former inmates. But the report itself provides ample evidence that "violence" is not the committee's real target: One of the activities for which it denounces the UPU, for example, is sending free newspaper subscriptions to prisoners.

The report devotes an entire section to the National Lawyers Guild, which it labels a "Communist front," apparently because of the role of NLG members in defending prisoners' rights.

The committee says it plans hearings on radical groups "in an effort to determine the extent of their influence, the reasons for their apparent growth and what may be done to curtail or eliminate them as threats to our society's well-being and safety." (Emphasis added.)

Ichord's Speech

Richard Ichord (D-Mo.), head of the House Internal Security Committee, in a speech in Congress Feb. 20, sought to use the Hearst kidnapping in arguing for continuation of his committee, which even some of his colleagues see as an embarrassing relic of McCarthyism.

Ichord said that his staff had compiled information on the SLA and turned it over to the FBI. He read into the record a letter of thanks from FBI director Clarence Kelley.

Ichord concluded by quoting approvingly from a Feb. 14 editorial in the *Wall Street Journal*:

"... the SLA certainly shows how easy it is for groups spewing out violent rhetoric to turn their fantasies into reality. Yet we have heard it suggested, have we not, that concern over such 'dissenters' is somehow not quite a legitimate concern of the FBI and other law enforcement agencies, that such concern is evidence of official 'paranoia,' if not indeed a plot to change the U. S. into a police state. How many of those who have made these suggestions, we wonder, would be willing to make them in front of the Hearst family?"

Defenders of civil liberties have an immediate obligation to expose these hypocritical claims of concern over "violence" for what they really are—last ditch attempts to justify unconstitutional and antidemocratic assaults against anyone who voices disagreement with the government.

A Labor-Baiter Is Heard From

Now the notorious labor-baiting syndicated columnist Victor Riesel has published a slanderous article, printed in the March 22 *Chicago Today* and other papers, attempting to link the Socialist Workers Party to terrorism.

Riesel's purpose is clearly spelled out in the last paragraph of the column, in which he complains, "In the past few have listened. Many have

made it impossible for the FBI and other authorities to infiltrate and keep files. Even now the FBI is being forced to disgorge its dossiers."

Riesel's fears were even more explicitly stated in a February column, bemoaning condemnation of the use of agents provocateurs as "illegal espionage and invasion of civil rights."

In that column Riesel said: "The undercover persons are mocked, derided and hounded. And when the late FBI director J. Edgar Hoover tried counterintelligence infiltration with his 'COINTELPRO—New Left,' he was forced to kill it. And the FBI was sued successfully to make it public."

Disclosure of documents on COINTELPRO (FBI jargon for "counterintelligence program") was forced through a lawsuit by NBC-TV correspondent Carl Stern. Texts of COINTELPRO materials released to date were reprinted in *The Militant* on Dec. 21, 1973, and Feb. 1, March 1, and March 22, 1974.

In the February column Riesel wrote, "Before more harm is done, before more intelligence hands are tied, the people must learn this new terror is not child's play."

Thus the avowed aim of Riesel's "terrorist" smears is to begin a counterattack against all those, like the supporters of the SWP and YSA's suit, who would force disclosure and elimination of secret FBI plans for political sabotage.

'Terrorist International' Slanders

Since it is impossible for Riesel to produce a shred of evidence that the SWP supports terrorism, he stoops to the usual contemptible methods of witch-hunters: unproved allegations, deliberate falsifications, and smears.

In his March 22 column, Riesel claims to have discovered "a new now independently wealthy terrorist international swiftly raising its minions and millions from ransoms and bank robberies. . . ."

"Its paramilitary self-styled Robin Hood is a killer, Mario Roberto Santucho, a sophisticated Argentinian in his late 20s.

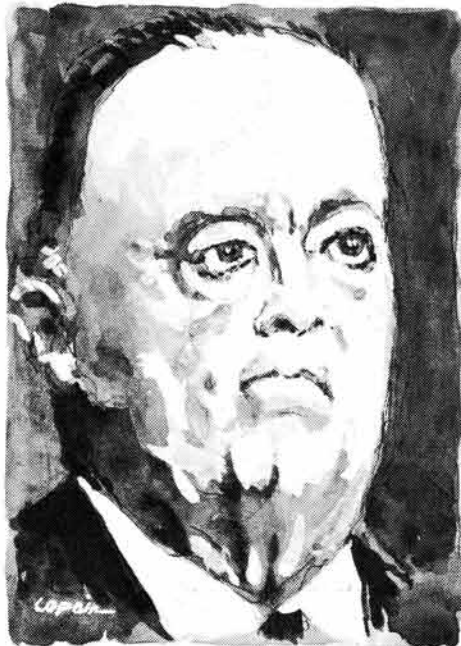
"Its erudite, leading intellectual exponent of world terror as a tactic of global civil war is Ernest Mandel, alias Ernest Germain, one of the

world's foremost Marxists. . . .

"It is easy to trace the terrorist international. Basically it is the revived network of followers of the late Leon Trotsky (who quixotically enough once was a Bronx tailor shop worker in exile from Stalin's Russia).

"Today this is the United Secretariat of the Fourth International run by Germain-Mandel in Brussels."

What is the source for all this sensational "information"? It seems rea-



HOOVER: His agents "mocked, derided and hounded"?

sonable to assume that Riesel's material is related to the FBI COINTELPRO order that the left "must be exposed to public scrutiny through the cooperation of reliable news media sources."

The charges that Riesel mouths are quite similar—with a few lurid embellishments—to slanders about a "terrorist international" published in September 1972 by *Newsweek* magazine and the London *Economist*.

Mandel Answers Smears

One of the ground rules for "public scrutiny" as conducted by these witch-hunters is that the victim is not allowed to answer the smear charges. Thus *Newsweek* refused to print a letter from Ernest Mandel in 1972 refuting their distortions of his views. The letter was printed in full in the October 9, 1972, issue of *Interconti-*

ental Press and the October 13, 1972, *Militant*.

Mandel stated that the Fourth International, the world Trotskyist organization, "is not a terrorist organization but has always rejected the philosophy and methods of terrorism, [which are] opposed to the Marxist principles it stands for."

He noted that a sentence *Newsweek* printed in quotation marks and attributed to him, calling for "active participation of our comrades in armed insurrections designed to destroy the established order," was a complete fabrication.

Mandel continued: "Today, especially since May 1968, the Fourth International enjoys growing influence among revolutionary youth and workers in many countries. It tries to turn their idealistic efforts at social change towards concrete and realizable political goals. This is seen by the rulers as a threat against their rule. So they attempt to organize a growing repression against us. For that purpose, a frame-up on the occasion of some terrorist incident is a welcome opportunity.

"Police informers and other professionals in the noble art of curtailing freedom of thought, speech, organization, and travel the world over are experts in this type of frame-up. They cannot understand this simple truth: that society can only be changed through the efforts of millions, of broad social forces, and that it is ridiculous to attribute to Marxists the wish to 'conspire' and to build socialism without the conscious resolution of the majority of the toilers. This is typical of the police or James Bond-type mind."

Factual Blunders

For someone who professes to be exposing the inside dope on a "terrorist international," Riesel displays a sovereign disregard for the most elementary facts.

Surely the FBI could have told him that Trotsky's only period of exile in the U.S. was in January and February 1917—seven years before Stalin's rise to power. After Trotsky was exiled from the Soviet Union by Stalin in 1929, the U.S. government refused him admission to this country.

Nor was Trotsky ever a tailor. More to the point, Trotsky was never a terrorist. He was an eloquent and con-

sistent opponent of individual terrorism from the time he embraced Marxism in 1897 until his assassination in 1940, as even a cursory examination of his writings shows.

Particularly garbled is Riesel's account of Washington's refusal to admit Ernest Mandel into the U.S. for a lecture tour. Riesel writes:

"When Germain-Mandel attempted to enter the U.S. in 1972 his visa application was rejected. University leaders of Harvard, MIT and elsewhere fought for him. The Supreme Court turned him back. It was the so-often undervalued House Committee on Internal Security which identified Ernest Mandel for what he is—Ernest Germain, world terrorism's most influential philosophical proponent."

To start with, Riesel gets the dates wrong. Mandel was invited to speak in the U.S. in 1969, not 1972. The State Department had previously granted him entry in 1962 and 1968, but this time the Justice Department, under Attorney General John Mitchell, stubbornly refused.

Nor does the vaunted detective work by HISC bear close scrutiny. Mandel himself is the source of the information that he uses the pen name of Ernest Germain from time to time. The fact was published in the widely read German newsweekly *Der Spiegel* in 1972 for instance.

Riesel is right on only one point: Academic leaders from more than 50 universities condemned the ban on Mandel, as did the *New York Times*, *New York Post*, and three Supreme Court justices. Even Secretary of State William Rogers dissociated himself from the attorney general's action, saying, "Why should we be afraid of this man and his ideas?"

But who knows—Rogers may be the next to be unmasked by Riesel as a secret agent of the "terrorist international."

The chief instigator of the ban on Mandel was none other than John "Law 'n' Order" Mitchell, now under indictment for conspiracy, perjury, and obstruction of justice.

It should especially be noted that the government, in arguing for Mandel's exclusion, never even attempted to make a case about "terrorism." They knew that was impossible. Instead they asserted that the government has a right to ban from the

"land of the free" anyone it may choose, for any reason it may choose, and without disclosing the reason.

Riesel devotes most of his column to the ERP (Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo—Revolutionary Army of the People) of Argentina. Here he cannot even manage to keep his slanders straight.

At one point he says that Santucho, central leader of the ERP, "has told the Argentine Trotskyite party to go to hell. And he has told Mandel's secretariat to join the party in his special brand of political purgatory."

But just three paragraphs later Riesel contradicts himself. He alleges that "they [the ERP and other Latin American guerrillas] are knit by an information network streaming from the Trotskyite United Secretariat of the Fourth International in Brussels."

ERP Not Trotskyist

The fact is that the example of the ERP demonstrates just the opposite of what Riesel sets out to prove. The ERP is one of the various guerrilla organizations that have carried out kidnappings and other isolated actions in Latin America.

It is true that Santucho originally came to prominence in Argentine politics as a member of the Fourth International. However, he developed deep differences with the program of Trotskyism that eventually led him to split from the movement, to disavow the Fourth International, and to publicly protest the press describing him or his organization as "Trotskyist" or as having anything to do with Trotskyism.

As for the position of the Socialist Workers Party on individual terrorism, this is clear and publicly well known. For instance, on April 3, 1972, the Political Committee of the SWP issued a statement on the ERP's kidnapping of Oberdán Sallustro, manager of the Argentine branch of Fiat Concord.

The SWP statement ascribed the rise in such guerrilla actions to the violent repression imposed by the Argentine military dictatorship: arbitrary imprisonment, torture, secret killings, and use of troops against the workers and students.

It went on to say: "In place of power-

ful actions by the masses themselves, the ERP is attempting to substitute small actions by a tiny group. Their hopes are placed on these actions serving as examples to the people living in the slums. They hope that the dramatic nature of the 'exemplary actions' will inspire the masses to begin moving toward toppling the old regime and establishing a government of their own.

"In reality, the work of bringing the masses into the political arena in all their invincible power differs qualitatively from such notions. It requires deep involvement in the daily life of the masses. It requires patient struggling, under the guidance of a revolutionary-socialist party, to project demands directly linked to the economic, social, and political needs of the masses, and to organize support for these demands in such a way as to raise the self-confidence of the masses and take them through transitional steps onto the road of a socialist revolution.

"The primary task at present is to build a revolutionary-socialist party capable of providing effective political guidance to this process. Guerrilla actions like the kidnapping of Sallustro separate the revolutionists from the masses, divert attention and energy from party building, and lead to unnecessary defeats."

In face of the difficulty of smearing the SWP as a "terrorist" organization, Riesel tries a different tack. He writes:

"Its [the Fourth International's] American affiliate is the Socialist Workers Party, still nonviolent though it has a deviation called the International Tendency which believes in terror and its grim variations. It has cells in New York and the Oakland-Berkeley area and points in between such as Bloomington, Ind., Houston, Texas, and in eight other cities."

A statement issued March 25 by Jack Barnes, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, takes up these charges:

"Riesel and his FBI mentors know very well that the Socialist Workers Party is *not* the 'American affiliate' of the Fourth International and has not been since the passage of the Voorhis Act in 1940. This reactionary legislation, which we are fighting to reverse, prohibits the SWP from for-

mal affiliation to the Fourth International.

"The witch-hunters also know that there are no tendencies, no 'deviations,' no 'dissidents,' and no members in the SWP that advocate terrorism. In view of the traditions of Leninism and Trotskyism and the program of the SWP, support to terrorism is incompatible with membership in the party."

Agents Provocateurs

In an interview with *The Militant*, Barnes added, "It is not excluded, of course, that the FBI might 'discover' a 'member' who would echo slanders such as those made by Riesel. We know the FBI carried out an 'SWP Disruption Program'; we know cops try to infiltrate our ranks, as the Houston police were recently forced to admit.

"Moreover, we also know that instigating violence is a time-honored tactic of agents provocateurs. From the assassinations by the Social Revolutionaries in tsarist Russia to the bombings by the Weatherpeople, it has been found time and again that the real terrorist ringleaders prove to be police agents assigned to sabotage, discredit, disorient, and victimize the revolutionary movement.

"All this is well known to Riesel and the more significant forces for whom he speaks," Barnes said. "Their real motivation in attacking the SWP has nothing to do with 'terrorism.'

"Just a few weeks ago the Justice Department was forced to release a 1961 letter by J. Edgar Hoover setting in motion the 'SWP Disruption Program.' Hoover wrote: 'The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) has, over the past several years, been openly espousing its line on a local and national basis through running candidates for public office and strongly directing and/or supporting such causes as Castro's Cuba and integration problems arising in the South.'

"What a contrast between this secret document, which Hoover never intended the public to see, and the phony 'terrorism' stories planted in the mass media! What the rulers really fear about us is not 'violence,' but the power of our ideas—that we support the struggle of Black people for liberation; that we oppose U. S. aggression from Cuba to Vietnam; and that we tell the truth about their system

of violence and minority rule.

"These are the real 'crimes' for which Roosevelt imprisoned the leaders of the SWP and the Minneapolis Teamsters during World War II, for which the McCarthyites tried to fire James Kutcher and other socialists during the 1950s, and for which the state of

Hundreds in U.S. Face Deportation

Demonstrators Demand Asylum for Haitians

About 150 Haitian refugees and supporters held a funeral march through Miami on March 23 to protest Washington's efforts to deport more than 400 Haitians. They carried the body of Tirenne Deville, a 27-year-old Haitian refugee who had committed suicide in prison rather than face being returned to Haiti.

Jacques Monpremier, a spokesman for the refugees, told the *New York Times*: "Tirenne Deville, who feared torture and death if he returned to his native Haiti, hanged himself in the Dade stockade. This was a tragic ending for a man who is among hundreds of Haitians faced with deportation by the United States Government."

Over the past three years hundreds of Haitians have fled the repression in their country, sailing in small boats, often without food or water, to the shores of Florida. Some were escaped political prisoners, others were oppositionists who were sure to be tortured or killed if arrested, and some were not involved in politics but had run afoul of the authorities for other reasons. One refugee in New York told a reporter for the revolutionary-socialist weekly *The Militant* that her entire family had been arrested in Haiti because they had demanded that a member of the police terror squads, who was renting a room from them, pay up five months back rent.

Pierre Roger, one of the participants in the Miami demonstration, said of his experience in Haiti: "They would not let me get a job, and then one night the police came after me."

On June 8, 1973, agents of the U. S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) arrested eight Haitian refugees in Miami. The refugees asked for political asylum, but the INS turned down their plea, claiming:

Indiana tried to railroad the Bloomington YSAers to jail in 1963.

"The revolutionary socialists were not silenced then and we will not be silenced now. We will continue to present our ideas to the American workers, and we will fight unyieldingly for our democratic right to do so."

"There's nothing to fear from the Haitian government." The immigration officials then ordered a general roundup of Haitian refugees.

The immigration officials in Miami say there are 733 Haitian refugee cases being processed, with about 400 of them facing deportation. According to the March 24 *New York Times*, ninety-three Haitians are now in prison in Florida and Texas because they can not raise bail set at \$500 - 1,000.

The *Times* observed that "while the law states that only political refugees may stay here without proper documentation, thousands of Cuban refugees have been granted asylum here on economic grounds." The deputy district director of Miami's Immigration and Naturalization Service Office said: "I agree it may not be fair, but it's the law and we have to enforce it."

More than 750,000 Cuban counter-revolutionaries and their families now live in the United States, most of them in Florida. Washington recently dispensed with the usual restrictions to allow 30,000 Cuban counterrevolutionaries living in Spain to enter the United States.

Reverend Eugene Stawski, a Roman Catholic priest who works with the Haitian refugees in Miami, said: "It's easy to see that the Cubans get in because they're from a socialist country which our government opposes." He then described Haiti's Jean-Claude ("Baby Doc") Duvalier as "a dictator whose regime is one of appalling poverty and continued oppression. But he's friendly to the United States."

