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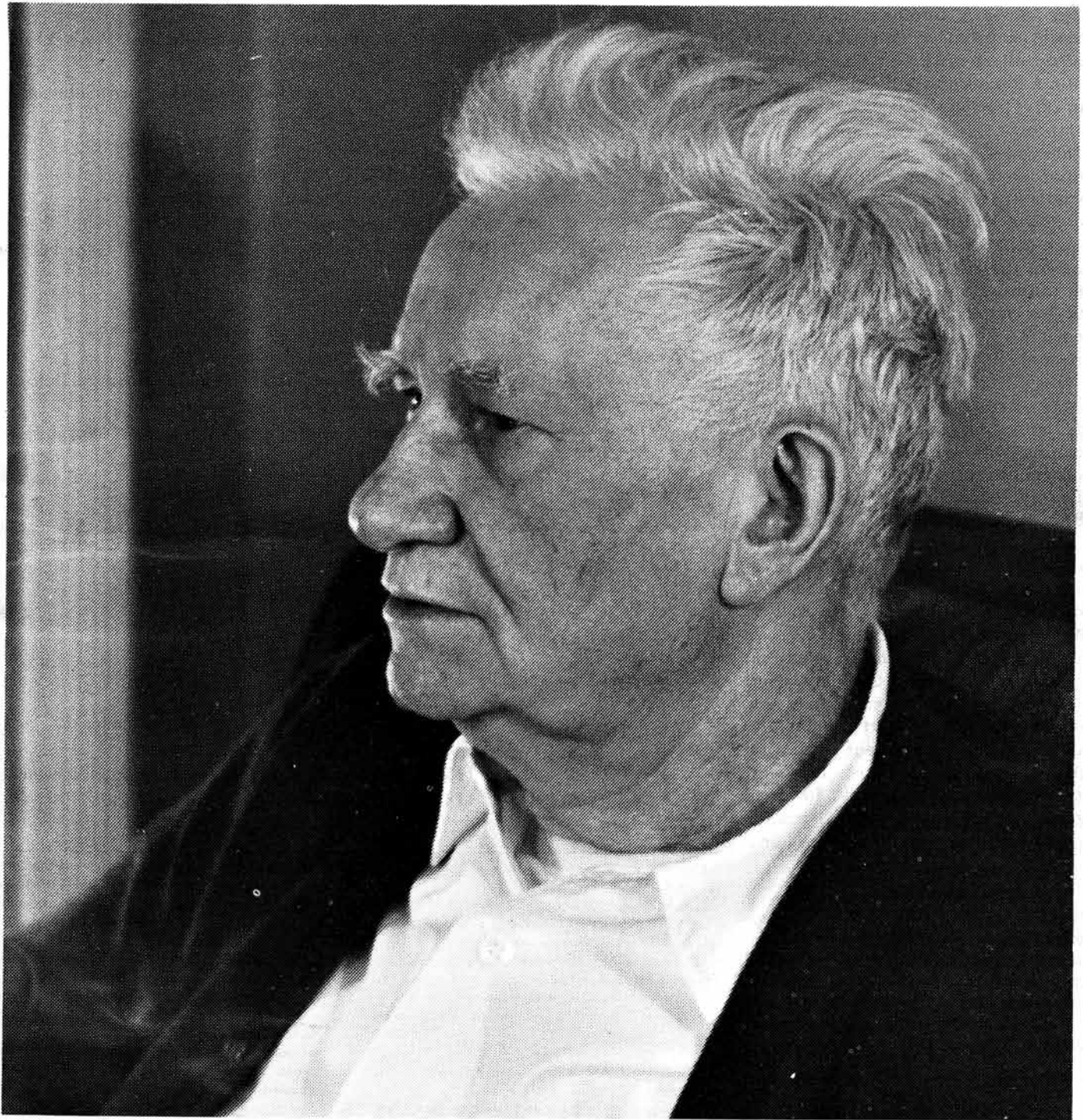
the Americas

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September 9, 1974

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JAMES P. CANNON (1890-1974)

Must Destroy File on 'Subversive'

A partial victory in the United States against political harassment was won August 29 when U. S. Federal District Judge James A. Coolahan ordered the Federal Bureau of Investigation to destroy all records pertaining to Lori Paton's connection with the Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance.

Paton, a Chester, New Jersey, high-school student, wrote a letter to the Socialist Workers party early last year requesting information for a school assignment. Because of FBI surveillance of the SWP's mail, Paton's name and address were recorded and she and her family were investigated by the FBI.

Records of the incident were placed in the FBI's "subversive" files. One of the cards bearing Paton's name was given the notation "SM-SWP," meaning "subversive matter — Socialist Workers party."

Paton filed a legal suit against the FBI for its attack on the right of citizens to obtain information from political parties, for its invasion of privacy of the mails, and for the personal harassment related to an FBI investigation.

Although Judge Coolahan ruled that the FBI must destroy the file on her, he refused to rule on the broader issues that would have set a legal precedent against government spying on citizens. His decision is, however, thought to be the first of its kind against the FBI and for this reason represents an important step forward.

New York Air-Pollution Deaths

Experts say that New York City's polluted air has killed 108,000 persons prematurely over the last ten years. The figure is based on a recent air-pollution study made by Dr. Herbert Schimmel and Dr. T.J. Marawski of the Albert Einstein College of Medicine in New York.

Summer Schedule

This is the first issue of *Intercontinental Press* following our summer break. The last issue was dated August 5.

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JAMES P. CANNON

February 11, 1890—August 21, 1974

James P. Cannon died at the age of eighty-four of a heart attack August 21 at his home in Los Angeles. By coincidence, August 21 marked the thirty-fourth anniversary of the death of Leon Trotsky.

Cannon was a founding member of the Communist party in the United States, and was a founder and leader of the world Trotskyist movement. His political life spanned sixty-six years of participation in the class struggle—from the pre-World War I socialist movement to the radicalization of the 1960s and 1970s. At the time of his death he was national chairman emeritus of the Socialist Workers party.