At a February 14 picket line outside the Federal Building in San Francisco, Marie-Jeanne, a Haitian nation-

al who had just returned from Haiti, said: "We, the Haitian people, appeal to the American people to come to the defense of over 400 of my Haitian brothers and sisters who are being held in captivity in Florida and Texas.

I appeal to your senses of concern and awareness, so that you can bring forth enough public pressure to win this victory from the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service."

Anyone interested in further informa-

tion on the Haitian refugee case, or in helping out, can contact: The Committee for the Defense of the Democratic Rights of the Haitian People; G.P.O. Box 2984; New York, N.Y. 10001. □

Governments Change, But Phase Three Remains

British Labour Party Upholds Tory Wage Controls

London

The Labour government, only two weeks after taking office, has announced that it will maintain the previous Tory government's Phase Three wage controls and the Pay Board.

Addressing Parliament on March 18th, Michael Foot, secretary of state for employment and a leader of the *Tribune* "left" of the party, stated that the Pay Board would "continue in operation for a transitional period." While promising repeal of the Tories' wage control legislation sometime in the future, Foot made it clear that the pay law would have to stay on the statute book for the moment. "The Pay Board," he explained, "will have a continuing statutory duty to enforce the Pay Code."

Foot advised workers who had been forced to accept Phase Three wage settlements under the Tories not to expect to be able to renegotiate now that Labour was back in government. "Those who have already made agreements on the basis of the current arrangements would be expected to stick to them," he said. "Those making settlements in the transitional period would similarly have to keep in line with the rules in the Pay Code."

The maintenance of Phase Three by the Labour government had been widely expected. A week before the announcement, the March 10 *Observer* wrote that "Stage Three pay controls are expected to last well into the summer. . . . TUC [Trades Union Congress] and CBI [Confederation of British Industry] leaders believe the Government has already resolved to contain wage increases to the level before the 29 percent miners' settlement."

The Labour government won the backing of the trade-union bureaucracy for the retention of Phase Three prior to Foot's announcement in Parliament. On March 11 Foot met six TUC lead-

ers at a meeting of the National Economic Development Council. These bureaucrats—including Len Murray, general secretary of the TUC; Jack Jones, general secretary of the Transport and General Workers Union; and Hugh Scanlon, president of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers—assured Foot that they would throw their support behind a continuation of the Tory pay laws. Two days later the agreement was endorsed by the TUC economic committee. The March 16 *Economist* was most impressed by the support for Phase Three coming from these labour misleaders, particularly those like Jack Jones and Hugh Scanlon, who had cultivated left-wing images in the past. "Mr Jack Jones, billed so often as the rogue militant of the unions, has become Mr Jack Jones the moderate. Having devoted his years as general secretary of the Transport and General Workers Union to denouncing incomes policy, Mr Jones has taken to urging that it is in Labour's interests not to abandon stage three and statutory wage controls at this moment."

The Wilson government's adoption of Phase Three will mean further cuts in the living standards of the working class. Phase Three outlaws wage increases above seven percent a year at a time when prices are rising far faster. On March 23 the government announced that the Retail Price Index went up by 1.7 percent in February, pointing to an annual rate of inflation above 20 percent.

The new government has decided to cut real wages for the same reasons that impelled the Tories originally to impose wage controls: to bolster profits and make British corporations more competitive in the world capitalist market.

"There are many advantages," wrote the March 10 *Observer*, "for the govern-

ment in retaining the Stage Three controls. It will allow time for a more water-tight 'social contract' to be drawn up with the TUC."

The "social contract," first unveiled by Wilson at an election rally on February 17, contained a commitment by the union leaders to control wage increases "voluntarily" in return for the repeal of the antiunion Industrial Relations Act, higher pensions, and token food subsidies. More specifically, the Labour party election manifesto wanted "money incomes to grow in line with production."

The March 16 *Economist* noted that production would probably fall over the next year, so that if the Labour party manifesto was to be taken seriously "it would mean a total wage freeze." The *Economist* continued: "If a social compact is to have any value, the unions must agree to a pay norm lower than stage three's." No wonder that Foot and Wilson are afraid that the social contract may not be "watertight" and that they had better keep the Tory pay laws for a "transitional period!"

The decision to maintain Phase Three was warmly received by the ruling-class press. Perhaps, they hoped, a Labour government, trading off its close ties with the trade-union movement, would succeed where the Tories had failed. At any rate, the new government should be given a chance. "It would be wrong," editorialised the *Times* on March 15, "for either the Conservatives or the Liberals to bring down the government at the present moment." The March 15 *Guardian* thought that "at this point . . . the new government should be allowed the opportunity to test its beliefs."

The Tory leadership also felt sufficiently satisfied to withdraw an amendment on wage controls that they

had introduced during the debate on the legislative programme proposed by the Labour government for the present parliamentary session and introduced by Queen Elizabeth in the "Queen's Speech" on March 12th.

The Tory amendment regretted the absence in the speech of "any proposal to maintain a fair system of control, backed by the force of law, on in-



FOOT: Labour "left" discovers virtues in Tory wage controls.

comes as well as prices, until such time as there has been evolved a firm voluntary arrangement which is fair as between different sections of the population, and adequate to reconcile the system of free collective bargaining with the containment of inflation." Wide sections of the Tory press challenged Heath's wisdom in proposing a pro-wage-control amendment and threatening, with Liberal support, to defeat the minority Labour government at a time when the government had not proposed to repeal the pay laws and should be receiving support in its bid to sell wage controls to the unions.

"If the Conservatives are hoping to defeat the government tomorrow, and then to bring it down, they are making a crude mistake," wrote the *Sunday Times* on March 17. "The Tories are mobilising in this way, moreover, against a government which has not the Heath pay policy. To many people, and not least to trade union leaders, the most glaring feature of the Queen's

Speech is not its failure to promise a new compulsory policy but its failure to abolish the old one. The Pay Board still exists.

"The new government seems willing to take incomes policy more seriously in power than in opposition, and has rightly omitted to throw away the bargaining tool which the Pay Board offers it in any approach to a voluntary policy. This is a development which zealous converts to incomes policy, like Mr Heath, should surely welcome rather than challenge."

Dissident Plans Hunger Strike

Launch Campaign to Free Chornovil, Moroz

The Chicago-based Committee for the Defense of Human Rights in the Soviet Union has issued an appeal for support in the campaign to free imprisoned Ukrainian dissidents Vyacheslav Chornovil and Valentyn Moroz.

Chornovil, 36, is the author of a well-documented expose of the secret trials of thirty Ukrainian dissidents in 1966-67. An advocate of socialist democracy, he has been imprisoned three times by the Soviet bureaucracy. He is currently serving a term of seven years at hard labor, to be followed by five years of exile. (See *Intercontinental Press*, April 2, 1973, p. 376.)

Moroz, 37, has been imprisoned twice for his outspoken opposition to the Soviet bureaucracy's campaign of repression in Ukraine. He is currently serving a fourteen-year sentence on trumped-up charges of disseminating "anti-Soviet propaganda."

The conditions of Moroz's confinement have seriously weakened his health. "While in Vladimir prison," the defense committee reports, "Moroz has repeatedly been assaulted by criminal cellmates (criminal and political prisoners are integrated), wounded several times and refused proper medical care by the prison administration.

"After detention in the prison ward for the mentally insane, he has again been relocated to solitary confinement, has been administered brain-damaging drugs, and feels that he is becoming insane. . . .

Following Foot's explicit commitment to maintaining Phase Three in Parliament on March 18, Heath withdrew the Tory amendment, stating: "This represents a reversal of the position adopted by the government when it was in opposition. As Mr. Foot's statement this afternoon substantially meets the requirements of the opposition amendment, this will not now be pressed to a division." The Labour government's legislative proposals in the Queen's Speech were carried comfortably by 294 votes to seven, with the Tories abstaining. □

"Commenting on Moroz's recent condition, a former prison mate, Anatoly Radygin, has revealed, 'Moroz is in a state of complete exhaustion and on the verge of insanity. His existence is a frightful combination of starvation and confinement to a ward of an insane asylum. He is subject to attack by creatures who have lost all human and social traits.'"

Stating that he would "rather die from hunger than go insane," Moroz has announced that he will begin a hunger strike July 1 to protest his inhuman prison conditions.

The defense committee is circulating an appeal on behalf of Chornovil and Moroz. The appeal contains the following demands:

"1. We condemn the arrests of Vyacheslav Chornovil and Valentyn Moroz and other political prisoners throughout the Soviet Union.

"2. We demand their immediate release.

"3. We support all those struggling for the realization of national self-determination and democratic rights in the Soviet Union."

The committee is seeking broad endorsement of the appeal. Copies of it and related literature may be obtained by writing to: Committee for the Defense of Human Rights in the Soviet Union, c/o Defense Book Store, 1131 West Taylor Street, Chicago, Illinois 60607. □

Kremlin Continues Pressure on Dissidents

Since the expulsion of Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, at least two other Soviet dissidents have been permitted to leave the Soviet Union while others are reported to be continuing their activities despite the Kremlin's threats.

Pavel Litvinov, grandson of Stalin's foreign minister, Maxim Litvinov, arrived in Rome March 21.

Litvinov was quoted in the March 22 *New York Times* as saying that opposition to the Kremlin involves sectors wider than the intellectuals who are most frequently mentioned: "There is dissidence also among workers in the Soviet Union, but our mass media don't speak about what's going on in our country."

During a March 22 meeting with journalists, Litvinov reportedly said that his experience with workers in Siberia had taught him that there is discontent "on all levels of the working class." Litvinov spent four years in Siberian exile after being sentenced for demonstrating in Red Square in Moscow against the 1968 Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia.

The March 23 issue of the *New York Times* reported that Litvinov issued a statement containing the histories of six Soviet dissidents. Although the *Times* did not make the list available, the identity of the six has since been learned. They are Viktor Khaustov, recently sentenced for "anti-Soviet" activity; Vladimir Bukovsky, a mathematician who is serving a seven-year sentence under harsh conditions; Valentyn Moroz, a Ukrainian opponent of Russification who has been subjected to physical and psychological abuse in the notorious Vladimir Prison; Vitaly Rubin, a sinologist; Yuri Maltson, a scholar in Italian literature and a founder of the Initiative Group for the Defense of Human Rights in the Soviet Union; and Leonid Plyushch, a Ukrainian mathematician whose confinement in prison psychiatric hospitals for activity in the Initiative Group has all but destroyed him physically.

Vladimir Maksimov, a writer and critic of Stalinism, arrived in Paris on March 1, and like Litvinov he is not expected to be allowed to re-

turn home.

While the Kremlin has forcibly exiled or pressured some dissidents to emigrate, others have been denied the right to travel abroad. The prominent sculptor Ernst Neizvesty denounced this situation in a March 15 statement to foreign journalists in Moscow. Neizvesty, who in 1962 publicly argued with Nikita Khrushchev about the merits of abstract art, explained: "For us a trip abroad is not a norm of twentieth-century human society. To go abroad means you are accepted,

trusted, verified. Not to go abroad, means you are suspect, not reliable."

Another critic of Stalinism, novelist Viktor Nekrasov, was forced to leave Moscow and return to Kiev March 22 after he had told Western reporters in the capital of official pressures on him to denounce Solzhenitsyn. Nekrasov was told that his own works would be banned if he did not join in the anti-Solzhenitsyn campaign.

Nekrasov said he was also pressured to denounce physicist Andrei Sakharov, a prominent defender of human rights in the Soviet Union. Sakharov is reported to have written an introduction for a 180-page samizdat documentary history of the Solzhenitsyn affair that is circulating in Moscow. □

France

Students Mobilize Against Fontanet Law

By Dick Fidler

"Like 1973?" headlined the March 14 issue of *Le Monde*. The Paris daily was referring to the demonstrations of students in France's high schools and technical colleges against the government's draft law to reform the educational system.

The movement has some striking parallels with the massive actions last year that mobilized hundreds of thousands of students against government attempts to cut back military deferments and reduce university enrollment. As in 1973, students have shut down their schools, built mass demonstrations in the streets, and formed rank-and-file action committees to coordinate and generalize their struggle.

The immediate target of the protest is the so-called Fontanet reform, named after Joseph Fontanet, France's minister of education. The bill is the latest proposal of the French bourgeoisie to "modernize" the country's educational system in accordance with the changed needs of capitalism. It would intensify the "selection" process at all levels of the system, making it harder to get into a university.

The bill also incorporates the key provisions of the Royer law: It pro-

vides for gradually phasing out the CETs (Collèges d'Enseignement Technique, the technical schools) and replacing them with apprentice-training centers under the direct control of private industry.

In addition, the Fontanet "reform" would reduce the period required for training teachers, greatly increase the work load, and cut back on several subjects deemed "nonessential," such as history and philosophy.

As soon as the bill was announced in January, students began to mobilize against it across France. Schools in many areas were closed, sometimes for several days. Demonstrations occurred in major cities and towns. Mass student assemblies debated the import of the law.

At first, the movement was sporadic and unorganized. But on March 7, nearly 30,000 high-school, technical-school, and university students marched through Paris in the first citywide action against the government's legislation.

Encouraged by that success, representatives of local coordinating committees met on the weekend of March 9-10 and issued a call for a day of

action March 12 with teach-ins and local demonstrations against the bill, to prepare for a day of strikes and a central mobilization on March 14.

The March 14 action was the biggest this year, mobilizing more than 50,000 students in Paris and many thousands in other cities.

The democratic forms of organization, modeled on last year's movement, have been a notable feature of the struggle. "At the beginning of the present agitation," the March 20 issue of *Le Monde* reported, "the students of each high school, meeting in a 'general strike assembly,' voted to send two delegates to represent them in the 'Paris coordinating committee.' This body has met five times since February 27.

"The March 4 meeting, which was the most significant, brought together representatives from ninety schools. Most of the delegates belonged to political groups. The Trotskyist organization *Rouge* accounted for the lion's share. UNCAL [Union Nationale des Comités d'Action Lycéens—National Union of High-School Action Committees], which adheres to the Communist party line, came far behind, as did the movement *Révolution!* and the Alliance des Jeunes pour le Socialisme."

Large as these demonstrations have been, they have not yet attained the scope of the 1973 mobilizations. In the March 8 issue of *Rouge*, Joseph Krasny analyzed the movement as it had developed to that point:

"... in the high schools a radicalized layer that is bigger than last year, going beyond the simple rejection of the [Fontanet] reform, has appeared.

"The wait-and-see attitude observed in some schools doesn't result from a decline in the youth radicalization. On the contrary, it often results from a clear consciousness of the nature and objectives of the mobilization. The high-school and college students have themselves drawn the balance sheet of the March-April 1973 movement. They have understood that to make the regime give in, and to win, the relationship of forces built in the struggle is decisive. . . .

"There will be no repeat of last year. The youth have their eyes fixed increasingly on the social confrontation between workers and bosses. They have come to understand the decisive

nature of that struggle, and that without it they could not carry off decisive successes.

"In this sense, while all the conditions exist for a mobilization of the youth, its scope will depend on the manifestations of the workers' militancy."

The possibilities of achieving such a linkup with the organized workers movement are enhanced by the increased weight of the technical-school students in this year's mobilizations. On March 12, some 5,000 students from the CETs marched in Paris against the Royer and Fontanet laws, defying threats of administration reprisals, including possible expulsion and job blacklisting.

The mobilization of technical-school students has renewed a debate launched in the student movement last year over the relation between their struggle and that of the high-school students. While encouraging the independent organization of the CET students, *Rouge* has favored attempts to link their struggle with that of the high-school students to build the broadest movement possible against the government. This strategy is opposed by another far-left organization, *Lutte Ouvrière*, which denies that the students can have common interests in the struggle.

When a meeting of the CET students' coordinating committee called for actions on March 12 and 14 linked to those of the high-school students, *Lutte Ouvrière* called its own demonstration of CET students for March 13, pretending to speak for the technical students' leadership. "We know our demands cannot be those of the high-school students," its leaflet proclaimed, "for tomorrow the high-school students will become doctors, lawyers or professors, while the technical students become engineers or technicians."

Rouge responded: "*Lutte Ouvrière* is no longer content with dividing the youth movement by counterposing high-school students and apprentices, as it did last year. . . . Now *Lutte Ouvrière* is dividing the CET movement itself, by calling a splitting demonstration.

"... it is false to say that the demands of the apprentices cannot be those of the high-school students. . . . Far from becoming lawyers, doctors or teachers, most high-school students today become unemployed, manual

laborers, or bank employees!"

Lutte Ouvrière's sectarian demonstration on March 13 mobilized only 1,200 students, while some 5,000 responded to the March 12 call of the united coordinating committee.

Another debate within the movement concerns its political direction. In 1973 the Jeunesses Communistes initially attacked the student demonstrators as "ultraleft" and as "provocateurs"—only later to join the actions in order not to be completely bypassed by the mass movement. This year, the JC have participated in the base committees against the Fontanet reform through the UNCALS, where they are the dominant tendency. Their strategy remains the same, however: to try to deflect the mass struggle into political support of the Union of the Left and its reformist perspectives.

But the high-school committees have organized around a platform of all-out opposition to the Fontanet bill, whereas the position of the Communist party and the Union of the Left is to amend the bill.

On March 9-10, high-school supporters of *Rouge* organized in the Front des Cercles Rouges Lycéens (High-School Red Circle Fronts) held their fifth annual meeting in Paris, the March 22 issue of *Rouge* reported. Some 200 delegates, representing sixty schools in the Paris area and thirty-eight other cities, discussed the perspectives of the movement and voted to advance two key proposals when the struggle resumes after the Easter vacation: (1) to organize an "Estates General of the student youth" to discuss the meaning of the Fontanet bill and develop a strategy to fight it; and (2) to organize a general strike in the national educational system, together with a massive demonstration in Paris, on the day the bill comes to a vote in the National Assembly. □

Tass on 'Streaking'

The Kremlin news agency Tass has advised its readers that the current Western fad for running nude in public is a form of protest more appropriate to capitalist society. In an apparent warning to would-be Soviet streakers, Tass cautioned that streaking represents a "protest against the monotony of life and the structures of capitalist society that do not allow man to express his personality harmoniously."

Contradictory Results in Elections

"The legislative elections of March 1974 . . . confirmed the general tendencies in the political evolution of this country that the LRT has analyzed from day to day," wrote the March 15 issue of *La Gauche*, weekly organ of the Ligue Révolutionnaire des Travailleurs-Revolutionnaire Arbeiders Liga (LRT-RAL—Revolutionary Workers League, Belgian section of the Fourth International).

The election results were contradictory, *La Gauche* noted. "On the one hand, the bourgeoisie emerges stronger from the vote. Its main political party, the CVP-PSC [Christelijke Volkspartij-Parti Social Chrétien—Social Christian Party], has undoubtedly been buttressed. Capitalist Belgium is less 'ungovernable' than before. . . . The road toward the 'strong state' is a bit more defined. . . .

"On the other hand, the recovery of workers struggles since 1970 is beginning to find expression on the electoral plane, above all in Wallonia. This increases the risks for the bourgeoisie of adventurous solutions, particularly in view of the deterioration of the economic situation. The delay in the electoral recovery of the Flemish movement is the main handicap bearing on the overall relationship of forces between the classes and worsening them from the standpoint of the workers movement."

The Parti Socialiste Belge (PSB—Belgian Socialist party) increased its electoral support in the French-speaking area, reversing a general pattern of steady decline in the party's fortunes in Wallonia since the late 1950s. *La Gauche* attributed the increased vote to the Walloon PSB's "slight left turn" in its rhetoric. The Belgian Trotskyist paper cited the PSB's "electoral propaganda against the capitalist monopolies and against the oil trusts, its presenting the Ibramco* affair as a struggle for jobs in Wallonia, and the more clearly anticapitalist language of the Walloon PSB."

Such language would find a favorable reception among many workers in the Walloon region. Once the more developed part of the country, Wallonia had an annual growth rate between 1967 and 1971 of only 3.9 percent against 6.1 percent in Flanders. Since 1971, this disparity has increased. Similarly, in 1972 only 0.2 percent of the work force in the Flemish north was unemployed, but 4.4 percent in the French-speaking south.

Conversely, *La Gauche* attributed the Socialist party's sharp losses in Flanders to its "combined refusal to

Change in Percentage of Vote Won

	Flanders	Wallonia
Social Christians	2%	2.2%
Socialist party	-2.2%	3%
Liberals	1%	-2.5%
Rassemblement Wallon (RW)		-2%
Brussels: FDF with dissident Liberals		-2%
Volksunie	-1%	
Communists	--	--

Source: Le Monde, March 12.

carry out the 'left turn' of André Cools [PSB cochairman] and to respect the growth of profederalist consciousness of a large part of the worker, employee, and intellectual youth."

Long-range factors, too, explain the PSB's lack of success in the north. "During the last twenty years, Flanders has experienced a stormy process of industrialization that has profoundly modified the social composition and customs of the people. Impressive progress has been made in separating church and state. But at the same time, industrialization has appeared as a success of capitalism, achieved through a combination of foreign capital and state aid, and almost always

managed by Social Christian ministers. Moreover, urbanization and secularization have been largely channeled through the Christian trade unions, to which the extremely moderate Flemish wing of the FGTB (Fédération Générale des Travailleurs de Belgique—Belgian General Federation of Workers), involved up to its neck in class collaboration, had nothing worthwhile to counterpose.

"Finally, at a time when industrialization and proletarianization began to give rise to an active radicalization—in the form of confrontationist youth mobilizations and wildcat strikes—the PSB appeared as an upholder of the established order. . . .

"Add to this the effects of a nineteenth-century-style anticlericalism (of a bourgeois nature, moreover!) and a 'unitarism' that attempts to turn the clock back on the federalist yearnings of the majority of Flemish workers, and there's not much mystery left in the electoral disaster that the PSB suffered in Flanders."

The election ended the steady rise of the communalist parties in both Flemish and Walloon sections of the country during the 1960s. Between 1961 and 1971, the Flemish Volksunie (People's Unity) increased its standing from 3.5 percent of the vote and five seats to 11.1 percent and twenty-one seats. Between 1965 and 1971, Walloon nationalist formations such as the Front Démocratique des Francophones (FDF—Democratic Front of Francophones) advanced from 2.7 percent of the vote to 11.5 percent and a maximum of 24 deputies.

The rise of the profederalist parties has impelled the "traditional" national parties to make some concessions to demands for increased cultural and regional autonomy.

"The arrest in the growth of the Volksunie," *La Gauche* stated, "is explained mainly by the fact that the 'federalizing' turn of the CVP almost eliminated the differences between the two parties in institutional and language matters."

In Wallonia, the alliance of the Rassemblement Wallon (Walloon Assembly) and the FDF with conservative elements from the PLP (Parti pour la Liberté et le Progrès, Liberal party) lost the communalist parties an important part of the working-class electorate they had won in the two preceding elections.

*The outgoing coalition government of Socialists, Social Christians, and Liberals split apart January 18, when Iran refused to proceed with plans for a joint

The Communist party barely maintained its position. In a few areas the CP participated in the Union Démocratique et Progressiste (UDP—Democratic and Progressive Union), a joint slate with left-wing Christians. This slate, based on a program similar to that of the PSB, did not do substantially better than the 1971 CP's vote. "Clearly a political line that clings completely to that of the PSB," *La Gauche* commented, "can't very easily win over Social Democratic voters. Between the 'old reformists' and the 'neo-reformists,' the workers hardly see a significant difference."

A Flemish Maoist grouping, Amada (the name is an acronym for the Dutch words "All power to the people"), entered the election in four districts. Although its results in three of them were only mediocre, in Anvers it obtained some 15,000 votes, close to 3 percent of the total vote, finishing 1,500 votes ahead of the CP. This success reflected the popularity of two "people's doctors" associated with Amada in that city. But despite its populist character, noted *La Gauche*, Amada's vote "appears to broad masses of the workers as a success of the revolutionaries."

The Trotskyists of the LRT/RAL called for a vote for any one of the workers parties—the Socialist party, the CP or Amada, where running—in order to pose the need for independent political action by the working class against the bourgeois parties. At the same time, they criticized the reformist, class-collaborationist programs of those parties, in particular the PSB, which has been participating in a coalition government with the Social Christians and the Liberals. (For the LRT/RAL position, see *Intercontinental Press*, March 18, page 312.)

Summing up the political outlook in the aftermath of the elections, *La Gauche* commented:

"The elections will settle nothing, stated the LRT at the beginning of the election campaign. The results reinforce this conclusion. The PSB will obviously be tempted to return to the government. The CVP will undoubtedly be prepared to ease that task by yielding somewhat in its public statements. But both its successes in Wallonia and its failures in Flanders will increase resistance within the PSB to a new attempt at ministerial collaboration, that is, increased class

collaboration. We must encourage comrades within the PSB who come out against a new edition of coalition cabinets with the bourgeoisie, the balance-sheet of which has been so disastrous for the labor movement. . . .

"More than ever, the way forward for the workers movement lies in organizing increasingly broader and more determined mass actions to de-

fend the workers' living standards and jobs, to bar the road to the strong state, to counterpose to a crisis-ridden regime a resolutely anticapitalist alternative that opens the perspective of workers power and the socialist revolution. The task of the LRT, as of all the revolutionists in this country, is to achieve the broadest unity in action for all the objectives that square with this orientation." □

Upsurge in Spain After Execution of Puig Antich

Youth Led Protests Against Repression

Barcelona

On Friday, March 1, the Council of Ministers is continuing and escalating its anti-working-class and anti-popular measures. The anarchist militant Salvador Puig Antich is executed. Prices are raised again for gasoline and petroleum by-products. Repres-

vanguard is mainly the youth. The movement is swelled by various types of actions related to the rising cost of living and other such issues.

On Saturday, March 2, the mobilizations against the murder of Puig are still small, since the bourgeois press blacked out the news until the last possible moment. At the University of Barcelona, some assemblies and demonstrations are held. They are not very large, never exceeding 1,000 participants, but the spirit shown in these actions is a foretaste of what will happen Monday.

On Sunday [March 3], about a thousand people gather for Puig's funeral. They are brutally dispersed by the police, who block all approaches to the cemetery. In the afternoon, various small groups set fire to a couple of banks; a high-power bomb is planted in an army barracks. Likewise in the afternoon, there is a rally in front of the Barcelona Cathedral. It also is broken up by the police, who make several arrests.

The agitation gains momentum with the appearance in several places, such as movie theaters and so on, of leaflets denouncing the murder.

On Monday [March 4], the momentum is carried forward essentially by the mass assemblies that are held in all the universities. The left organizations, in general, hold to a treacherous line.

In the whole period before Puig was sentenced, the PCE [Partido Comunista de España—Communist party of Spain] had completely abandoned the fight. Once the sentence was confirmed, it sowed the illusion that Salvador Puig Antich could be saved by telegrams from the ecclesiastical hierarchy



ARIAS: Franco's premier.

sion in the schools is stepped up by the General Education Law. These are the most revealing examples of the Arias government's policy of "open-mindedness."

These measures touch off a whole series of chain reactions. The essential focus is massive protests against the murder of Puig Antich. In these, the

and from bourgeois institutions in Spain and Europe. It substituted this kind of lobbying for any attempt, however limited, to mobilize the masses. This policy was seconded by the right-centrist organizations.

After the murder of Salvador Puig Antich, the PCE restricted the mass response by the workers to a minimum. It was unable to do this, however, when dealing with the youth, in which case it was to try to limit the duration and objectives of the mobilizations and at the same time try to utilize these actions for the benefit of its pact with the "democratic" bourgeoisie (cf. the rally of the *Asamblea de Cataluña* mentioned below).

But the dynamic of the movement opposing the attacks of the dictatorship was very different, and this would be shown in the mass attendance at the assemblies, in the demonstrations, and in the confrontations with the police, who came out in unprecedented numbers. In the city and the province of Barcelona, there have been five or six different demonstrations. The largest assembled between 4,000 and 5,000 persons, the majority of them youth. The others brought out numbers ranging from 500 to 1,000. In the various confrontations with the police, shots were fired and Molotov cocktails were thrown, but the only casualties reported were among the forces of "order."

In Madrid also, student assemblies are proliferating, as well as various confrontations in the universities. But so far there has been no citywide action.

In Valencia, Zaragoza, Granada, and Bilbao, the assemblies and demonstrations have the same tone. Zaragoza seems to be the place where they are most massive.

Over Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday [March 5-7], the militancy of the mobilization is maintained, although signs of an ebb are already beginning to appear. Most of the universities are closing (in Barcelona, Madrid, Zaragoza, Valencia, Bilbao, San Sebastián, Granada, and other cities). Demonstrations continue to be called mainly in Barcelona, where the combativity is more persistent than in other places. Here clashes occur with the police in which their cars are burned and some cops are wounded. There is shooting but there are no victims among the demonstrators, al-

though there are many arrests. (In Barcelona alone it is estimated that during the whole week about 200 have been arrested; there is little news from the rest of the Spanish state, but from the reports of the bourgeois press it seems that there are also many arrests in other places.)

It should be noted that during this entire week the fishing fleet was on an all-out strike throughout the state against the higher price of fuel. This action ended with an important victory for the fishermen, who forced the government to lower the price of fuels.

At the same time, in Barcelona, for two days there was an all-out strike by taxi drivers, also over the question of the price of fuel. The police arrested a few of the drivers. But the massive and united character of the mobilization forced their immediate release. The taxi drivers raised the same demand as the fishermen (coupons for buying fuel at a discount). They did not win it, but they were granted a fare increase.

In the past few days, there also have been strikes in some factories protesting the murder of Puig Antich. But most of these were of short duration and rather scattered, called in a bureaucratic way by the traditional leaderships, who were looking for an excuse to avoid doing any genuine mobilizing.

The ebb in the mobilization of the youth, which as we have seen reached a high level of militancy, is due fundamentally to the line of the leaderships of the workers movement, to their refusal to lead the struggle forward starting from the factories and uniting the scattered battles around the axis of the fight against the repression, put in the forefront by Puig's murder. The youth hoped for a reaction from the workers, but the working class was tied down by the attitude of its leaderships and their refusal to give the lead for an effective response.

The PCE prepared its "answer" for Sunday: The *Asamblea de Cataluña* calls for a requiem for Puig Antich's soul. There is to be a "democratic" gathering afterwards focusing on the call for abolishing the death penalty. The forms of struggle proposed are black crepe, minutes of silence, peaceful demonstrations, and the like.

On Sunday [March 10] the church where the requiem is to be held is

completely filled. The police cut off access by blocking all the streets in the area. When the mass starts, the priest informs the crowd that the funeral is not for Puig Antich but for some other person. But everyone can pray for whomever he or she likes. The crowd inside the church, about 3,000 people, begins to hiss him. A rally is held, a conciliationist one. The people are asked to remain inside, shut in, until the police surrounding the building go away.

The members of the LC [Liga Comunista — Communist League, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International] respond by raising the call for going into the street, for a mass demonstration, as the only effective answer to the crimes of the dictatorship. Then the church is cleared out and various demonstrations are called. Four or five are held. The largest, about 4,000 persons, marches through all the avenues under the slogans: "Down with the dictatorship"; "The dictatorship murders"; "Long live the workers commissions." The attempts by the Stalinists and their stooges to get their own slogans going are rapidly drowned out by the others.

Every demonstration comes into confrontation with the police, although the clashes are not so violent as in previous days. The arrests are estimated at more than seventy. The attendance at the rallies, although there were no great efforts to build them, can be estimated at 12,000 to 15,000 persons.

In the evening on Sunday, there is a demonstration in Sabadell, after a requiem mass. Clashes and shooting occur. One policeman is wounded.

March 10, 1974

Mongolia, Thailand Open Diplomatic Relations

In another step toward rapprochement with the workers states, the Thai Foreign Ministry in Bangkok announced on March 7 that Thailand and the People's Republic of Mongolia had just established official diplomatic relations. The March 8 issue of the Swedish daily *Dagens Nyheter* noted: "Mongolia, which is very close politically to the Soviet Union, is the first Asian socialist country to establish relations with Thailand, which remains one of the strongest allies of the United States in Southeast Asia." □

Latest Somersault on the Healyite Front

The rapid political gyrations of the Workers League, the U. S. followers of Gerry Healy,* require the updating of an article that appeared in the March 25 issue of *Intercontinental Press* ("Healyites Fail the Acid Test of Watergate"). That article, in explaining how their misunderstanding of Watergate had led the Healyites to adapt to reformism and liberalism, traced the origins of the adaptation to the Healyites' intoxication with their own rhetoric:

"By the time the Watergate scandal began to unfold, the Healyites had convinced themselves that the fantasies of the *Bulletin* mirrored reality. Watergate was incorporated into their system of illusions as the culmination of the long-awaited 'real' crisis. After all the *Bulletin* reports of 'civil war,' it would have been an anticlimax to declare that the scandal represented anything less than the imminence of 'dictatorship.'

"Here was the 'real' crisis suddenly before them; the bourgeoisie was about to impose a brutal dictatorship; and the Workers League was obviously too small and insignificant a group to prevent the catastrophe. They had nowhere to turn—except to Congress, George Meany, and the American Bar Association."

At the time the article was written, the most recent issue of the *Bulletin* to have arrived at the *IP* office was dated early in February. Consequently, we were unaware that the ultraleft/opportunistic coin of Healyism had been given another toss into the air and that this time the ultraleft side had landed face up.

It appears that the Healyites grew impatient at the congressional delay in dumping Nixon and therefore decided to do the job themselves. They duly announced a march on Washington, Chicago, and San Francisco to

*Healy is the British sectarian who heads the "Workers Revolutionary Party" and the "International Committee." Reactionary legislation in the United States prevents the Workers League from affiliating with the "International Committee," but the organizations agree politically.

"Force Nixon Out."

The Healyites made no bones about the fact that their demonstrations were designed to carry out for the working class the tasks that the *Bulletin* had assigned it but that the class had been unforgivably slow to accomplish. The marches were conducted solely in the name of the "Young Socialists," the Healyite youth group, without any effort to involve anyone outside their own organization.

"The Young Socialists," the *Bulletin* editors announced in the March 15 issue, "are marching this weekend in Washington, Chicago and San Francisco not simply to force Nixon out, but to build a leadership in the working class that will be prepared to replace him with a government committed to the needs of the working people."