At the age of twenty-one, Cannon joined the Industrial Workers of the World, becoming a skilled agitator and organizer. In the example set by

Eugene V. Debs and other leading opponents of imperialist war, he refused to support the slaughter of World War I. As a member of the left wing of the Socialist party, he hailed the victory of the Russian revolution in 1917.

As a member of the American section of the Third International, he learned from the Bolsheviks what kind of party was necessary to carry the revolutionary struggle to victory—a fighting, disciplined, democratic party based on a clearcut Marxist program.

When the Stalinist bureaucracy arose in the Soviet Union, Cannon rejected its doctrine of "socialism in one country," and after his expulsion from the Communist party in 1928, founded *The Militant* with a handful of co-thinkers who became the nucleus of the future Socialist Workers party. In 1938 Cannon and others collaborated

with Trotsky in establishing the Fourth International, the World Party of the Socialist Revolution.

Together with other members of the SWP, he was sentenced to prison because of political opposition to the war aims of U.S. imperialism. Cannon emerged from prison in 1945, after serving a year and twenty days of a sixteen-month sentence, to help lead the party through the postwar upsurge and the subsequent witch-hunt of the 1950s. While many other revolutionists became discouraged and turned away from Marxism in that period, Cannon remained confident that the United States was subject to the same historical laws as other capitalist states and would one day witness the revolutionary rise of the working class.

The leadership team he helped forge

Fourth International Hails Cannon's Achievements

[The following is the message sent from the elected leadership of the Fourth International and read at the Political Tribute to Jim Cannon.]

* * *

The death of Jim Cannon is a loss not only to the revolutionary Marxist movement in the United States, but to the world struggle for socialist revolution as well. Throughout his life Cannon embodied the best American traditions of militant class struggle, and combined those traditions with the recognition of the need for constructing the instrument essential for the victory of the proletarian revolution: the Leninist party and the revolutionary international.

He was able to play a crucial role in transforming that theoretical recognition into reality, fighting

all his life to build that party in the strongest bastion of world imperialism.

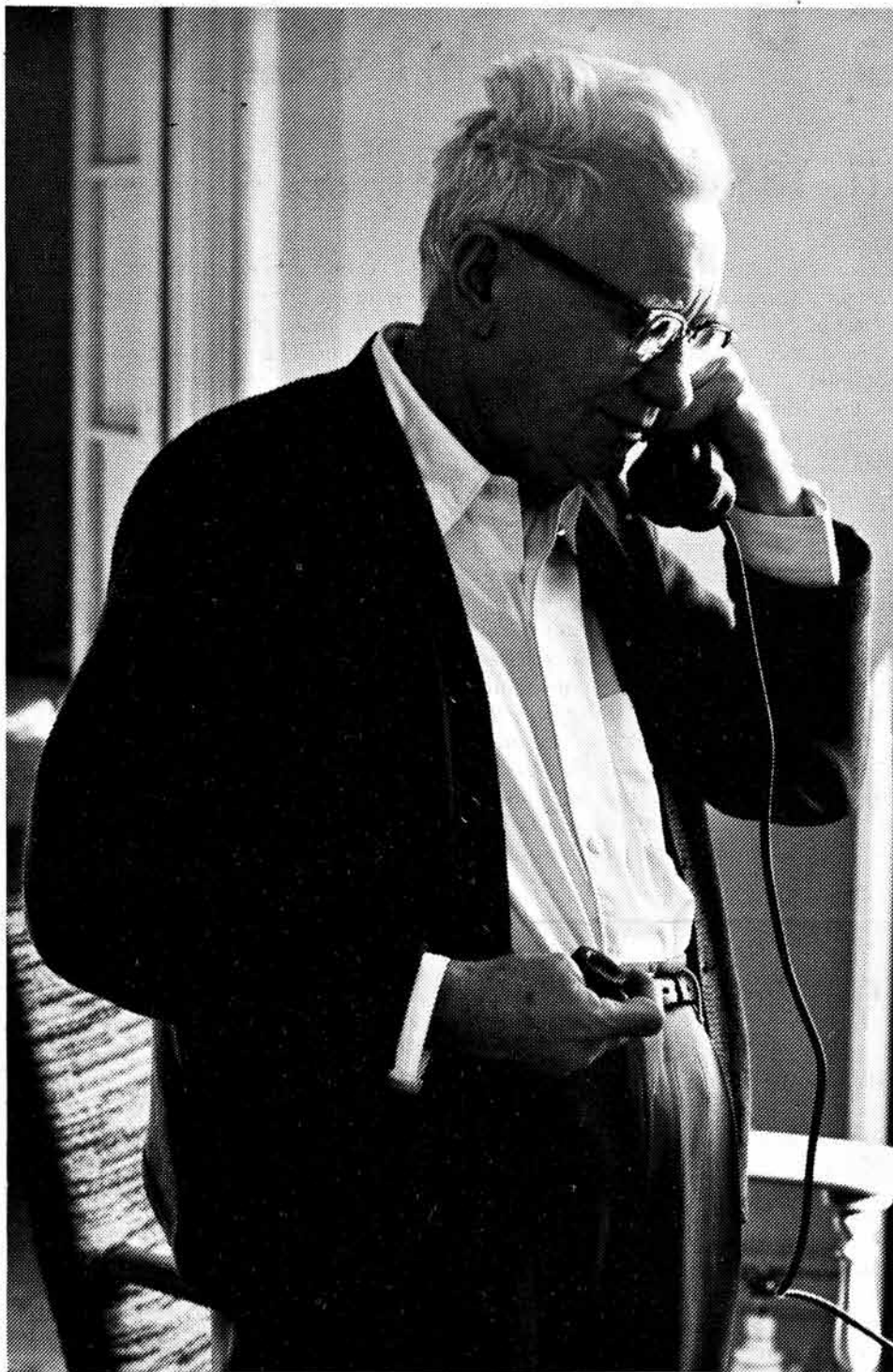
From the IWW to the Socialist Party left wing, from the original American Communist Party to the International Labor Defense and the fight to free class-struggle prisoners like Sacco and Vanzetti, from the struggle in the Communist Party in defense of the Trotskyist program of revolutionary Marxism to the fight for a new party and a new international, from the days of his intimate collaboration with Leon Trotsky and the establishment of the Socialist Workers Party to the decades of activity in building and strengthening that party—Cannon was always guided by the profound conviction that without revolutionary leadership the struggle of the workers for a socialist world would be in vain.