The Healyites certainly do not spare themselves in setting out their tasks for an afternoon's work.

The marches occurred on March 16 and, according to the *Bulletin*, brought out 450 persons in Washington, 150 in Chicago, and 115 in San Francisco. In a dispatch from Washington that might more appropriately have been datelined Disneyland, a "Bulletin Reporting Team" called the Washington

march "the biggest anti-Nixon demonstration ever held in the United States."

The Healyites rallied in front of the AFL-CIO headquarters, where Tim Wohlforth, national secretary of the Workers League, told them:

"We did not come to Washington to beg George Meany to do anything. We have come here to create the movement within the working class that will throw the Meanys out and construct a labor party. It is this movement that will force Nixon out and all the Democrats and Republicans and fight for socialism."

The square in front of the AFL-CIO headquarters might seem an unlikely place to look for the human material to dump Meany and build a labor party. And, in fact, the "Bulletin Reporting Team" provided a revealing vignette that illustrates the real relationship between the Healyites and the working class.

"When workers and housewives saw the marchers pass by their buildings," they wrote, "they often walked down several flights of stairs into the street without an overcoat to catch up with a *Bulletin* or *Young Socialist* salesman."

"Others leaned out the windows and asked salesmen to wait as they fetched a dollar for a subscription."

Unfortunate would-be *Bulletin* subscribers! When the Healyites are on the march, they wait for nothing, least of all the working class. □

Uganda

Executions Follow Attempted 'Coup'

Ugandan dictator General Idi Amin has begun systematic execution of army officers believed to have been involved in clashes with troops loyal to Amin, according to a March 25 Associated Press dispatch from Kampala, the capital. As many as fifty officers may already have been killed, *Christian Science Monitor* correspondent Henry S. Hayward reported in the March 27 issue, citing sources in Kenya with contacts in Uganda.

On the night of March 23-24, units of the Ugandan armed forces clashed in Kampala. A government radio broadcast on March 24 stated that

the "confusion" was brought about by Brigadier General Charles Arrube, who persuaded troops of the Malire Mechanized Battalion to jump into their armored vehicles and drive into Kampala. After the fighting ended, the regime announced that Arrube had committed suicide.

Some reports, however, point in the direction of a staged "coup" or provoked clash to justify a purge of the armed forces by Amin. The March 25 Associated Press dispatch observed: "Uganda sources said that General Amin might have known in advance that tank and machine-gun fighting

was going to occur in military units around Kampala over the weekend. They suggested that he might even have provoked the outbreak among dissident troops, to provide an opportunity to eliminate them."

Such a purge would be nothing new in Ugandan politics. Some press reports estimate that up to 90,000 potential opponents of Amin have been killed over the past three years in tribal massacres and secret assassinations.

In February the body of Lieutenant Colonel Michael Ondoga, a member of the Lugbara tribe, was found floating in the Nile River. On March 21 the commander of the Malire Mechanized Battalion in Kampala, a Lugbara, was sent on leave and replaced by a member of the Kakwa tribe, to which Amin belongs. Early on March 23, according to sources quoted by AP,

General Arrube—who, although himself a Kakwa, was a Christian and was friendly with the Lugbaras—was secretly arrested on Amin's orders.

That afternoon Amin refused to meet with Lugbara officers demanding to know Arrube's whereabouts. Scattered shooting broke out near the presidential lodge outside Kampala. The next morning Lugbaras from the Malire battalion attacked the military prison where they believed Arrube was being held. By dawn the brief rebellion had been crushed.

The Uganda defense council, which includes the top military officers, set up a special tribunal to "investigate" the so-called coup attempt. The March 25 *Washington Post* quoted Amin as stating that those behind "the trouble" would "be dealt with according to the laws of Uganda." □

Mass Arrests of Oppositionists

Bangladesh Police Fire on Demonstration

Up to twenty members of the Jatiya Samajtantrik Dal (JSD—National Socialist party) were killed and seventy wounded in an attack on a JSD demonstration by police and paramilitary forces on March 17.

Three leaders of the JSD—President M. A. Jalil, a leader of the armed resistance during Bangladesh's liberation struggle in 1971, General Secretary A. S. M. Abdur Rab, and Momtaz Begum, secretary of the women's branch of the JSD—were arrested by the regime during the attack. Jalil was beaten and Rab wounded by rifle fire.

In the next few days the headquarters of the JSD were attacked and burned and hundreds of JSD members rounded up, in a major attempt by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's regime to crush the JSD, the largest and most active opposition party.

The JSD launched a campaign of mass opposition to the regime on December 30 with a rally of 100,000 in Dacca. On January 20 a JSD-called general strike paralyzed the country. At a mass rally on February 8, just three days after Rahman's ruling Awami League pushed the Special Powers Act through the National Assembly, giving the regime broad new powers of repression, the JSD raised

twenty-nine demands and called on the government to meet them by March 15. The leaders of the JSD proclaimed that if the demands were not met, they would initiate mass actions around the demands.

At another rally in Dacca on March 17, after the deadline had passed, JSD leader Shahjahan Siraj declared that the JSD would begin *gherao* actions (mass actions to surround and sequester business government officials). Jalil and Rab immediately led a march of 5,000 to the residence of Home Minister Mansur Ali. The March 24 *Holiday*, a leftist weekly published in Dacca, described what followed:

"By 6 p.m. thousands of people gathered in front of Mr. Mansur's residence. Jalil and Rab wanted to see the minister and submit a memorandum to him.

"But the sentries posted at the gate of the minister's house would not allow anybody to cross the gate.

"The people became agitated. They started pelting stones on the police, who flanked them from the Hotel Intercontinent and Kakrail Mosque sides.

"Jalil and Rab successfully persuaded the people to become calm.

"But then, suddenly at about 6:15

p.m., police rushed from the Hotel Intercontinent side and lathi-charged [club-charged] the demonstrators in a blind fury. The demonstrators scattered helter-skelter and many crossed the wall of the ramna park. Jalil and Rab tried in vain to restrain the police.

"In the meantime, the law-enforcing agents were reinforced by fresh arrivals of police and the Rakkhi Bahini [Defense Forces]. As the Rakkhi Bahini and the police dismounted from their vehicles, the demonstrators, almost all of whom had taken shelter in the park, became visibly angry and again started pelting stones. For a few seconds the police and the Rakkhi Bahini got bewildered and were fleeing away from the hailstorm of stones.

"The sudden panic recovered, the Rakkhi Bahini and the police began shooting indiscriminately. The firing continued for about 10 minutes from 6:30 p.m. to 6:40 p.m."

The regime justified the massacre by claiming that the JSD was attempting to overthrow the government. "The government declared," wrote the March 19 *Le Monde*, "that the socialist program of 'direct action,' which is demanding a reduction in the prices of essential goods and a struggle against corruption, is in fact a program aimed at 'the violent overthrow of the legal government.'"

Following up this initial attack, government forces raided and ransacked the offices of *Ganokantha* (People's Voice), the JSD-supported daily newspaper, on the same night. They then arrested the editor, Al-Mahmud, at his home.

The next day, goon squads of the Awami League attacked and set fire to the central office of the JSD in Dacca. *Holiday* cited reports that every day since then leaders and members of the JSD, the Opposition Sramik League, and the Opposition Students' League were being arrested and JSD offices around the country were being burned down. Unconfirmed sources reported, according to *Holiday*, that more than 1,000 persons had already been arrested.

A nationwide strike called by the JSD on March 19 to protest the repression was partially observed throughout the country. On March 20 Shahjahan Siraj, joint secretary of the JSD, and Bidhan Krishna Sen, JSD vice president, issued a statement reaf-

firming the JSD's pledge to continue raising their demands and mobilizing support. In spite of the government attacks, the JSD opened its central offices in Dacca on the following day.

All the opposition parties and organizations responded immediately. The National Awami party (Bhashani), the Bangladesh Jatiya League, the Jatiya Ganomukti Union (National People's Liberation Union), the Labour party, and the Communist party of Bangladesh (Leninist) all issued statements denouncing the government actions and demanding the release of all the arrested oppositionists.

Started by Student Protests

Civil Strife in Gujarat and Maharashtra

By Kailas Chandra

Bombay

February 26—Gujarat, the richest state in India, heretofore considered to be politically conservative, has been deeply shaken by civil strife. What started as an agitation by students of Ahmadabad colleges against increased food charges in their dormitories has developed into a statewide upsurge involving all sections of the population. The Congress government led by Chimanbhai Patel was compelled to resign and president's rule was imposed on the state.

The mighty anti-Congress upsurge, significantly enough, was led not by any organised political party, but by a nonparty organisation called the Nav Nirman Samiti [NNS—New Order Committee], a united front of various youth bodies supported by the Fourteenth August Committee, an ad hoc united front of trade-union organisations in Ahmadabad, the state capital, and other centres. The masses have thus demonstrated a lack of faith in the traditional political parties.

The mass movement, however, was supported separately by left parties like the CPI [Communist party of India], the CP1(M), [Communist party of India (Marxist)], the Socialist party, the CL [Communist League, Indian section of the Fourth International], and others. The Jan Sangh, a rightist bourgeois party, tried to lead it

The Bangladesh Federal Union of Journalists and the Dacca Union of Journalists held a meeting on March 19 protesting the arrest of *Ganokantha* editor Al-Mahmud and restrictions on the freedom of the press. The Press Workers Union also issued a statement.

Four members of the National Assembly condemned the government actions and demanded the release of all the detainees, including Rab and Jalil. Eighty-four intellectuals issued a joint statement demanding the release of Al-Mahmud. *Holiday* reported that a civil liberties and legal aid committee was being formed. □

in some places. Other capitalist parties like the Old Congress party and the Swatantra party, despite their opposition to the Congress government, did not associate themselves with the mass upsurge, which has not assumed an organized form as yet. The right is no doubt trying to misdirect the entire agitation into reactionary channels, and their task is rendered easier because of the inaction of the traditional left parties.

The Nav Nirman Samitis have sprung up spontaneously in many centres, supported by the Fourteenth August Committee. They organised a successful "Ahmadabad Bandh" [general strike] on January 10 against rising prices and growing police repression.

The youth organisations all over Gujarat also conducted a merciless campaign against corrupt ministers known to be in league with food-oil manufacturers, big traders, and industrialists.

The bandh call therefore proved to be a massive success. The bandh was opposed only by the Congress "Majur Mahajan" (affiliated to the Indian National Trade Union Congress), which, with the help of the police and millowners, kept the textile mills working January 10. There was also a total bandh in the industrial city of Surat the same day.

The government resorted to brutal repression. In the police shootings in Ahmadabad, Pankaj Joshi, a 22-year-old student leader was killed. There were killings in other cities also. As a reply to the police repression, the NNS called for a statewide general strike, a "Gujarat Bandh," on January 25. This also proved to be an unprecedented success.

In the intervening period there was a series of bandhs in other important towns in Gujarat, beginning on January 11. All sections of the urban and rural poor were drawn into its orbit. The youth and the students were in the forefront of the struggle but the working-class organisations also played an important, though not a leading, role. The struggle soon assumed the form of a statewide street confrontation between the masses and the police and other "law enforcing" agencies.

None of the traditional working-class parties, however, raised the question of power, the need to overthrow bourgeois rule, although it was clear that the demands raised by the movements, even elementary ones like the distribution of adequate rations at controlled rates, action against hoarders and black marketers, and so on, could not be met by the Congress government. At first the Chimanbhai Patel ministry tried to placate the mass fury by getting rid of the so-called corrupt ministers, but the agitation did not subside.

There was an attempt by the large-scale farmers' organisations, the Khe-dut Samaj, in Surat and other districts to exploit the chaotic conditions to their advantage by refusing to sell food grains to the state agencies. The rich farmers also launched an offensive against the agricultural workers, but were soon forced to retreat when confronted with the organised strength of the rural poor.

In fact, the entire Congress party, representing the capitalist class and the rich farmers, began to beat a retreat in the face of the growing militancy of the masses. The army was called to restore "law and order." But the army could not control the situation. After a great deal of hesitation, the federal government dismissed the Patel ministry and imposed president's rule on Gujarat. The Legislative Assembly was kept suspended. To the people it was a partial victory, but the antigovernment upsurge has not subsided.

A new demand was raised by the NNS at this stage: dissolution of the Legislative Assembly and new elections. Some political parties, including the Old Congress, the Jan Sangh, and even the CPI(M), as well as capitalist bodies like the Ahmadabad Mill-owners' Association, supported the demand. The legislators belonging to various parties were *gheraoed* [a *gherao* is a mass action to surround and sequester business or governmental officials] and forced to resign their seats.

There is an attempt to divert the unprecedented popular upsurge into an electoral channel, in the name of "replacing the present corrupt legislators and ministers with honest representatives of the people!" The strategy of a section of the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties is obviously that of deflating the explosive revolutionary character of the mass upsurge.

But there are sections of the youth and trade-union leaders in the NNS who are trying to deepen the struggle by raising the more basic class demands of the workers and the rural poor. Inherent in the demand for the dissolution of the Assembly is the principle that the people should have the right to recall their elected representatives.

One technique of registering popular protest that evolved in Gujarat was that of sounding the "death knell" to the government—the mass beating of *thalis*, metal plates used in India at the dinner table, in demonstrations in which women and children of every household participated with a great deal of enthusiasm.

The antigovernment agitation in Maharashtra is being led by the Joint Action Council of Central Trade Unions, which organised a successful statewide general strike on January 2 demanding effective government measures to control prices. In response to a call by the Joint Action Council, the citizens of Bombay organised a thali-beating operation on the night of February 22 all over the city.

This innocent form of protest soon turned into a serious confrontation between the youth and the police at several places. At least eight young persons were killed and scores were injured in the police shootings that took place that night. The shooting spree in Bombay gave a new dimension to the agitation against high

prices throughout the state of Maharashtra.

On February 25 more than 50,000 workers, women, office employees, and others marched through downtown Bombay and blocked for more than eight hours all roads leading to the Council Hall, where the state Legislative Assembly was in session. The ministers and legislators found themselves trapped inside the Council Hall into the late hours of the night, when the *gherao* was lifted.

The demonstrators were seeking to focus attention on their demands, which included: allocation of twelve kilograms of food grains per month for every adult, complete procurement of grains, supply of daily necessities to consumers at controlled rates, unemployment compensation for the jobless, and employment for landless laborers in the rural areas.

The spectacular *gherao* demonstration was peaceful, since it was organised by the Joint Action Council in "consultation" with the police. But the government failed to give any assurances of relief to the demonstrators except that the ration of food grains would be raised from seven kilograms to eight kilograms per adult per month.

Unlike Gujarat, where the students were in the forefront of the food agitation, in Maharashtra it is being led by the trade unions, although the opportunist leadership is trying to contain the growing mass discontent within a reformist electoral framework. But there have been some spectacular strikes of industrial workers that have ended with positive achievements. A strike of 200,000 cotton textile workers, which lasted forty-two days in Bombay city, was called off on February 8 with a partial victory for the workers. CPI leader S.A. Dange, however, has been accused of betraying the workers, since the strike was called off while it was still securing big support from other workers. There have also been successful strike actions by dockers, railway workers, and engineering workers in the region.

The so-called Indira wage, which helped the Congress party sweep the polls for Parliament as well as the state legislatures in 1971 and 1972, has practically disappeared. In Gujarat the Congress party lost two prestigious by-elections to the Lok Sabha, the lower house of parliament, first to an independent from Ahmadabad

city and then to the Old Congress party in Sabarkantha district.

In Maharashtra there were four by-elections in January, two to the Lok Sabha and two to the State Assembly. All were lost by the Congress party. In Bombay, Roza Deshpande, the daughter of CPI leader Dange, was elected to the Lok Sabha, defeating her Congress and Jan Sangh rivals from a predominantly working-class constituency.

Key elections have just been concluded to the State Assemblies in the states of Uttar Pradesh, which is the home state of Indira Gandhi, Orissa in east India, Manipur (a tribal state in northeast India), and Pondicherry in the south. In the problem state of Nagaland, the Congress-sponsored Nagaland National Organisation just lost an election for the local legislature to the United Democratic Front, a loose opposition group. The outcome of the elections in Uttar Pradesh and other states is bound to have far-reaching repercussions for national politics as a whole. The Congress party is expected to suffer a serious setback in all these states. Strangely enough, the Congress party has an electoral alliance in Uttar Pradesh and Orissa with the CPI, while it is being opposed in Pondicherry by the CPI in alliance with the Anna DMK, a group that has split away from the ruling DMK [Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam—a regional capitalist party that exploits linguistic chauvinism] in that state.

Situations similar to those in Gujarat are erupting in other states as well. The public food-distribution system having virtually collapsed in most deficit states like Kerala and Bihar, the open-market prices of food grains and other daily necessities have soared to dizzying heights. The masses of people are beginning to recognise for the first time that the food situation, which has become extremely critical, cannot be resolved within the existing capitalist framework. The mass upheavals in Gujarat and Maharashtra are assuming a clearer anti-capitalist and socialist orientation. But what is lacking in the present situation is the subjective factor, a mass revolutionary working-class party capable of leading the emerging struggles towards a socialist transformation and the establishment of a workers and peasants government in India.

Where Official Republicans Stand Today

[The following interview was given to Gerry Foley in Dublin February 19 by Cathal Goulding, who has been referred to by the Irish press as the chief of staff of the Official Irish Republican Army. Mr. Goulding has not had the opportunity to check the edited text of the interview.]

* * *

Question. What are the main issues in the elections in Northern Ireland?

Answer. The immediate questions are the prisoners, both the Catholic and Protestant internees; the situation in the Six Counties in relation to housing, unemployment, and land, which is very bad; and the whole impact of the EEC [Common Market] on the economy of the Six Counties. These are questions facing the Protestant working class as much as the Catholic working class.

Q. What demands are you raising in relation to British workers?

A. Unfortunately, the Irish question does not have the importance it should in the British elections. And the only way we can make it important is by comparing the economic difficulties that are developing in Britain as a result of its being in the Common Market with the economic problems EEC membership has caused for Ireland, especially the rise in prices. We are also raising our own political demands that will help ease the situation of British workers.

At the same time, our election propaganda will point out that the repressive measures that are being tried out in the Six Counties, the low-intensity operations [counterinsurgency] policy of the British army, will later be used against them.

The exploration for oil and natural gas in the sea around Britain and Ireland will also be an issue. These explorations are being farmed out to private companies, which will then have a claim on whatever is discovered. We will be emphasizing that this is a complete deviation from the

policy of nationalization of essential industries.

One of the main points we will emphasize is the betrayals the British workers have suffered from their own politicians. We will also point out to them that our fight to defeat imperialism in Ireland is their fight too, and that a combined assault on imperialism would assure both of us a greater chance of success.

Q. What gains do you expect to make from participating in the elections?

A. Our main gains have been organizational rather than in terms of support. We haven't gotten anybody elected to the Northern Ireland Assembly or to the Twenty-six Counties government here. But what we have been pressing all along is the involvement of our organization in the organizations of the people—the trade unions, the tenant organizations, the rent and rate organizations, and so forth—and here we have made a lot of headway. When people now have a problem in housing, for example, they go to the advice bureau of the republican movement and the other radical organizations, not to the government's bureau.

Q. What about recruiting to the organization on the basis of putting forward a socialist alternative?

A. The people who will accept the socialist alternative immediately are generally people who are already involved with some radical organization. You'll always make some recruits during an election period—you may get ten and hold three—but even if you don't get recruits immediately you are heightening the awareness of people and offering certain alternatives that are not being offered by the mass media. In other words, as far as we are concerned, the elections are a forum through which we can advocate socialist alternatives. And in this way you do get people, maybe not to come to your organization immediately, but certainly to have second thoughts.

Then when they do meet a problem, they'll remember these alternatives and who raised them.

Q. How do you see the relationship between election work and extraparliamentary activity?

A. When you have the threat of some kind of physical action behind your agitation and parliamentary activities they are much more effective. And you get the much more militant kind of socialists who believe they should push their demands in whatever way they can. And these are the best kind of people because they believe that we should involve ourselves in all forms of activity that will heighten awareness in our community.

Q. It has been more than a year and a half now since the Official republican movement ceased offensive operations in the Six Counties. Would you care to draw a balance sheet on that decision?

A. When we were involved completely in military activities in the Six Counties, we had hundreds of our members in jail. Ninety percent of our membership were involved in these types of activities, and in the meantime the SDLP [Social Democratic and Labour party] were organizing the politics. We weren't in position to organize the politics because we were either on the run, underground, in hiding, or in jail.

The immediate, military kind of activity had a greater appeal than the hard-slogging work of organizing and educating people. But in the end it is the organizing that is the most important, for the simple reason that military activity alone doesn't create a revolutionary situation, nor does it make revolutionaries out of uncommitted people.

Involving these uncommitted people in demanding certain reforms educates them into the realization that they're not going to get these reforms under this system, and it makes them want to do more than that. But if the republican movement only involves itself in purely military activity, these people sit back and wait for the result. And the result always is the annihilation or the defeat of the revolutionaries who have taken up arms with no politics, no agitation, and no mass movement behind them.

So we felt that we had to call the

cease-fire to try to reorganize our political movement, to try to get a grip again on the mass movements like the civil-rights movement, the tenants' movement, the trade-union movement, and so forth. Unfortunately, I think we were about six months too late in calling that cease-fire. If we had called it six months earlier, we could have salvaged more of the republican clubs that were left. By the time that we got around to calling our cease-fire, many of these political organizations had gone out of operation altogether and had to be built again.

But the fact that we were able to put up candidates in the Six Counties and win seats in the local elections shows that we are making gains, even if we are making them slowly. The big gain is that we have established the republican clubs as viable, active political groupings in the Six Counties, that they have contested elections and won seats.

Q. What is the legal status of the republican clubs in Northern Ireland?

A. We don't have legality but we do have a kind of acceptance from the authorities. They know they can't implement the ban. They know the republican clubs have support, and it is only a matter of time until they are forced to lift the ban on the clubs and the other organizations.

Q. What about the struggle to end the British occupation of the North? Where does that stand now in the Twenty-six Counties?

A. Two years ago the support for the evacuation of the British forces was greater than it is now. But the reason for the demand is, I believe, better understood now. In other words, it was an emotional demand to get the English out of Ireland because they were killing Irishmen. But now people see the evacuation of British troops as not being the most important demand to make. They see that economic domination is a more important question and that you could have the evacuation of the British troops from the Six Counties and have no improvement in the actual situation of the ordinary working class in Ireland.

So, while people are just as much in support of the demand for evacuation of the troops, they may not be as vocal about it now. But they are

more vocal in relation to other demands—like political demands or socialist demands—than they were then.

Q. What connection do you see between the refusal to accept the National Wage Agreement and the struggle against British imperialism?

A. The refusal of the workers in the Twenty-six Counties to accept the National Wage Agreement means that they are going to make their own demands in relation to wages. But the economy here is not going to meet those demands. And if it's not going to meet them, they'll have to bring in more antiunion legislation, more coercive measures. And it will be in the effort to push through these kinds of measures that the crisis is going to come.

Q. What strategy do you propose for fighting the National Wage Agreement?

A. We have developed research centers around the country and are able to point out who the shareholders are in certain firms, what profits are being made, and where these profits are going. We then point out to workers the contrast between this and the return they get from an industry they put the main effort into. This is the type of strategy we are developing to fight the proposed wage agreements and reinforce the workers' determination to make the proper kind of demands on the economy.

Q. What do you say to people who say the country can't afford to pay higher wages, that it would undermine the competitiveness of Irish products?

A. One of the things we point out is that one of the main expenses of an industry is the profits that go to shareholders, and that if there was a cutback, for a start, on these profits, the workers would be able to get a better deal from the industry itself.

We then go further and point out to the workers that if there were complete elimination of these drones, the industry could stand up to competition from anywhere.

Q. It seems that the anti-imperialist movement is much weaker than it was, as is shown by the fact that there

are still so many people in prison, yet the protests are much smaller and have much less of an international impact. There must be a process of regroupment and rethinking going on in these organizations. Do you see any hopeful trends, say in the Provisionals, for example?

A. We consider the Provisional movement as our main rivals, as tremendous spoilers of our strategy. However, we have been involved with a number of these people on different levels. For instance, sometimes they come to us for certain types of data from our research centers, and we are quite willing to put these facts at their disposal. And many of them have some kind of radical or socialist outlook. They do believe in the ultimate objective of a socialist republic, but what they probably don't understand is the strategy or tactics of a socialist organization, and that the main objective in the interim is winning support for socialist policies.

We have been able to work with these people, say in trade-union organizations and tenant organizations and other things like that, particularly in these new types of industries like mining, where it is so blatant a sellout of the possessions of the Irish people that many of these people have been involved in these committees that we have organized. And in some cases they have organized the committees themselves and invited some of our people along to give some of the facts and figures on the situation.

Q. What about common work in support of the prisoners?

A. We have proposed forming committees, to form a kind of common front in relation to the prisoners and other issues, like extradition, which affect both of us. But unfortunately we find they are very uncooperative on issues like this. For instance, if you want to try to organize something for the prisoners, certain types of terrorist activities have to be played down.

But when we put forward ideas like that to Provisionals on these committees, they don't go along. I feel it's a waste of time trying to appeal to the British working class, which are an essential part of the people you have got to appeal to if you want to get people like the Price sisters released,

as long as the bombings continue in England.

The situation of Irish workers in England has become untenable for the same reason—every Irishman is a suspected bomber. And if he is a suspected bomber, then he hasn't got the kind of standing in the British working-class community to be elected to positions in the trade-union movement or in the local community organizations, where his voice would be listened to by them, and where he could appeal to them to deal more fairly with people like the Price sisters and our own people.

But some of their people do come to these committees and listen to these arguments, and do become a little bit disenchanted with the policies of their own leadership. I see the rank-and-file Provo and the rank-and-file republican coming closer together on short-term issues outside the context of our main political differences.

Q. Going back to the elections, are you planning to put forward any specifically socialist slogans? Are you calling for nationalizations, for example?

A. Yes, the nationalization of the mines and all the big industries are the policies on which we intend to fight the elections. These are part and parcel of our social and economic program. We point out that the nationalization of these industries is the only way that the ordinary working people can get a fair return from these industries.

We also point out that the nationalization of the mines in the South would bring in a profit of something like £1,000 million on just extracting the oil in the next twenty-five years. This would provide some of the best social services in the world.

Q. Do you see the demand for the withdrawal of British troops as an important part of this election?

A. Yes, a very important part, because even the Protestant working-class organizations like the UVF [Ulster Volunteer Force, a reactionary Protestant terrorist group] and the UDA [Ulster Defence Association, a reactionary Protestant militia] are also demanding the withdrawal of the British troops from the streets and back to the barracks. And this is the immediate demand we are making too,

immediate withdrawal to the barracks pending withdrawal from the country.

We will get support from the Protestant working class, and we will give them support too. For the British army have proven over the last three or four years that they are not affected by any sectarian situation in the Six Counties, that although they have



CATHAL GOULDING

leaned a little hard on the Catholic population, they are not averse to dealing in the same way with the Protestant working classes when they step out of line.

Q. Why do you call for a phased withdrawal—back to the barracks first? Doesn't that make the demand a lot more complicated?

A. Well, the principle is "get out of the country." But there are a number of different issues involved here. For instance, there is a tremendous fear among the Catholics that as bad as the British army are, their complete withdrawal from the country would leave the Catholic population at the mercy of the leadership of the Protestant bigots.

The Protestant population fears the Catholics as well. They are afraid that if the British troops are completely withdrawn it might be a signal for the Catholics to get their own back for the last fifty years of problems.

At the same time, however, the nearer we come to the UVF and the UDA in making certain types of demands, the less this problem is going to be. And finally the problem of forcing the British to evacuate won't be such a great problem.

I think that the ordinary Catholic or Protestant working-class person's fear of the other side is something that you have to take cognizance of, and that you have to use some form of tactics to assure them that there is not any great danger from either side.

And the assurances of a few IRA and UDA leaders that the other side will not attack them once the British army are off the streets and on their way back to England is really not going to carry much weight unless there is definite proof. After the withdrawal of the troops to the barracks, we could start to develop a new police force—with the aid, I suppose, of the trade-union movement, which is the only really nonsectarian working-class movement in the Six Counties. The fears of these people could then very quickly be done away with. Then the demand for complete evacuation would not be a very hard one. It is easier to get unity on it then.

Q. Has there been a change in the general political character of the Provisionals?

A. There has, and the reason for it is the demand from the grass roots, from the younger Provisionals, for more politics, and for more radical politics. The leadership are being forced now to accept some of these demands and at least to talk about a socialist democratic republic. And this, I think, is going to be a help in a way, because the more they publicly state they are for socialism, the more they are going to have to prove it. And with their more radical younger elements pushing them, they will naturally develop to a social line similar to ours.

Q. Are there possibilities for debate and discussion with the Provisionals?

A. It may come after a while, but the only way I see it coming is through these committees I mentioned, the committees for the release of the prisoners and the committees against extradition. About a year ago we attempted to form a broad mass movement in

Ireland to fight the introduction of any more coercive legislation in the Twenty-six Counties. They jumped the gun and founded their own civil-rights movement—the Irish Civil Rights Movement. These committees are now completely isolated and have no membership except Provisionals. For the last six months or so they have been desperate to have other people come on their platforms to speak against repressive legislation. So while they once wanted to control the whole thing themselves, they have now even put out feelers to try to get us involved with them. But we have no intention of doing so, for the simple reason that we believe the death of that civil-rights movement is the best thing that could happen to civil rights in Ireland. It would leave the way open for the type of civil-rights movement that we intended in the beginning, one completely composed of people representing mass organizations, a movement not unduly influenced by either us or them. I think that if there is any development toward the type of discussion you talked about, it would be through these organizations that are there for a specific purpose, like the prisoners or extradition committees.

Q. Would you be in favor of having your paper try to draw the Provisionals into debate on general questions?

A. We have not been very successful at this, and have to a great extent antagonized the Provisionals rather than converted them or interested them. We have attempted to point out where they were making political mistakes, such as involving themselves in the type of terror campaign they have—say, the bombing of Protestant public houses, the sectarian assassinations, and their bombing campaign in England, which is only going to alienate the British working class from our movement and objectives. Our papers, both the *Irish People* and the *United Irishman*, have constantly criticized their policies.

However, I think there is a further development necessary. And that is an easier line in our papers in pointing out why the imperialists are making ground and why the Provisionals are losing ground. In other words, that the SDLP would never have come to political power but for the Provisional

bombing in the Six Counties. So you could safely say that the Provisionals bombed the SDLP into political power. If there had been an alternative political movement pushing the right kind of socialist politics for Ireland and organizing the people behind these ideas and getting these people to give them a mandate in Parliament, the SDLP would never have been able to fill the vacuum the old nationalist parties left. It was the continued and intense military activities that kept the republicans out of active politics and left the road clear for the SDLP.

Q. What do you think is behind the wave of bombings in England that have been attributed to the Provisionals?

A. These were not official Provisional policy. But there were certain elements who were dissatisfied with the development of the Provisionals, seeing them losing ground, and who were determined to take more desperate terrorist action. This is the beginning of the fragmentation of the Provisionals, I believe, and while they may recover and preserve some part of their organization, I think they will be forced to drastically alter their public face. In other words, they will have to put their main emphasis on organizing people, and then fighting when the people are ready to fight instead of themselves sitting in a back room and deciding that they want to have a revolution.

Q. What about the demonstration the Provisionals organized in Derry to commemorate the anniversary of Bloody Sunday? Wasn't it considerably larger than the one supported by the Civil Rights Association and your movement?

A. Many of the people who came out in the Provisional demonstration, which was a fairly big one, wouldn't want to be associated with Provisional activity, but they did want to be associated with a protest against British imperialism butchering Irish people.

However, the civil-rights movement in the Six Counties has lost a tremendous amount of support because it has not updated its policies. The burning questions of two or three years ago are not the burning questions

of today. The civil rights movement has to a great extent become irrelevant by simply making the same demands they were making two or three years ago.

Q. What kinds of demands should they be making?

A. The main question now is the prisoners in the Six Counties, extradition, the coercion. These things are affecting the people now as much as one-man-one-vote and equality in housing did two and three years ago. So while the civil-rights movement is not irrelevant in itself, its policies have become irrelevant. Its demands have to be overhauled and concentrated on internment and other situations that are now more relevant in the Six Counties.

The tactics are right. The idea of a mass organization of protesting people is right, but there has to be some immediate and pressing thing to mobilize support on.

Q. Do you think that one reason the Civil Rights Association has not been able to reorient itself is the fact that nearly all the prisoners are Catholics and the leadership is convinced that it cannot appear to be pro-Fenian [nationalists]?

A. At the present moment you have Protestant prisoners as well as Catholic prisoners. So the civil-rights movement now has to try to gain the support of both Protestants and Catholics.

Q. What would you say is the main question facing your organization now?

A. One of the main questions facing us now in politics is the building of a revolutionary party. Our movement has kind of progressed from a sort of national freedom movement that was simply concerned with getting rid of the foreigner who was ruling our country. But it is coming to the realization now that it will not only have to establish Irishmen in control but will have to have some kind of politics to present to these Irishmen who are going to be in control. Our party has been successful, to a great extent, in getting these ideas accepted. We have to go further now and establish a party that will be able to

preach real socialism and set up real socialist objectives for the people to meet, and be able to lead the people in the direction of these policies.

I think our future is to take a long look at our own organization and update our policies and attitudes toward

the mass movement organizations—the tenants unions, the trade unions—and not be leading people on lunatic campaigns. I think the old saying of Connolly is still appropriate: It is not the size of your march but its direction that counts. □

placed twenty-nine questions before the House of Commons inquiring about the activities of the PSPAG.

Nielsen's questions implied, among other things, that the PSPAG had been involved, at least indirectly, in investigations of radicals on universities, trade-union militants, and even opposition MPs. He alleged that the agency had suggested a scheme whereby all the telephones in Ottawa could be kept under surveillance.

In his reply, the prime minister used the words: "It is not considered in the public interest for reasons of national security to disclose . . ." or words similar, eighteen times.

As Nielsen commented: "My questions have been answered by non-answers."