Neither the Palmer raids nor the Smith Act trials, nor the McCarthyite witch-hunt, nor the constant and severe pressure of the American ruling class was able to deter him from acting resolutely on that conviction.

His more than six decades of revolutionary activity stand as an inspiration to the new forces in the world now rallying to the program and banner of the Fourth International. It is an inspiration that is not merely moral but practical as well, offering the richest lessons for the new generation of revolutionary fighters.

We all mourn the loss of this comrade and we pledge ourselves to continue the fight for the program, party, and goals to which Jim dedicated his long and fruitful life.

United Secretariat of the Fourth International



held the party together in anticipation of a more favorable political climate. This began to appear in the 1960s. The 1,250 socialists who, at the time of his death, were gathered in Oberlin, Ohio, for the 1974 Socialist Activists and Educational Conference testify to the success of his effort to lay a solid basis for a revolutionary-socialist party in the United States.

In the tradition of the American

Trotskyist movement, the conference at Oberlin held a "Political Tribute to Jim Cannon," at which party leaders and activists who had worked with Cannon during his long career paid homage to his contributions to the socialist movement.

Speakers at the meeting were Jack Barnes, national chairman of the Socialist Workers party; Carolyn Kerry, a comrade and co-worker of Cannon's for forty years; Andrew Pulley, na-

tional chairman of the Young Socialist Alliance; Peggy Brundy, one of a team of comrades who lived in the Cannon household during the last few years, sharing the chores and helping organize Cannon's work; Joseph Hansen, the editor of *Intercontinental Press*; and George Novack, collaborator with Cannon in the revolutionary-socialist movement for forty-one years. (Each of the speeches is reprinted in a special section of the September 6 *Militant*. Joseph Hansen's speech is also reprinted elsewhere in this issue.)

By the time the meeting of tribute was held, messages and telegrams from Cannon's comrades and friends had begun to arrive from around the world. Among those read at the meeting were messages from the elected leadership of the Fourth International (see box) and from Peng Shu-tse and Chen Pi-lan, founding members of the Chinese Communist party and the Fourth International.

In addition, the chairman of the meeting, Jack Barnes, singled out a sentence from one message in particular, because, he said, "it augurs so well for the future of Jim's contributions to party building all around the world."

The last sentence of this message, from the Frankfurt Gruppe Internationale Marxisten (Frankfurt members of the International Marxist Group, German section of the Fourth International), read: "We pledge to transmit Jim Cannon's message to the German working class by making a special effort to translate and publish his most valuable contributions to our common fight in Germany."

The editors of *The Militant* plan to publish other messages in coming issues as well as other material concerning the life and activities of Cannon.

The Oberlin meeting concluded by launching a financial campaign—the James P. Cannon Party-Building Fund—to help move forward the struggle to build the revolutionary-socialist party to which Cannon dedicated his life. Participants at the meeting contributed or pledged more than \$50,000 toward this effort.

Readers who wish to share in this effort are invited to send their contributions to the James P. Cannon Party-Building Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N. Y. 10014. □

In Tribute to Jim Cannon

By Joseph Hansen

[The following speech in tribute to James P. Cannon was given August 23 at a meeting in Oberlin, Ohio, sponsored by the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party.]

* * *

Jim's life was so bound up with the life of the generation I belong to that it is difficult to speak about him briefly. The mass of material, particularly the flood of memories, is simply too great. I will confine myself to making only a few observations about his development as a revolutionist and his achievements.

At the age of 84, after 66 years of service in the revolutionary socialist movement, Jim's mind was still sharp and lucid. He followed world events closely, kept up with the current literature of the radical movement, remained on top of developments in the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance, and was keenly interested in the affairs of the Fourth International, holding strong opinions on the current differences being debated in the world party of the socialist revolution.

His advice and judgments will be sorely missed. They were always advanced with complete objectivity and with the interests of the movement as a whole uppermost in his considerations.

Jim was born in Rosedale, Kans., on Feb. 11, 1890. The family, of Irish background, was an ordinary one except for politics. His father was a socialist and a partisan of the *Appeal to Reason*, a socialist journal of wide circulation and great popularity. A father holding socialist views was an enormous advantage to a boy growing up in the backward Middle West.

A direct result was that at the age of 18, Jim joined the Socialist Party. Three years later he joined the Industrial Workers of the World, dual membership being quite common and an accepted practice.

In those years, the United States was experiencing a great radical upsurge. It was a time of bitter strike struggles and violent confrontations with strikebreakers and the police. Under the leadership of Eugene V. Debs, the Socialist Party grew by leaps and bounds, striking deep roots in the labor movement.

Class-Conscious Battler

Jim was formed as a class-conscious battler in this period, coming to the attention of such superlative fighters and organizers as Vincent St. John, from whom Jim learned invaluable lessons.

In high school, Jim starred in debating, a campus sport of much higher standing than it is today. Participation on the debating team gave Jim a good start in achieving one of his ambitions, which was to become a skilled public speaker.

He made a study of public speaking, observing the celebrities who came to town on lecture tours, reading books on technique, and doing his best to eliminate the speech defects that come natural in the Middle West. This was coupled with practical experience in soapboxing, which is a very hard school. One of the results was that he became renowned by the early twenties in the Communist movement as a highly gifted speaker.

He followed a similar course of study in writing, training himself in this field by seeing how others did it, and reading what he could find on the subject. At one time he began a novel.

In both writing and speaking he tended to be a perfectionist, continually working over his drafts and seeking to bring them to a high polish.

Thus as an organizer, a speaker, and a writer he already had solid skills when he became editor of the *Workers World* in Kansas City in 1919 at the age of 29 and of *The Toiler*, a Communist Party publica-

tion, the following year.

In his ability to present the fundamental concepts and goals of revolutionary socialism in popular terms, Jim had few equals. He was an artist in this field. Many of the short articles he wrote over the years in his column *The Notebook of an Agitator* can be taken as models of revolutionary journalism.

The IWW and the left wing of the Socialist Party in the years leading up to World War I constituted a good training ground for an activist. The lessons remained with Jim throughout the rest of his life.

But the greatest single influence in his political education was the Russian revolution, particularly the October 1917 overturn in which the Bolsheviks under Lenin and Trotsky won power.

School of Russian Revolution

That great event, which caught the imagination of class-conscious workers throughout the world as a living example of how to topple capitalism, inspired a whole new generation of revolutionists. For Jim, as for many of his comrades, it became an advanced school in which they were re-educated in some respects and in others received graduate training in theory and in politics.

And they learned that in a very practical school. That was the assemblage of the left wing of the Socialist Party, and all the rebels in the IWW who could be convinced, and others along with them, to found the Communist Party of the United States, in which Jim participated. He was elected to its central committee at the Bridgman, Mich., convention in 1920.

It was in this school that Jim completed his basic education as a revolutionist. It was under the direct tutelage of the Russians, in conjunction with living experience in the American class struggle in the twenties, that Jim's main talent flowered and he emerged as a political organizer of

the highest caliber.

The capitalist class nearly always has talented political organizers at its disposal, some of them coming from wealthy families that specialize in offering political leadership. They are rather rare in the working class, one reason being that many with the talent for it are drawn into serving the capitalist parties. A person with talent in this field must be capable of great dedication and capacity for self-sacrifice to take up the cause of the working class and to remain devoted to it for decades and even a lifetime.

Jim was such a person. It came natural to him to size up a situation correctly, to take into account the main forces, to judge accurately what ought to be done next, and to win others to these insights. Jim became a skilled technician in working out the best ways of responding to attacks on the revolutionary movement and of mounting effective counteroffensives.

In the twenties in the Communist movement, Jim was justly famed for this. It was the development of this talent in particular that won him a place as one of the key leaders of the Communist Party.

In those days, of course, the Communist Party was something of a jungle—that is, as far as the internal struggles were concerned. At first, the Communist International under Lenin and Trotsky could play a role in ameliorating the situation and helping the comrades to learn the correct lessons from their mistakes.

But later on the Comintern degenerated and itself became a real jungle, in which Jim was one of the best of the jungle fighters. He made errors from which he later learned and never forgot.

Principled Politics

The main difference between Jim and some of the others who also had talents along this line was that Jim operated within the framework of principles, the principles of revolutionary socialism. He sought to win, naturally. But his perspective was the long-range one of winning the final battle; that is, the final battle in the struggle to topple capitalism and to replace it with socialism on a world scale.

In his opinion this was a great perspective, the only one really worth

a lifetime of effort. He saw it, too, as a realistic perspective, one that would inevitably be realized even if it required the combined efforts of several successive generations of revolutionists.

Jim was an internationalist to the marrow of his bones. He absorbed the internationalist view in his youth as a member of the Socialist Party and of the IWW. The Russian revolution offered living confirmation of the correctness of this outlook.

On top of this, Jim began gaining direct experience in international problems. In addition to the incessant discussions, debates, and factional struggles in the Communist Party of the twenties, Jim served as a delegate to the important Fourth Congress of the Communist International and later to the sixth, where Stalin sought to smash Trotsky's defense of the program of Leninism.

The Sixth Congress of the Communist International in 1928 marked an important step in the development of James P. Cannon as a political figure of international stature. It was at that congress that he decided to take up the cause represented by Leon Trotsky.

In the previous period he had become deeply disturbed by pernicious moves made by the Comintern in the internal affairs of the American Communist Party. But he did not connect these up with the struggle over "Trotskyism" in the Russian party. In fact, from the available information, he was inclined to disregard that struggle and even give the benefit of the doubt to Stalin.

At the Sixth Congress, he and Maurice Spector of the Canadian Communist Party accidentally received copies of an English translation of part of Trotsky's criticism of the draft program that was proposed for adoption at the congress. The rest is history.

The document completely convinced Cannon. He decided to battle for Trotsky's criticisms—not because of any hope of immediate success, but because he saw that Trotsky was *right*.

Not an Easy Decision

It was not an easy decision. Cannon realized, perhaps better than anyone outside of the Russian Trotskyists, that it would mean ostracism, the

breakup of old friendships, and the end of personal relations with many comrades he had known in common battles for years.

However, it was politically necessary to make the turn. For Jim this consideration was paramount. Nothing personal could be permitted to stand in the way of moving ahead in defense of Trotsky's position and against Stalin's bureaucratic gang.

Cannon's decision offers a striking example of the importance of achieving political clarity in a factional struggle. Stalin understood that too. That was why he tried to gag Trotsky and why he eventually used assassination to silence Trotsky's powerful voice.

Thus at a crucial moment, when Trotsky was exiled in far-off Alma Ata, blocked by force from defending his positions and from answering the most poisonous lies and slanders, one of the main leaders of the American Communist Party joined Trotsky in defense of the program of Leninism, determined to do everything he could to organize a principled faction to struggle for that program on an international scale in the Communist movement.

That decision marked the real beginning of our movement in the United States, although some anticipatory moves in that direction had been taken previously by figures like Antoinette Konikow in Boston. And that decision also marked a banner day for the worldwide movement that eventually became the Fourth International.

James P. Cannon came in on the ground floor in 1928 in the international struggle against Stalinism. He lived to see the Stalinist monolith shattered.

Collaboration With Trotsky

The collaboration between Cannon and Trotsky was particularly fruitful. Some of the detractors of our movement have pictured Cannon as a "yes man," wholly dependent on the ideas furnished by Trotsky, serving only to execute them. I can think of worse relationships; but this picture happens to be inaccurate. It actually maligns Trotsky as much as it does Cannon.