The work of the political police is supplemented by the "anti-subversive squads" operating through provincial and major municipal police forces, and by the score of private police agencies—company police and agencies operating as free-lance scab-herders and agents provocateurs in strike situations.

Last April, NCP [New Democratic party—the Canadian labor party] MP Ed Broadbent revealed in the House of Commons that H.C. Draper, assistant RCMP commissioner, and Robert Bourne, head of the PSPAG, addressed a meeting of the Canadian Society for Industrial Security on the topic "The threat from subversive elements." The discussion at this businessmen's gathering centered, according to Broadbent, on "subversion" within the Canadian labor movement.

Broadbent was prohibited from attending the meeting and his request for copies of the speech was denied. On grounds—what else?—of "national security."

The January 9 CBC documentary "The Fifth Estate" revealed the existence of yet another secret spying agency, disguised as the Communications Branch of the National Research Council (CBNRC), established in 1940.

The CBNRC, it was revealed, secretly monitors radio communications between foreign embassies in Ottawa and their respective governments, as well as broadcasts emanating from polar regions of the Soviet Union, and parts of Europe.

Through the secret UKUSA [United Kingdom-U.S.A.] Treaty, the program explained, the world is divided into various regions for the monitoring

Cooperate With CIA in Indochina, Arab East

How Canada's Secret Police Operate

By Ray Warden

[The following article is reprinted from the March 4 issue of *Labor Challenge*, a revolutionary-socialist fortnightly published in Toronto.]

* * *

A flurry of scandal, then almost complete silence. That was the reaction of Canada's highly monopolized media to the revelations contained in the CBC's [Canadian Broadcasting Corporation] hour-long January 9 television expose, "The Fifth Estate—The Espionage Establishment."

That the kept press hushed up the story comes as no surprise. After all, Canada's "national security" was at stake: "national security" being the euphemism for the domestic and international intrigue engaged in by Canada's ruling class.

"Participation in this program," the CBC informed its viewers, "was restricted by the Official Secrets Act."

"I don't want to comment on questions of security," Prime Minister Trudeau told reporters after the show. "It's much too delicate. The danger is that you will drag out confidences from me and I'll say things that I'll regret."

In the name of "security," Canadian governments have erected an extensive and well-funded network of agencies dedicated to providing intelligence on those movements which capitalism sees as a threat to its interests, whether at home or abroad.

Canada's secret political police, the Security and Intelligence (S and I) branch of the RCMP [Royal Canadian Mounted Police], is assigned the task of collecting and analyzing data on the activities of all the movements for social change. Through wiretaps,

electronic surveillance, and the use of undercover agents, S and I spies on and harasses student activists, trade-union militants, American draft resisters in Canada, radical professors, Québec independentists, immigrants, and socialist organizations. S and I photographers can be seen casually snapping pictures on the edge of nearly any demonstration, adding to the RCMP's exhaustive photo file of "subversives."

The RCMP maintains close relations with other police forces throughout the capitalist world. Its commissioner, William Higgitt, is the current head of the international police organization, Interpol, and has access to all its secret files.

The Police and Security Planning and Analysis Group (PSPAG), set up by the government in the wake of the October 1970 "War Measures Crisis" in Québec, has unlimited access to the facilities of the RCMP and intelligence agencies operating through the armed forces, the Department of National Defense, and the External Affairs Department. With a \$200,000 budget, the PSPAG collates and analyzes the material collected by other agencies and reports directly to Solicitor General Warren Allmand and the cabinet Committee on Security.

The PSPAG plays a central coordinating role among Canadian intelligence agencies. "If there's going to be a demonstration," says its head, Robert Bourne, "we make sure that all the people who should know, do know."

The same Watergate tactics employed against radical movements by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) in the United States are the stock in trade of Canada's political police. Last April, Conservative MP Erik Nielsen

of radio communications by spy agencies in Canada, the U.S.A., Britain, and Australia. With a budget estimated in excess of \$5 million, and some 300 employees on its payroll, the CBNRC works hand in hand with its American counterpart, the National Security Agency (NSA), and with the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA).

The CIA, notorious for its staging of governmental coups, assassinations, and counterrevolutionary activities throughout the colonial world, operates under diplomatic cover in Canada through the American Embassy in Ottawa. It works in close collaboration with Canada's spying agencies.

John D. Marks, former staff assistant to the director of intelligence and research in the U.S. State Department, told CBC's viewers: "Canada has been, I guess you would say, gracious in permitting American intelligence to build facilities and place machinery on Canadian soil," particularly equipment for eavesdropping on Soviet radio communications.

According to Victor L. Marchetti, who formerly occupied various positions in the CIA bureaucracy, "about once a week a truck loaded with material, classified material, would drive up to Canada giving them [Canadian intelligence] the benefit of much of our collection and analysis on mutual adversaries throughout the world."

When the United States broke off diplomatic relations with the Castro government in 1960, CIA agents working under diplomatic cover in the American Embassy in Havana left Cuba. Their spying mission, according to the CBC documentary, was taken over by the Canadians and British, who reported to the American government and the CIA. The question might be raised: What role did Canadian intelligence play, for example, in the CIA-sponsored Bay of Pigs invasion in 1961?

During the 1967 Arab-Israeli war, according to a former NSA intelligence officer interviewed on the program, Canadian monitoring stations in Europe and the Mediterranean transmitted information to U.S. intelligence agencies. The same information, it may be assumed, was relayed to Israel as a Canadian contribution to their war effort. Do Canadian "peace keeping" forces in the Middle East today act as spies for Israel?

The program corroborated once again the espionage conducted by Canadian members of the supposedly neutral International Control Commission in Vietnam on behalf of Washington's genocidal war.

The CBC documentary also gave viewers some insight into the methods of Canada's CIA partner in its international, clandestine war against "communism." The program touched on the role of the CIA in toppling the Allende regime in Chile last September, its financing of mercenaries in the Congo leading to the downfall of Patrice Lumumba in 1960, its sponsoring of the 1953 coup that returned the shah of Iran to his throne, as well as the activities of the CIA in the Dominican Republic, Nicaragua, and Greece.

The program documented the campaign of assassination and torture conducted by the CIA through its "Phoenix program" in Vietnam.

Among other CIA tactics the program revealed was the agency's channelling of funds to organizations of the "democratic left." According to former agency officials interviewed on the program, the CIA participated in the funding of "non-Communist" unions in France and Italy, and gave money to the AFL-CIO [American Federation of Labor—Congress of Industrial Organizations] in the United States. One former CIA official related his delivering of a satchel containing \$75,000 to former United Auto Workers President Walter Reuther.

Similarly, the CIA made contributions to the treasury of the German Social Democratic party through its leader, Chancellor Willy Brandt. The agency did the same "for many similar politicians in Italy and France."

The program did not review, unfortunately, CIA penetration of the "democratic left" in Canada, such as the 1967 revelation that the Canadian Union of Students (CUS) had received funds from a CIA-sponsored foundation.

At that time, CUS abruptly cut off relations with the CIA front, and demanded that the Canadian government protest CIA activity in Canada. The Pearson government pleaded ignorance of the activities of its CIA partner.

Has the CIA secretly channelled funds into other organizations of the

"democratic left" in Canada? Into, say, the NDP or the trade-union movement through the use of some "respectable" front?

The failure of the NDP leaders to wage a consistent fight against government spying operations is a scandal which the ranks of labor will not soon forget. Former CCF [Cooperative Commonwealth Federation], leader and NDP "elder statesman" M.J. Coldwell served as one of the commissioners on the 1969 Royal Commission on Security. He participated in the drafting of a report which recommended that the government authorities be empowered to open private letters, tap phones, and use electronic snooping devices. In fact, the report laid the basis for the founding of the Police and Security Planning and Analysis Group.

T.C. Douglas, then leader of the NDP, endorsed the framework of the report. When it was tabled in Parliament, he took the opportunity to congratulate the RCMP for its "very excellent service."

The CBC documentary "The Fifth Estate," gave us only a glimpse of the espionage conducted by Canadian spying agencies at home and abroad. The extent of the Canadian "espionage establishment," the depth of its involvement in international banditry alongside the CIA, remains uncovered.

Canadian working people must fight for the dismantling of the "espionage establishment," the entire network of spying operations, from S and I to the PSPAG to the CBNRC. The trade-union movement and the NDP must demand that the records of these agencies be opened, that the whole sordid truth about Canadian espionage be revealed. □

Warning: Religion Is Dangerous to Your Health

We've always suspected that religion is dangerous to mental health, but it now appears it may involve even greater physical dangers.

The Sydney, Australia, *Morning Herald* reports that "a case of poisoning in an 18-year-old girl has been attributed by a Sydney doctor to her handling rosary beads and kissing the crucifix on the rosary."

The paper went on to quote the doctor as suggesting "that lead in rosaries might be a cause of anemia in nuns and other Roman Catholics."

Ethiopian Troops Raise New Demands

Twenty-five officers who participated in the military mutiny in late February and early March were arrested by the regime on March 24, touching off a second rebellion by units of the Ethiopian armed forces.

The same day paratroop units loyal to Haile Selassie and the new cabinet of Premier Endalkachew Makonnen surrounded the air force headquarters at Debre Zeit to prevent dissident troops there from taking any direct action against the government.

On March 26, dissident troops in Asmara, the capital of Eritrea, threatened to take action against the regime because it was moving too slowly in meeting their demands. They then took over the city, Ethiopia's second-largest.

The Asmara dissidents, who now called themselves the Eritrean Armed Forces, set up roadblocks around the city and closed down the airport. They broadcast a set of demands over the Asmara radio that included military trials for top military and civilian officials suspected of corruption, an end to the blockade of dissident units at Debre Zeit, civil court reforms, an end to "spreading lies among the armed forces," and assurances that no reprisals would be taken against leaders of the first mutiny.

Other points raised in broadcasts and leaflets from Asmara included the demand that the new premier also be tried on charges of corruption. Some of the leaflets also called for the legalization of the Eritrean Liberation Front, one of the organizations that has been fighting for the independence of Eritrea for more than a decade. This was the first indication of the attitude of the dissident troops toward the Eritrean liberation struggle.

Meanwhile, at the naval base of Mas-sawa, also in Eritrea, a "deteriorating situation" was reported, the sailors refusing to obey their officers and going about in civilian dress, according to the March 27 *Le Monde*.

Emperor Haile Selassie partially yielded to the demands for investigations when he ordered on March 25 that an inquiry be launched into the activities of former and present government officials. On March 28 a govern-

ment broadcast announced that two army officers and six civilians had been appointed to bring "to court those officials found lacking in integrity."

While there appear to be differences within the armed forces about trying members of the new regime, the entire military seems to support prosecution of officials of the ousted cabinet for "the genocide caused by the famine in Ethiopia."

According to the March 29 *New York Times*, one "diplomatic source" said: "Every time someone makes demands, the Government just capit-

lates and it makes you wonder who's ruling this country. There's less overall control than ever before."

On March 28 the troops in Asmara returned to their garrisons, but the atmosphere remained tense as the troops loyal to the government still surrounded the dissident troops at Debre Zeit. Another diplomat quoted in a March 28 Associated Press dispatch said: "It's unusually calm. I think most people are simply sitting tight and trying to find out who's really ruling this country."

Another source added: "There is no question the military realize they can take over the country if they want to. Dissident enlisted men are calling the shots at most military bases. But there's no unity. It's a potentially explosive situation." □

Marines Waiting Offshore

U.S. 'Advisers' in Cambodia Fighting

"United States Marines have taken up positions off the coast of Cambodia," reported the March 25 *Far Eastern Economic Review*. "A total of 1,200 men of the 2nd Battalion of the 4th Marine Regiment, plus supporting units, are waiting offshore on ships of the US Seventh Fleet. The Marines arrived under a shroud of secrecy from Subic Bay in the Philippines two weeks ago. If necessary, the troops are understood to have orders to enter the country in a show of force, probably to protect American civilians."

A front-page report in the March 13 *Washington Post* revealed that U. S. military "advisers" are already actively aiding the Phnom Penh regime's efforts to hold back the liberation forces. In a dispatch from Kampot, a government garrison under siege by the insurgents, *Post* correspondent Elizabeth Becker wrote that U. S. Major Lawrence W. On-decker, who is registered with the U. S. Embassy in Phnom Penh as a defense attaché, had directed government troops during a mortar attack.

The U. S. Congress, in passing the Cooper-Church Amendment to a State Department appropriations bill in 1972, barred all U. S. military per-

sonnel from functioning in a combat advisory role in Indochina.

"While junior Cambodia officers say Americans advise in the field around Phnom Penh," wrote Becker, "it has never been confirmed. In Kampot, however, it is difficult to hide. On-decker was in and out of the command post, openly recommending military maneuvers." In reply to a later denial by On-decker, Becker said, according to the March 25 *Far Eastern Economic Review*: "On-decker himself provided me with some of the material after [I warned] him that any unsolicited material could be printed. He told me that he had contacted the US Embassy in Phnom Penh to demand helicopter gunships for the Kampot garrison."

Lieutenant Colonel Choey Yeun, an officer attached to the Kampot command post, told Becker that On-decker "was loaned to us from the 3d Infantry Brigade. He is attached to the third and normally works in the field with them, but he is needed here."

The *Review* noted that On-decker was one of twenty-six "defense attachés" whose official jobs are to "oversee the proper distribution and utilisation of military equipment given by the US

Government as well as to gather information on military developments."

The publication of Becker's story immediately touched off a flurry of activity in Congress. Forty-one senators endorsed a letter by Senator Alan Cranston calling for an investigation by the Senate Armed Services Committee, and Senator Frank Church, a coauthor of the bill prohibiting the use of military advisers in Indochina, sent a letter to Secretary of State Henry Kissinger stating that if the *Post* article was correct, then "this is a direct violation of the laws of the land."



LON NOL: "Heroic defense" with the help of \$570 million, "advisers," and maybe the U.S. marines.

As recently as January 28 President Nixon sent a letter to Cambodian President Lon Nol assuring him of Washington's continued support. "The United States," Nixon wrote, "remains fully determined to provide maximum possible assistance to your heroic self-defense and will continue to stand side by side with the republic in the future as in the past."

Washington's military aid to Phnom Penh for the fiscal year ending in June will be \$325 million, including a supplement of \$200 million recently approved by Congress. In addition, Washington is providing Lon Nol with \$170 million in "food grants" and \$75 million in other "economic aid." □

April 8, 1974

DOCUMENTS

'We Are All Salvador Puig Antich'

[The following statement was issued March 4 by the United Political Bureau of the Liga Comunista Revolucionaria/Euzkadi ta Azkatasuna-VI (Revolutionary Communist League/Basque Nation and Freedom-VI), a Spanish sympathizing organization of the Fourth International. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

The morning of March 2, 1974, the dictatorship garroted to death Salvador Puig Antich, a revolutionary militant of the Iberian Liberation Front. This latest name to go down on the rolls of victims of the bloody thirty-five-year history of Franco's repression is no longer simply the name of a murdered comrade; it belongs to all revolutionaries, all workers, to the entire Spanish people. *We are all Salvador Puig Antich!* And this name is no longer just a name. It is a clear and definitive indictment of the dictatorship's criminal nature; it is a new cause for unrelenting struggle to overthrow the Francoist regime. *It is a weapon in the fight to build a revolutionary general strike!*

The millions of men and women who will fight on this soil to totally obliterate Francoism without leaving even the slightest vestige will unquestionably carry these three words, *Salvador Puig Antich*, inscribed on their memories, hearts, and banners as homage to his life and death, and as a battle cry hurled against his executioners.

Today, in both sadness and rage, we place the name of our most recently murdered comrade alongside those of Julián Grimau, a Communist party militant, and Granados and Delgado, anarchist militants murdered in 1963; alongside the names of workers murdered when they fought at Erandio, Eibar, Granada, Madrid, Ferrol, San Adrián del Bésos: Murrueta and Fernández, Pérez Jáuregui, Patiño, Ruiz Villalba, Niebla and Amador Rey, Manuel Fernández and others; alongside that of Enrique Ruano, murdered in Madrid in 1969; along-

side those of the Basque nationalist militants machine-gunned by the police and the Guardia Civil: Etxebarrieta, Goicoechea, Murguia, Mugica, Aranguren, Mendizábal, Arteche, and others; alongside those of all the victims of Francoist terrorism, of all our dead, the heroic originators of our struggle. The name of each of these comrades is etched in our memories. *We must not let the criminal hand of the dictatorship strike with impunity. We must take up the fight immediately, with our determination reinforced by Salvador Puig Antich's exemplary commitment, courage, and revolutionary dignity.* In this, our resolution is also redoubled by our awareness and clear understanding of the political reasons that enabled the dictatorship to take the life of a comrade, a vanguard fighter, who defended the cause of the working class with arms in hand.

A Government of Executioners

Stop these pretenses! If anybody needed proof that the demagogic promises of an "opening" by the Arias Navarro regime—a regime headed by the No. 1 cop in the kingdom—could not offer the slightest ray of hope of the Spanish workers winning their demands and basic rights, *they have it now.*

The new government, a regime patched together hastily by the dictatorship following the execution of Carrero, has been compelled to make some quick alterations in the carefully prepared mechanisms of "Operation Succession." It was, and still is, absolutely necessary for the government to install a few "shock absorbers" to reduce the tensions between the various political factions of the bourgeoisie, to institute a few rules of the game granting them an arena where they can voice their points of view and participate directly in the government. In short, a system that brings about a greater harmony and cohesion on the part of the bourgeoisie as a whole as it confronts the mass movement at the

critical moment of the dictator's passing.

The absolute necessity of this is attested by the fact that the new government is not headed by a man whose authority is recognized by all the bourgeois groupings, by someone like Carrero, who held all the reins of the army and the state apparatus in his hands. Instead, it is headed by Arias Navarro, a cop and a technician of repression who is incapable of assuming even the slightest part of Franco's "charisma."

The "opening" is no more nor less than this: The door is being opened just wide enough to let the political representatives of big capital slip in. Not a millimeter more.

The only door that has been opened for the workers and people of Spain is the door to high cost of living, super-exploitation, and repression. For the mass movement and its vanguard, the "openings" lead only to the police station, prison, or the execution chamber. The Arias regime is responsible for the highest level of repression in many years; there can be no doubt that it plans to push further along the same path.

The "opening" rests upon two pillars. The first is constituted by the more than 200 revolutionary militants of various organizations (ETA-V, MCE, OMLE, USO, FRAP, PCE, CC OO, LC, LCR/ETA-VI, etc.)* arrested over the last few months; by the enormous budgetary increases allotted to the repressive forces; by the laws passed in the Cortés a few weeks ago, laws aimed at aiding the police in carrying out their crimes and torture with impunity; by police occupation of towns and cities; by the systematic registration of "manhunts" in Euzkadi; by the arrests and trials of militant workers, students, peasants, and others. And to cap everything, there is a fact whose significance transcends its mere anecdotal interest: the amnesty granted by the dictatorship—"at the request of the government"—to a member of the

Guardia Civil who had been condemned to death for killing a superior. This came at the same time that the government approved the "legal" murder of Salvador Puig.

It is not adequate to say that the new regime is continuing the ferocious repression of its predecessors. *It has to be said that the Arias government has quantitatively and qualitatively heightened the repression.*

Likewise it must be pointed out—and this is the second pillar on which the "opening" rests—that the Arias regime is the main driving force behind an especially cynical offensive of immense proportions against the standard of living of the masses. Although it is less than two months since the decree freezing prices and wages took effect, prices have been officially increased twice by a high percentage, while wages have remained practically frozen, with ridiculously low increases. In order to maintain this pressure, there has been a step-up of repression by the bosses (massive layoffs at Standard and in many factories in Pamplona and Catalonia . . .).

Moreover, these attacks are not limited to the working class. A "selectivity" decree has just hit the students. Doctors' working conditions are likewise threatened. The peasants have seen more directly in the "milk war" than in the earlier "pimento war" the miserable future the regime holds in store for them.

This is the real program of the executioners of Salvador Puig Antich, regardless of what they say in official speeches before the Cortés.

Could We Have Saved Salvador Puig's Life?

In the context of this program, the murder of a revolutionist is perfectly consistent and logical. Equally consistent and logical was the death penalty that threatened Izco and his comrades at the time of Burgos. As long as the dictatorship continues to exist, *saving the life of a revolutionary in this country requires disrupting the logic of the bourgeoisie and stopping it from accomplishing its aims, which are always of a criminal nature.* Our experience has shown us that there is only one way to halt and smash their projects: *mass action by the entire workers movement in defense of the life of the threatened comrade.* If Bur-

gos was a positive demonstration of the truth of this assertion, the murder of Salvador Puig has just proved it in the negative.

On this occasion, official and semi-official appeals for clemency were not lacking; nor was there any lack of telegrams to the dictator and his closest lackeys, or of the "good offices" of well-known figures from democratic circles and foreign governments. *What was lacking, however, was struggle in the streets by thousands and tens of thousands of workers, students, and the popular masses—at once sustained by, and inspiring, international solidarity for the liberation of Salvador Puig.*

It is true that magnificent actions of international solidarity took place in various European cities and that there were mobilizations in some cities in Spain. But this was only a small part of what was needed and, above all, of what was possible.

Following the clear and grave defeat represented by the sentences handed down in the 1,001 case—and despite the confusion, the silence, and even the most shameless opportunism with which the vast majority of the vanguard organizations responded to the execution of Carrero—it is clear that the militancy of the movement remains intact.

Since December 20 there have been struggles by workers, students, professionals, and peasants throughout Spain. These struggles, which have taken an extremely advanced form, have made wide use of methods of direct action. Here and there opportunities have arisen for waging struggles of broad scope—not merely local general strikes but struggles capable of developing on a countrywide basis throughout the Spanish state, capable of producing a new Burgos. However, these opportunities have been systematically wasted because of weakness, vacillations, or sectarianism on the part of the revolutionary organizations.

Any one of these struggles shows that there was no lack of the essential factor for any revolutionary victory: *a will to fight on the part of the proletariat and the people.* But they make still more apparent the weakness, hesitations, and sectarianism of the van-

*Ten prisoners given long sentences in December because of their activities in the workers commissions. —IP

*FRAP (Frente Revolucionario Antifascista y Patriota—Antifascist and Patriotic Revolutionary Front); PCE (Partido Comunista Espana—Spanish Communist party); CC OO (comisiones obreras—workers commissions, which are illegal unions); LC (Liga Comunista—Communist League, a Spanish sympathizing organization of the Fourth International).

guard, which have made it incapable of leading the workers at Standard, Astilleros, Hunosa, and Indecasa to victory. These shortcomings operated with all the more force in preventing the vanguard from impelling and leading a movement that could have saved Salvador Puig's life. We have to admit that this life was torn from our hands because we were incapable of holding on to it with sufficient strength. *We must never forget the bitter, tragic lesson the class struggle taught us March 2, 1974.*

The Present Struggle

We find ourselves at an extremely serious conjuncture. Spanish capitalism is trying to keep its economic and political crisis from deepening by a combination of demagoguery about "participation" (which means participation for capitalists) with a head-on attack against the conditions of life, work, and study of the Spanish workers and people.

Repression against the vanguard of the movement is the keystone of this dual policy. The repression is aimed at preventing a more favorable relationship of forces for revolutionaries from developing in the comisiones obreras by striking systematically and brutally at the workers and revolution-

ary organizations, and by repressing the mass movement itself whenever it takes up the weapon of direct action (Standard!).

Both the 1,001 case and the murder of Salvador Puig represent partial victories for the dictatorship and will encourage it to pursue this ultrarepressive line. Unless we respond with the necessary speed and vigor, an accumulation of such partial victories could result in a serious demoralization of the masses. In that case we would face the danger of a grave defeat. *The revolutionary counteroffensive must be launched immediately.*

And to accomplish this it is necessary, today more than ever, to create a united front of all the organizations of the workers and popular movement against the repression. This front must put itself above the existing strategic and tactical differences. Its only necessary condition is the refusal to admit the bourgeoisie or any of its political representatives. A front built on such a basis could assure a united response by the entire workers movement to each act of repression by the dictatorship.

Today more than ever it is necessary to move forward along the path of direct mass action, the path of independent organization and self-defense of the movement in the struggle for its

demands at work, for democratic rights, for freedom for all political prisoners, and for the dissolution of the special repressive bodies and tribunals. This is the only way to forge the political and organizational weapons for the revolutionary general strike.

Today more than ever we must show the dictatorship that its crimes will not force us to retreat in our struggle, even if it raises these crimes to a new and higher level. We must show through our struggle that Salvador Puig has not died in vain, that his example has encouraged thousands of new revolutionary militants who repeat, and will continue to repeat, his name as a battle cry until they deafen his executioners. We must demonstrate that we have learned our lesson and that we will tolerate no further crimes, just as we will never forget any crimes.

Forward on the path that is being opened up today by the struggles of thousands of workers and students in Barcelona, Euzkadi, Saragossa, Madrid, Valencia, and by solidarity actions in Europe protesting the barbarous murder of Salvador Puig.

We are all Salvador Puig Antich!

For a united front against Francoist terrorism!

Down with the murderous dictatorship! □

Argentine PRT's Position on Fourth International

[The witch-hunters in the United States have not delayed long in trying to exploit the sensationalism surrounding the Symbionese Liberation Army kidnapping of Patricia Hearst. In a syndicated column that appeared in *Chicago Today* on March 22 and in many other papers across the United States around the same time, Victor Riesel, an old finger man for the congressional "investigating committees," tried to link the Trotskyist movement to terrorism in general.

[For this purpose, Riesel dragged in the Argentine Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores/Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo (Revolutionary Workers Party/People's Revolutionary Army) led by Roberto Santucho. First coming to prominence as the leader of a radical student group in the interior province of Tucumán,

Santucho moved for a time in the direction of revolutionary Marxism, and his group fused with the Argentine Trotskyist movement. Later, under the influence of the protagonists of guerrilla war, particularly Che Guevara, he changed his course, turning more and more in the direction of terrorism. This led him to a complete break with the world Trotskyist movement.

[Riesel, as can be judged from the text of his column reprinted on page 432, does his best to utilize Santucho to smear the Fourth International and the Socialist Workers party. Santucho's own declaration breaking from the Fourth International, in which he also denounced the Socialist Workers party, should be sufficient to expose the falseness of Riesel's allegations. The full text appears below in English for the

first time. It is taken from the issue of *El Combatiente*, the newspaper of the PRT-ERP, dated the last half of July 1973.

[It should be added that Riesel, who calls Santucho a "bandit," is apparently unaware of the fact that public sympathy in Latin America is on the side of heroic youths like Santucho who have fought, even with the most mistaken methods, against the U.S.-backed repressive regimes in Argentina.

[This sympathy, like the appearance itself of guerrilla or terrorist groups, is a sign of the deepening unrest visible not only in Latin America but elsewhere in the world.

[It can be expected that formations such as the one led by Santucho will be superseded before long by powerful mass movements committed to ef-

fective means of struggle.]

* * *

In its July meeting, the Executive Committee of the Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores voted, subject to a poll taken at our Sixth Congress, to sever our connection with the Fourth International.

So that our compañero readers can get a better understanding of this important decision, we want to sum up here the main things that led to it.

The Fifth Congress of our organization, voted, among other resolutions, to continue our membership in the Fourth International, although some delegates had spoken against it. Subsequently, so that the significance of this vote would be better understood, the Central Committee assigned Compañero Miguel to draw up a memorandum summing up the views put forward by the majority in the Congress discussion. It was included in a public pamphlet containing the resolutions of the Congress.

Here are some of the key paragraphs of this memorandum:

"Our point of view is that since the Leninist experience of the Third International, the need for an international revolutionary party capable of coordinating the struggle against capitalism and imperialism on a world scale has become clearer and clearer. This need is made more urgent every day by the features of the epoch in which we live. Capitalism is solidly centralized under the aegis of Yankee imperialism. Revolutionary struggle is developing in some theaters that is international in form and content (Southeast Asia). And there is an obvious reciprocal influence among the various anti-imperialist, anticapitalist revolutionary processes that are unfolding in every country, in every region, and on every continent."

"The Trotskyist movement, it has to be made clear, includes heterogeneous sectors, from counterrevolutionary adventurers prostituting its banners for their own profit to consistent revolutionists.

". . . it must be kept clearly in mind that the Fourth International has enormous limitations and a tradition that we would hardly want to claim."

"We can sum it up by saying that the historic task of keeping Leninist internationalism alive, of preserving and developing the theory and practice

of permanent revolution, had to be assumed in conditions of absolute Stalinist dominance by small circles of intellectuals and revolutionists. Although these groupings made great efforts to root themselves in the workers vanguard and the masses, they were unable to overcome their isolation. Thus, they were prevented from proletarianizing themselves, and the Trotskyist movement took on a petty-bourgeois character. This meant that by necessity the Fourth International's contribution to the world revolutionary movement was limited to preserving essential aspects of Marxism-Leninism that had been abandoned and trampled by Stalinism. This was a not inconsiderable contribution, but far from playing any major practical revolutionary role, the Fourth International fell at various times into reformist or ultraleft positions and even served as a refuge for all sorts of counterrevolutionary adventurers, which was a result in turn of the isolation we have spoken about."

"What is more, the process of renewal and development to which we have referred, which is showing signs of strong momentum, requires a transformation of the International and its component parties into a proletarian leadership. It requires a radical change in social composition and progressive abandonment of the petty-bourgeois characteristics that are still dominant, along with full and active involvement in the various national revolutions. *The future of the Trotskyist movement depends on the ability of the International and its national parties to fully understand the need for such a transformation and to carry it out in a conscious and orderly way.*" (Our emphasis—*Combatiente.*)

So the thing to do now is to analyze whether the International and its component parties have been able to understand the need for this transformation and carry it forward. But first let us go back briefly to the history of the International.

The Emergence of the Fourth International

After his expulsion from the Soviet Union in 1929, Leon Trotsky began to extend on an international scale the opposition that he had been waging against Stalinism.

We have to grant him the merit, in the work that the great revolutionary fighter carried on, of preserving the Leninist banners of revolutionary internationalism and proletarian democracy, developing a consistent and generally correct critique of the grave errors of Stalinism that helped to abort the revolution in Europe, and striving tenaciously to build a new proletarian vanguard. But we must also point out a crucial error in this work that contributed decisively to the failure of this attempt to build a new revolutionary vanguard on the world scale.

Bound to the revolutionary traditions of Marxism in Europe, Leon Trotsky did not fully realize the meaning of Lenin's explanation that "the chain of imperialism breaks at its weakest link." And he did not draw all the consequences from his own theory of permanent revolution. He did not understand, in a nutshell, that the axis of the world revolution had shifted to the colonial and dependent countries.

He did not understand that while the revolution was stagnating and retreating in Europe, in Asia on the other hand it was still strongly on the rise, led by parties and leaders who, while formally adhering to the Stalinist Third International, were able to keep alive the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism, build solid proletarian vanguard organizations, take the lead of the oppressed masses in their countries, and lead them finally to victory over imperialist capitalism.

Several times, for example, his Chinese disciples drew his attention to Mao Tsetung's correct leadership of a revolutionary war supported by the oppressed peasant masses. But Trotsky placed all his hopes in the urban workers and had no confidence in the peasant armies led by the Chinese Communist party.

In Vietnam, there was a Trotskyist party that was relatively strong and well respected among the masses. In 1936, it participated in the elections in a united front with the Indochinese Communist party. However, shortly after that, a rupture occurred between the two parties, leading the Vietnamese Trotskyists into an open clash with the party of Ho Chi Minh at the very time it was starting guerrilla warfare.

Trotsky paid scarcely any attention to these important developments, while

devoting an inordinate amount of time to the petty disputes and problems of his European supporters, in particular the French.

"Tiny groups which cannot hitch themselves to any mass movement are quickly soured with frustration. No matter how much intelligence and vigor they possess, if they can find no practical application for these, they are bound to use up their strength in scholastic squabbling and intense personal animosities, which lead to endless splits and mutual anathemas. A certain amount of such sectarian wrangling has, of course, always marked the progress of any revolutionary movement. But what distinguishes the vital movement from the arid sect is that the former finds in time, and the latter does not, the salutary transition from the squabbling and splits to genuine political mass action." (Isaac Deutscher, *The Prophet Unarmed*, Oxford University Press, New York-Toronto, 1963, p. 58.)

"Similar dissensions, in which it is well-nigh impossible to disentangle the personal from the political, became a chronic distemper of most, if not all, Trotskyist groups; the French example was infectious if only because Paris was now the centre of international Trotskyism." (Ibid., pp. 59-60.)

Trotsky's principal biographer thus reflected with complete accuracy the characteristics of the Trotskyist movement in the period of its emergence, characteristics that were to constitute an endemic malady within it. What Deutscher failed to point out, although it clearly follows from what he says, is the class origin of these characteristics. They are a crystal-clear expression of the petty-bourgeois individuality typical of revolutionary intellectuals who have not been proletarianized through the development of the party. For this reason, as Deutscher correctly notes, we find such characteristics in the beginning of every revolutionary movement, when intellectuals make up most or all of the membership.

But when vanguard workers come into its ranks, putting their class stamp on it, the organization and its nonworker components become proletarianized and the "salutary transition . . . to political mass action" occurs.

The Trotskyist movement was unable to achieve such a transition for the reasons already noted. While Trot-

sky concentrated his efforts on Europe and while "such trifles exhausted a large part of his time and his nerves," in China, in Vietnam, in Korea, the masses were fighting resolutely against imperialism, forging their proletarian organizations in war. How much more fruitful a contribution Trotsky could have made here, offering his invaluable experience accumulated in years of revolutionary activity, tempered in the October revolution and the civil war!

Thus, crushed by the triple weight of the ebb in the mass struggle in Europe, Stalinist persecution, and its own errors, the Trotskyist movement continued developing in isolation from the real practice of the class struggle.

And it was in these circumstances precisely that the Fourth International, founded in 1938, arose. Let's yield Deutscher the floor once again:

"Throughout the summer of 1938 Trotsky was busy preparing the 'Draft Programme' and resolutions for the 'foundation congress' of the International. In fact this was a small conference of Trotskyists, held at the home of Alfred Rosmer at Perigny, a village near Paris, on 3 September 1938. Twenty-one delegates were present, claiming to represent the organizations of eleven countries." (Ibid., p. 419.)