In his relations with Cannon, as in his relations with his secretaries and all members of the staff that worked

with him, Trotsky's status was that of an equal. Give-and-take was easy. Trotsky elicited ideas from others and their tendency was to respond, and sometimes to rise above themselves.

This collaboration was, of course, on the political level. The team was not a group of compatible souls drawn together out of common personal predilections, tastes, and habits. Trotsky and Cannon, for instance, were quite different in personality.

In Coyoacán, I saw how Trotsky and Cannon collaborated, and I know what value Trotsky placed on Cannon's opinions as a political strategist and practitioner of Leninism in party building.

As for Cannon, he regarded Trotsky to be a genius, one of the rare individuals like Karl Marx that are born, sometimes generations apart. He accepted Trotsky's genius as a fact, a fact of enormous importance to the revolutionary movement, and he had no thought of placing himself on the same level.

But Cannon never accepted anything on faith from Trotsky, nor would Trotsky have expected it. If Cannon disagreed, he argued for his own views, and on certain questions he convinced Trotsky. Cannon was not unique in this. It was an experience shared by others on Trotsky's staff.

Fourth International

In founding the Fourth International in 1938, Trotsky and Cannon made a powerful combination, beginning with the conversations concerning the program to be presented at the first congress, and ending with the actual launching of the new international party.

There were a number of persons, it should be recalled, even in the Trotskyist movement, who opposed forming the Fourth International, holding it to be inopportune. Both Trotsky and Cannon favored the step, the imminence of World War II making it all the more necessary because of the turbulent new stage in world affairs that would be opened up.

When Trotsky was assassinated in 1940, it was the opinion of many, above all the Stalinists and the reactionaries in general, that this meant the end of the Fourth International

and of Trotskyism in general.

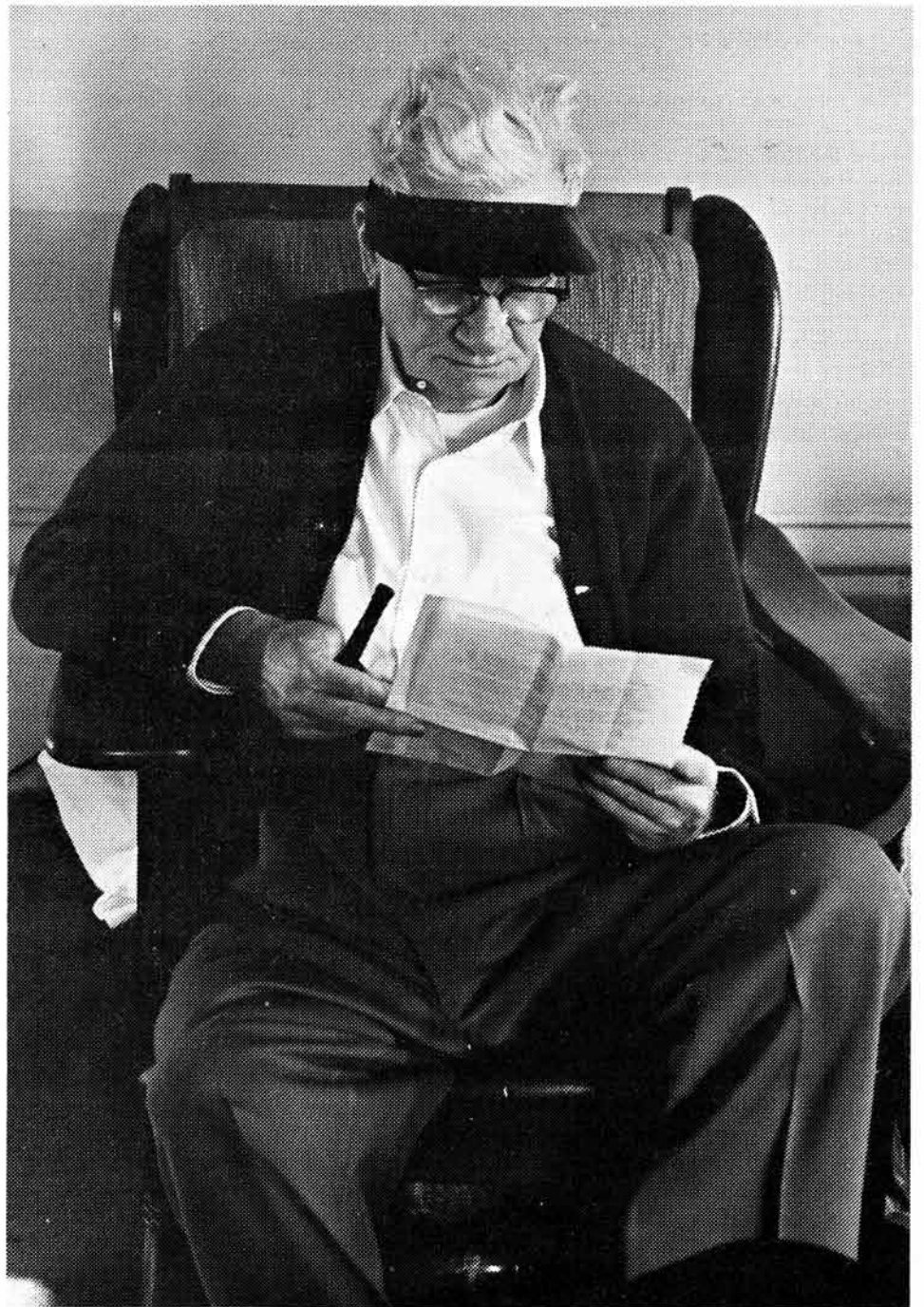
Cannon, at the age of 50, was considered to be the most prominent leader of the world Trotskyist movement. In his opinion it was unrealistic to believe that any single individual could fill the void left by the death of Trotsky. Most certainly no one should look to him to attempt it. He was no genius, he said, and he considered it pretentious and a mockery to play the role of being one.

However, he did have a plan for carrying on the struggle in the absence of Trotsky. The plan was not an elaborate one. It consisted of closing

ranks, of trying to keep the team together, of strengthening it, of expanding it, and of renewing it.

Continuity of Leadership

In this way the continuity of leadership could be maintained. If another Trotsky appeared, that would be extraordinary good luck. It would help shorten the struggle for socialism. But if another Trotsky did not appear, we would continue to struggle on the basis of Trotsky's program and teachings, and eventually teamwork



would win.

In this proposed course, Cannon considered the Fourth International to be of central importance. Everything possible had to be done to maintain the Fourth International and to expand it on all continents as a means of upholding the program of Trotskyism and of helping to form national leaderships capable of building mass parties and of guiding revolutionary struggles to success.

Cannon's interest in the development and welfare of the Fourth International had nothing in common with a federalist concept that viewed the international as being a good thing so long as it stayed out of the bailiwick of the Socialist Workers Party, as some have claimed.

Cannon was deeply committed to building the Fourth International along the lines laid down at its foundation. He considered the Socialist Workers Party to be only a section of the Fourth International—an important section in his opinion. He never changed in this, even though the passage of reactionary legislation in the United States compelled the Socialist Workers Party to disaffiliate from the Fourth International.

Greatest Achievement

Comrade Cannon's most remarkable achievement, nonetheless, was on American soil. Sharing in this achievement were the other pioneer Trotskyists in the United States—among them Vincent R. Dunne, Carl Skoglund, Arne Swabeck, and above all Rose Karsner, Jim's companion who died in March 1968. These pioneer Trotskyists, however, would all give the main credit to Jim.

This achievement was to build a viable nucleus of a revolutionary party inside the United States, the main bastion of world capitalism. Not only did Jim build this nucleus, he maintained it and continued to build it for an unprecedented number of decades in face of enormous pressures. There has been nothing like it in the history of the revolutionary socialist movement.

Jim held this nucleus together against the lure of posts in the trade-union bureaucracy, none of which are without considerable emoluments.

He held this nucleus together against the merciless blows and venomous slanders of American Stalinism, once a powerful force in the radical move-

ment and in many trade unions in the United States.

He held this nucleus together in face of the hysteria of World War II, marching to prison at the head of the Trotskyists convicted as the first victims of the Smith Act for their political opposition to imperialist war.

He held this nucleus together during the infamous decade of McCarthyism in the United States, when the Trotskyists were hounded from their jobs by the American political police, the FBI, and when our movement was almost completely isolated politically and virtually paralyzed for lack of funds.

He held this nucleus together against the deadly combination of McCarthyite repression and economic prosperity that led to years of passivity in the labor movement.

Casualties

There were casualties, of course. Valuable comrades grew discouraged and dropped out of activity. Cadres with years of experience could not endure the strain and developed political differences that gave them seeming justification for finding a road to the sidelines.

But new recruits replaced them. And some of these recruits proved to be of exceptional worth precisely because they swam against the stream in joining the movement in such a period.

Jim's stamina and stubbornness won out in the end. He succeeded in maintaining the continuity of leadership, a continuity going back directly to the founders of American socialism in the past century, and back in a direct line to the Bolsheviks, and through them to the founders of scientific socialism.

The nucleus of revolutionary socialists assembled, maintained, and renewed under the leadership of James P. Cannon is doing quite well today and we know of the satisfaction he found in this success.

Development of Cadres

During his years as the main leader of American Trotskyism, Jim became the teacher of three, if not four, generations of revolutionists. He taught us not so much through formal lectures—he did not give many in reality—or even through his writings, although here he left us a considerable legacy.

He taught us most powerfully through participating with us in struggles. Over the years he stood at our side in many situations and battles in the class struggle, where one of his chief concerns was the development of cadres, particularly the capacity of comrades to think for themselves.

But I would say that the primary arena in which Jim taught us the most important lessons was in the development of the Socialist Workers Party itself. Here I think not only of party administration, the organization of branch work, the production of our press, and the development of leadership abilities in these areas, but of the many internal struggles, including those in the early years of the Communist Party in which most of us here did not participate except vicariously through the accounts that have been handed down.

Our party owes its very existence to the way Jim handled these struggles. Through them he imparted his political know-how so that it became an acquisition of the cadres as a whole, something our party can use as a foundation in the mighty struggles lying ahead that will determine the fate of America and along with America the fate of the world.

In the aftermath of World War II, it was Jim's firm opinion that the victory of the Soviet Union, the toppling of capitalism in Eastern Europe, and the revolutionary victory in China would ultimately weaken Stalinism on a world scale, making possible new revolutionary advances. The victory of the Cuban revolution in 1959 was one of the confirmations, in his view.

His eyes were set, of course, on the American workers. In the long run, the upheavals elsewhere would have a cumulative effect in the political arena in the United States. Coupled with the ever-deepening economic and social contradictions of capitalism, the American workers, the mightiest power on earth, would be propelled into action and the American revolution would begin.

In the last years of his life, Jim was convinced that the American revolution is not far off. It has drawn perceptibly nearer. He saw the signs in the appearance of the Black liberation movement in the sixties and the women's liberation movement in the early seventies. He saw it in the incapacity of American imperialism to win

outright victories, first in Korea and then in Vietnam. He saw it in the radicalization of the youth on a scale never before seen in America. He saw it in the antiwar movement that swept this country from coast to coast, shaking the capitalist political system so that one president decided not to run for a second term, and his successor—a less astute crook—had to hand in his resignation, the first time that has happened in American history.

All these signs led Cannon to believe that the time of Trotskyism is close at hand.

In his personal life, Jim preferred a simple existence, in the company of



congenial comrades and friends. He was an omnivorous reader, but he also enjoyed conversation. His conversation, of course, centered on politics, or drifted there, sometimes with a little ribbing and joking woven in.