"Naville delivered the 'progress report', which was to justify the organizers' decision to proclaim the foundation of the Fourth International. Unwittingly, however, he revealed that the International was little more than a fiction: none of its so-called Executives and International Bureaus had been able to work in the past few years. The 'sections' of the International consisted of a few dozen, or at most, a few hundred members each." (Ibid., p. 420.)

While Trotsky was alive, the Fourth managed to maintain a certain unity of action. After his murder on August 20, 1940, the disputes and splits became interminable and the organization fragmented.

Nonetheless, after the Twentieth Congress of the Soviet CP, in which Khrushchev himself denounced the crimes of Stalin, Trotskyism experienced a certain revival.

In our Fifth Congress, we said: "The resurgence of Trotskyism following the disgrace of Stalin in the USSR has centered in the Fourth International, of which we are members, with almost

all the adventurist and counterrevolutionary groups that claim to be Trotskyist remaining outside. The recognition of Stalin's negative features by the Communist party of the Soviet Union itself constituted a dramatic confirmation of the sound and correct bases of the Trotskyist movement. It promoted two simultaneous processes: a) the reunification of the Trotskyist movement (then quite fragmented, debilitated, and discredited), which was concretized in the Reunification Congress of 1963; b) the revitalization of the Trotskyist movement by a twofold process that involved revolutionary youth entering its ranks because of its new and more extensive prestige, and the transfer of the axis of struggle from confronting and denouncing Stalinism . . . to the problematic of revolution in our time." (The memorandum previously quoted.)

The hopes that we held at that time for the proletarianization and renewal of the Trotskyist movement have been disappointed. The clearest signs of the failure of these hopes are three: the class composition of the Fourth, the factional activity developed within our party, and the maintenance of theoretical positions that depart from Marxism-Leninism.

The Petty Bourgeoisie and Factionalism

The class composition of the Fourth can be easily gauged by the composition and political orientation of its two numerically largest parties: the Socialist Workers party (SWP) in the United States and the Ligue Communiste (LC) in France.

The SWP is a party that includes in its ranks a few thousand members of petty-bourgeois, intellectual, professional, and student origins. It has slight ties with the working class, if any, and its main activity is carried on in intellectual circles and "peripheral" movements, such as the women's liberation movement. For many years it has constituted the right wing of the International. Nor is it unworthy of note, moreover, that the strongest party in the International has developed in the world's most reactionary country, while the forces of the International are insignificant in all the colonial and dependent countries.

The LC is an organization of about

2,300 members. Some 10 percent are workers, 20 percent are white-collar workers and professionals, and 70 percent are students. Its only important intervention in the class struggle in France was in the mobilizations of 1968.

It was one section of the leadership of this party that conducted factional work against our organization from 1971 to 1972.* We will not go into this last question at length here, since we have already published an informational pamphlet on this theme.

It is sufficient to note that this factional activity culminated in the formation of the group that is now trying to appropriate the name of our party and of the Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo, to which it adds the tail "Fración Roja" [Red Faction].

What is more important to discuss here is the profound ideological differences that reflect the petty-bourgeois character of the Fourth International and constitute the background of its activities against our party, and at the same time show the impossibility of continuing to work within the framework of the Fourth to build a revolutionary proletarian international.

A. Ideological Definition

We consider that scientific socialism, the revolutionary theory of the proletariat, was developed fundamentally by Marx and Engels. To this theory Lenin made essential contributions that justify calling scientific socialism by the name Marxism-Leninism.

Mao Tsetung, Ho Chi Minh, Giap, Le Duan, Kim Il Sung, Fidel Castro,

*Article 27 of the Statutes of the Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores adopted at its Fifth Congress reads: "The pre-congress period will open six months prior to the holding of the Congress. During that period party members have the authority to organize tendencies and factions to stimulate discussion in the party and to defend their positions. Pre-congress discussion should be carried on in a constructive, serious, and proletarian manner." The Santucho PRT, since its emergence in 1968-69, has suffered repeated splits in which the groups leaving have been denounced strongly as "petty-bourgeois." They in turn have denounced the Santucho leadership for arbitrariness. In general internal political democracy and free comradely discussion seem to have been absent from this organization. — IP

and Che Guevara have made great contributions to Marxism-Leninism in the course of their experiences as revolutionary leaders in their countries, especially in the theory of revolutionary warfare and building socialism. Leon Trotsky also made valuable contributions—in particular, his theory of permanent revolution, his characterization of the bureaucracy, and his analysis of fascism. Lesser contributions can be found in the work of Antonio Gramsci and others, in the work of all those who with both successes and errors have struggled and are struggling for the victory of the socialist revolution. But none of these contributions yet justifies changing the name of the scientific theory of the working class.

This is not a mere question of names. By claiming that Trotskyism "is the Leninism of our time," the Fourth International denigrates the contributions of other revolutionists and tries to apply Trotsky's thought as a whole, refusing to recognize his errors. Thus, Trotskyists lack a correct orientation on a number of questions, in particular those having to do with armed struggle.

B. Characterization of the Vietnamese and Cuban Revolutionists

The Fourth International denies that the Cuban and Vietnamese compañeros have genuine and fully developed Marxist-Leninist parties. Our factionalists went to the extreme of characterizing their parties as "broad-based parties," on the order of the German Social Democratic party (!), while offering the Communist League in France as the model for building the party in our time. This obviously means disregarding the ABCs of Marxism, which bases every characterization on practice. And no one can hold the slightest doubt about what the Vietnamese and Cubans have done in the field of revolutionary practice.

C. Class Struggle in the Party

This is a complex and important point, in which are combined all the methods of building a genuinely proletarian organization, democratic centralism, and the party's methods of determining the truth.

Let us start with the last category. A revolutionary party, to be such, must understand the reality in which it moves. The source of this knowledge, as Marx, Lenin, and all revolutionists have taught time and time again, is practice, activity that changes the world. In the case of revolutionists, that means work designed to change the structures of society.

Practice is, in turn, guided by theory, by Marxism-Leninism, which is simply the totality of practical revolutionary experience and the elements of the scientific analysis of society that flow from this complete body of social practice.

But, in turn, the theory, Marxism-Leninism, is not an abstract method, a tool for any use as, say, musical notes that can be used indiscriminately to record the score of a tango or a samba.

Correct use of the theory depends on the "standpoint" from which it is applied. Only by taking the standpoint of the proletariat, the class whose interests are reflected by the ideology and scientific theory of revolution, can you obtain a correct result.

When questions come up in the course of revolutionary activity, different opinions naturally arise among the compañeros. These differences of opinion reflect the different experiences of each compañero. It is quite natural for a worker in Tucumán to see things differently from a worker in Córdoba, for a worker in a big factory to have a different view than one who works in a small shop, for a worker in a packinghouse to have a different view from one who works in a chemical factory.

The confrontation of these differences of opinion through a frank and full discussion without restrictions of any kind will thus enable us to arrive at a common opinion that is richer, more correct, more accurate. This is why the party is called the "collective brain" of the revolution. This is the democratic side of democratic centralism, the aspect that makes possible correct elaboration of the party line with the help of the contributions of all the compañeros.

But this is on condition that the participants really "want" to arrive at a common view, that all those who participate in the discussion do so from "a working-class standpoint," in the higher interest of advancing the revolution.

When the discussion "gets bogged down," when the differences become irreconcilable and lead to bitter clashes of a personal nature, that means that one of the parties to the debate does not really "want" to arrive at agreement. And if someone does not want to achieve agreement, it reflects a "social interest," a point of view that is "nonproletarian," that has its material base in bureaucratic or petty-bourgeois interests that have been introduced into the organization by its nonproletarian elements, or in exceptional cases by worker elements who have become declassed. In this way, these elements become a transmission belt for alien class pressures that bear on a proletarian organization, so that the class struggle in society as a whole is reflected in a class struggle within the party.

When this point is reached, the contradictions within the organization can no longer be resolved in the customary way, by discussion, self-criticism, and criticism. They must be resolved by energetic measures to liquidate these nonproletarian currents. The first step is to defeat them ideologically and politically in order to "try to save the patient by killing the disease." If these persons persist in their anti-working-class positions, they must be expelled without any hesitation, just as a tumor is cut out to save the greater healthy part of the body from infection.

It is not always easy to perceive accurately and in time when differences of opinion become a class struggle in the party. You have always to be guided by the opinion of the workers, to consult the greatest possible number of people with different viewpoints in order to get a fuller and clearer view of the reality. And the touchstone for separating out currents of opinion from factionalist tendencies is precisely the practical work of the groupings involved, their respect for both sides of democratic centralism—wide freedom of discussion in elaborating policy and rigidly centralized discipline in action.

If in the case of an unusually complex problem a minority does not have sufficient arguments to convince the majority of its positions and yet remains unpersuaded by the majority views, then the correct attitude is to accept the discipline of the organiza-

tion, to continue tenaciously carrying out the line set for the time being by the majority.

In practice, then, the *compañeros* of the minority can test the validity of the different views, and if the majority's proves correct, they can rectify their own. On the other hand, the minority's opinion may be shown in practice to be correct, as has happened at times in the history of the revolutionary movement. In that case, it is likewise in practical work carried out in a loyal way and in respect for party discipline that the minority will find the opportunity to demonstrate the correctness of its position. And, in this way, it will be able in good time to rectify the orientation.

This is possible precisely on the basis, as we have pointed out, of a common proletarian point of view, where the intent of all, majority and minority, is to serve only the interests of the revolution.

It is only when one of the parties to the debate has a social interest alien to that of the working class, a non-working-class standpoint, that differences crystallize into factionalist tendencies, party discipline and norms are violated, and class struggle is unleashed in the organization.

This is a brief summary of the Leninist position on class struggle in the party which our organization has consistently upheld in theory and practice.

The Fourth International, on the other hand, considers this position "bureaucratic" and "Stalinist"; its view is that the term "petty bourgeois" has been used as a label for persecuting *compañeros* in the party. They consequently claim the right to constitute permanent tendencies within the organization that would constantly put their different views before party "public opinion."

As these people see things, the touchstone for characterizing such currents is no longer the practical work of the organization but permanent debate, "continuous discussion of ideas," limited only by the formal submission of the minority to the majority. This was to go to the point even of public voicing of differences.

In line with this, our factionalists demanded that a condition for joining the party should be a high enough theoretical level to participate in its

permanent internal debates. In this way, they put obstacles in the way of working-class cadres joining. For while these worker *compañeros* knew perfectly well through their practical experience what their class interests were and were ready to struggle for them, they could not have any great knowledge of theory before joining the party, because of the exploitation they suffered. It was only in the ranks of the party that they could acquire such understanding.

This position of our factionalists is not Marxism or dialectical materialism but idealism, and it has clearly petty-bourgeois class roots.

Petty-bourgeois intellectuals who do not suffer exploitation directly and come to the revolutionary movement on the basis of a humanist position, impelled by ideas, have a tendency to become enamored of ideas for their own sake, to manipulate them in an abstract way in permanent discussion.

Workers, on the other hand, who experience exploitation every day, are, to be sure, interested in discussion and ideas, but in a concrete way—as a means of improving their practical work so that they can do away more quickly and effectively with the exploitation of their class and of all humanity.

D. Theoretical Elaboration

For us, as for any serious Marxist, theory in any field can arise only out of practice. Marx already pointed this out in his "Theses on Feuerbach": "The philosophers have only *interpreted* the world, in various ways; the point, however, is to *change it*." (Thesis No. 11, published as an appendix to Engels's book *Feuerbach and the End of German Classical Philosophy*.)

Revolutionary theory, therefore, can arise only out of revolutionary practice, and it can be elaborated only in the revolutionary party.

The Fourth International, on the other hand, places its stress on the analytical aspect, maintaining that theory can be known and elaborated in separation from practical work and that this precisely is the function of an international revolutionary leadership.

Of course, we also maintain that it is a revolutionary internationalist duty to familiarize ourselves with revolutions in other countries, to take positions on them, and to "intervene" in

them, exchanging experiences as well as moral and material aid, coordinating the struggle against the common enemy. But this has to be based on the practical experience of the revolution in the other country.

That is, we are in a poor position to express opinions about the Congo, for example, if there is no Congolese fraternal party on whose practical experience we could base our knowledge

and our views.

Conclusion

As we see, all the important differences pointed out have to do with crucial questions of revolutionary struggle. Moreover, they are all intimately related and have a single class origin—the petty-bourgeois character of the Fourth International and its refusal to proletarianize itself.

Taking this and all the other aspects that we have summed up here into account, our party has made the decision we mentioned at the beginning of this note.

This split does not weaken, but rather reinforces, our unshakable determination to struggle to build a new revolutionary international, contributing to this task all that is within our modest capabilities. □

Victor Riesel's Attack on Fourth International

[The following article by syndicated columnist Victor Riesel appeared in various U.S. newspapers in mid-March. An article discussing Riesel's column appears elsewhere in this issue.]

* * *

WASHINGTON—There is a new red flag furiously waving a bloody shadow over the free world. This is understatement. This isn't the traditional banner of Moscow, Mao or milk-toast intellectual socialism. It is the ensign of a new, now independently wealthy terrorist international swiftly raising its minions and millions from ransoms and bank robberies.

It is the standard of latter-day Scarlet Pimpernels with cells here, there, everywhere, but mostly in Latin America and in a handful of American cities. Its paramilitary self-styled Robin Hood is a killer, Mario Roberto Santucho, a sophisticated Argentinian in his late 20s.

Its erudite, leading intellectual exponent of world terror as a tactic of global civil war is Ernest Mandel, alias Ernest Germain, one of the world's foremost Marxists.

Sad and frustrating to say, this movement is misunderstood not only by America's semi-skilled intellectuals but by some of this nation's foremost thinkers. When Germain-Mandel attempted to enter the U.S. in 1972 his visa application was rejected. University leaders of Harvard, MIT and elsewhere fought for him. The Supreme Court turned him back. It was the so-often undervalued House Committee on Internal Security which identified Ernest Mandel for what he is—Ernest Germain, world terrorism's most influential philosophical proponent.

It is easy to trace the terrorist international. Basically it is the revived network of followers of the late Leon Trotsky (who quixotically enough once was a Bronx tailor shop worker in exile from Stalin's Russia).

* * *

Today this is the United Secretariat of the Fourth International run by Germain-Mandel in Brussels. Its American affiliate is the Socialist Workers Party, still non-violent though it has a deviation called the International Tendency which believes in terror and its grim variations. It has cells in New York and the Oakland-Berkeley area and points in between such as Bloomington, Ind., Houston, Texas, and in eight other cities.

These revolutionary cellmates look longingly to the Argentine as young violence-oriented radicals of the '20s looked to Moscow and in later years to Mao's Yenan caves. Their meccas are Buenos Aires, Cordoba and Andean hideouts.

For there are ERPs, the Peoples' Revolutionary Armies' handfuls of men who have rolled up over \$20 million cracking banks and kidnapping corporate executives. Some of these revolutionaries have executed labor leaders and military men. There are at least three ERPs but the biggest, the toughest and the deadliest is the tiny revolutionary "army" led by Santucho. The "armies"—perhaps some 200 strong—are splinters from splinters of Trotskyites. They spring from the Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (PRT). One sliver-like ERP wants part of the government action and would like to work inside the Peronist governing party. The second paramilitary band is the "Red Faction." It is loyal to the party and to Germain-Mandel's United Secretariat of the Fourth International.

The third "army" is the biggest, the most ruthless and generally believed by intelligence forces to be the kidnapping force which has Exxon's \$14 million ransom for plant manager Victor Samuelson. This is Santucho's.

* * *

He has told the Argentine Trotskyite party to go to hell. And he has told Man-

del's Secretariat to join the party in his special brand of political purgatory. He is beholden to no one but his own ERP.

Senor Santucho is a knowledgeable, sophisticated and technical revolutionist—a Leninist-type bandit. For example: the U.S. was startled to hear the Symbionese use tape recordings as a communication and communique system. Santucho is a modernist. He uses videotape. Argentine kidnapers have produced their own visual material. They are specialists. They use the newest equipment. They put their victims on trial before the camera. The victim confesses and urges the ransom. These tapes then are distributed around Latin America for broadcast. Specialists report some have been aired.

But Santucho is no loner. There is liaison. His ERP and other "armies" keep contact. Not only inside Argentina, but with the revolutionists of other Latin nations—including Cuba. They exchange warriors. They slip into Montevideo (Uruguay) to operate with the Tupamaros and into Chile to coordinate with the MIR (left revolutionaries). The MIR was the late President Allende's storm troops. They broke up rallies of other parties and beat their leaders. Today they are the underground terrorists.

They are knit by an information network streaming from the Trotskyite United Secretariat of the Fourth International in Brussels. This pours from the headquarters' secret International Information Bulletin and the international Internal Discussion Bulletin. They're dedicated to holding the world for ransom someday. Now it is the tragedy of kidnapping. Tomorrow it will be a factory or a city.

Certainly it sounds melodramatic. In the past few have listened. Many have made it impossible for the FBI and other authorities to infiltrate and keep files. Even now the FBI is being forced to disgorge its dossiers. For the moment, the free world is not equipped to cope with this tiny force whose red banner casts such a sorrowful shadow. □