Jim smoked cigars and a pipe and was not at all demanding as to the grade of tobacco, smoking the cheap brands he bought and the Havanas or mixtures that came as gifts in recent years with equal relish. So long as the tobacco smoldered, he was satisfied.

He considered a celebration from time to time to be a necessity, and he made sure that the usual source of conviviality was not missing. For long periods, his drink was tea or at the most beer, a limitation he did not approve of; but alcohol gave him a

problem he was compelled to take into account.

In his working pattern, Jim was not an easygoing type; in fact, he could be very demanding. Some comrades found this to be trying and it led to friction in some instances.

Jim had the capacity to recognize his own faults and weaknesses. To close friends, he even overemphasized them, thinking he had more than the usual share.

Jim's objectivity extended to others. It can be seen in the most striking way in his comments on figures he once knew in the Communist Party who had become Stalinists and betrayed the revolutionary-socialist movement. He gave them full credit for what they once were and had sought to be, and explained how forces they did not understand had overwhelmed them.

A Team Man

A psychoanalytical study of Jim might be of interest, for he was very complex, but it would not tell us much about what made him tick politically. He lived as a political person and he must be judged on that level. In this he functioned as a team man, completely conscious of the power of a leadership team, and a master at constructing one; that is, a well-balanced group composed of contrasting types, whether one-sided or many-sided, including some always inclined to be critical and some certain to reflect the opinion of this or that layer.

As an integral part of the team, Jim subordinated himself completely to party discipline, to "duty" as he liked to think of it, or to a call to "pitch for the party."

Jim described himself as at bottom an "anarchist," and no doubt there was some truth to this. It did not come natural to him to be a team man. He had to learn it and to apply it quite consciously to himself, harnessing himself to the call for duty. Consequently, it was observable that he indulged in his anarchistic inclinations, if that's what they were, only in small things, doing his utmost to exclude them from anything of importance to the party.

An Angry Person

Fundamentally, Jim was an angry person. He was angry at injustice, at inequities, at special privileges, at ex-

ploitation. He was angry at poverty, lack of opportunity, oppression, racism, and sexism.

He seethed over the crimes of capitalism, its wars, its reactionary ideologies. He hated its police, its courts, its prisons, its fascism, its tendency to drop back to barbarism.

He burned with fury over Truman's dropping the atomic bomb on Hiroshima and Nagasaki and at the chance that the human race might be obliterated in an atomic holocaust.

This deep-seated and perpetual anger at capitalism, aroused every day by what he read in the papers and saw on all sides, was one of the driving forces in Jim's makeup.

He was utterly dedicated to overthrowing this monstrous system in which we happen to have been born.

Jim had a clear vision of socialism and the perspectives it could open up. He gained this vision as a youth and the vision never left him. He sought throughout his conscious life to impart this vision to others, to inspire them, and to win them to the cause.

He repeated this appeal with all the eloquence at his command in the recent speech he made on tape for the celebration of the tenth anniversary of *Intercontinental Press*.

That speech could be said to be Jim Cannon's last message to the party and to the new generation of rebels, expressing his deepest convictions.

He Remains With Us

I will not say farewell to Jim. He remains with us. He remains with us through his writings. He remains with us through the party that he did so much to establish. He remains with us through the continuity of that party's leadership and through the personal example he set of lifelong dedication to the cause of the emancipation of humanity.

Through these achievements, Jim will remain a participant, a comrade-in-arms, in the international struggle for socialism until the final victory is won.

When You Move...

Don't count on the post office forwarding your *Intercontinental Press*! It's against their rules.

Send us your new address. And in plenty of time, please.

First Year Under the Iron Heel in Chile

By Judy White

One year after the overthrow of the Unidad Popular government of Salvador Allende, the situation faced by the Chilean people continues to worsen.

On July 23, former U.S. Ambassador to Chile Ralph A. Dungan, one of the members of a study mission sponsored by U.S. Senator Edward Kennedy, testified in the U.S. Senate: "The situation in Chile as we observed it in April of this year and which apparently continues more or less unchanged today was marked by substantial violations of human rights, violations of Chilean constitutional guarantees, and repression of basic civil freedoms. . . ."

One of the human rights violations Dungan cited was systematic, summary arrests. Such arrests are being escalated. In late July Chilean police admitted that they had detained 10,000 persons in one weekend as part of a "war on crime." Commenting on this roundup in the August 2 *Washington Post*, Joseph Novitski wrote, "A large minority turned out to be drunks, and were released. The rest were held for investigation." (Emphasis added.)

Another member of the study mission, Dr. John Plank, former director of research and analysis for the State Department's Latin America Intelligence and Research Bureau, testified: ". . . the military now believes—or appeared to believe when we were there—that in its 6,000 detainees it had managed to capture the 'hardcore' of potential troublemakers . . . and it was my strong impression that these 6,000 were, in the eyes of the military, 'non-persons' unentitled even to recognition as human beings."

The fate of three "non-persons" was reported in the Buenos Aires daily *La Opinión* August 23. Three corpses had been discovered in the basement of the Santiago military arsenal. An examination of the bodies of Alfonso Carreño, member of the Central Committee of the Chilean Communist party; Cortez Monroy, member of the Radical party; and an unidentified

leader of the Socialist party showed that they had been tortured before they died.

The August 21 issue of *Chile Informativo Internacional*, published by the Comité de Solidaridad con la Lucha de los Pueblos Latinoamericanos (Committee of Solidarity with the Struggle of the Peoples of Latin America) in Argentina, printed a list of 500 persons executed in Chile since the coup. The committee introduced the list by writing:

"All were killed by beatings, indescribable tortures, or firing squads without ever having come to trial. Their deaths were invariably explained as the result of 'escape attempts'"

"The deceased are some of the victims of the regime that took power September 11, 1973. We are recording here only facts documented by the press or that are known as the result of testimony of family members or political organizations of the resistance."

The list includes the name of MIR (Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria—Movement of the Revolutionary Left) leader Bautista Van Schowen, whose release had been demanded internationally by those defending Chilean political prisoners.

Political opponents of the junta who are actually brought to trial can, in the best of cases, expect the "justice" accorded the defendants in the air force show trial conducted this spring. That group of sixty air force and civilian personnel was accused of "subversive activities," all of which related to their supporting the legally elected Allende government before the coup.

Confessions obtained through torture of these defendants provided the prosecution with evidence of this character:

"When Captain Vergara told Erich Schnake that 20 percent of the personnel of the Chilean Armed Forces was with the UP, Schnake became happy and offered a toast. . . ."

This excerpt from the confession of Captain Jaime Donoso Parra helped

earn a death sentence for Raúl Vergara Meneses and twenty years in prison for Erich Schnake.

Three other death sentences and prison terms ranging from 300 days to life were handed down to the other defendants July 30.

Even more widespread than the suffering caused the Chilean people by the political repression is hardship brought about by the continuing inflation. The Buenos Aires daily *La Opinión* reported August 14 that official figures placed the cost of living increase for July alone at 11.4 percent. According to the most optimistic estimates, the rate of inflation in 1974 will hit 500 percent.

Even the August 13 devaluation of the escudo—the fifteenth up to now this year—to 970 per US\$1 is not expected to improve the situation.

In face of these severe economic problems, the Chilean military has tightened its totalitarian grip. In late June, General Augusto Pinochet was made president for an indefinite term. The junta also announced the formation of a new coordinated repressive apparatus, DINA (Dirección de Inteligencia Nacional—National Intelligence Office).

In early August the junta dropped the pretense that it intended eventually to hold elections. It ordered national

Luis Vitale Cometa, a Marxist historian and member of the Fourth International, has been transferred from Santiago—where he had been imprisoned since shortly after the September 11, 1973, military coup in Chile—to the Chacabuco concentration camp in the north of the country.

The transfer took place June 17, according to a press release issued in Buenos Aires by Argentine senators Hipólito Solari Yrigoyen and Francisco Eduardo Cerro.

The press release, which asks the Peronist government to intensify efforts to win the release of Argentine citizens being held by the Pinochet junta, stated that there are no charges against Vitale.

Telegrams demanding that Vitale be allowed to return to Argentina, the country of his birth, should be sent to General Augusto Pinochet, Diego Portales, Santiago, Chile.

voter-registration records to be burned.

"No political activity will be authorized in Chile for at least two years," *Le Monde* (August 15) quoted Pinochet as stating. "The Marxist parties will remain banned forever."

In answer to a question on the duration of military rule in the country, Pinochet responded, "I cannot say whether it will be one, five, or ten years; simply whatever time is required to complete our job. We are not ready for political freedom."

Even the Christian Democrats have been accused by Pinochet of being an "instrument of international Marxism."

In view of the absence of any effective domestic resistance to the junta's policies, the role of international protest assumes special importance in deterring excesses.

The immediate outcry from Europe and America over the show-trial death sentences forced General José Berdechesky, commander of the Santiago air force garrison, on August 5 to reduce the sentences for Vergara, Carlos Lazo Frias, Colonel Ernesto Galaz Guzmán, and Sergeant Belarmino Constanzo Verino to thirty-year prison terms.

Even the Human Rights Commission of the Organization of American States, which was in Chile at the time conducting its own "investigation," felt obliged to "suggest" to the Chilean government that it ban the application of illegal physical and psychological pressure on detainees, inform families of their arrest and what the charges were, establish a reasonable limit on the time a person can be held without coming to trial, and recognize the customary rights of lawyers and clients.

In mid-August Pinochet announced that thirty military men would be severely punished "for having exceeded their authority" in torturing political prisoners, according to the August 15 *La Opinión*. At the same time, the general stated that the scheduled trial of members of Allende's administration would be open to the public and the press.

La Opinión reported: "Observers agreed yesterday in Santiago that the announcement by the chief of state is the fruit of international pressure demanding that the physical and mental well-being of those imprisoned for their ties with the constitutional regime of Salvador Allende be respected. . . ."

At an August 16 press conference, Pinochet retreated further. He said that his regime was considering the possibility of commuting and reducing the sentences in an unspecified number of cases of prisoners condemned for "military offenses."

New international protests are scheduled to coincide with the first anniversary of the military coup.

In addition, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions has called for "immediate action against the Chilean junta to alert public opinion and put an end to the systematic

reign of terror victimizing the Chilean people."

The call coincided with a vote taken at the annual convention of the International Federation of Transport Workers, which has 350 member organizations. They agreed to boycott all air and maritime traffic originating in Chile for two days and to suspend loading and unloading Chilean ships around the world on September 18 and 19. The boycott is being organized to protest the continued violations of human rights by the Chilean junta. □

Everybody Knows the Billionaire Rockefeller

But Who the Hell Is Ford?

By Ernest Harsch

A relief team has been assigned to run the White House. One of them is the billionaire Nelson Rockefeller, a key figure in America's sixty ruling families.

The other one is obscure. Before Nixon chose him in October 1973 to replace Spiro Agnew as vice-president, Gerald Rudolph Ford was little known even in the United States. It was Ford's lack of a clearly defined public image that recommended him to the ruling class as a good alternative to Agnew, the crook who had to be dumped, and to Nixon, the crook scheduled to be dumped because of the Watergate scandal. As planned, a huge publicity campaign has now converted Ford into "Mr. Clean."

The conversion of Ford, the gray political hack, into a plausible alternative to Nixon was planned in detail months in advance.

A front-page article in the August 26 *New York Times* gave a glimpse into the scheming that went into the replacement of Nixon. "The transition plans," wrote correspondent James M. Naughton, "were initiated by Mr. Ford's closest friend, Philip W. Buchen, who concluded in early May that onrushing events would inevitably force an untimely end to the 37th Presidency and a hurried beginning of the 38th."

Buchen, Ford's former law partner in Grand Rapids, Michigan, put together a "transition team" that worked

out the measures to be taken. Included on the team were Clay T. Whitehead, Nixon's adviser on telecommunications, and three other unnamed figures, one of whom was a Democrat. The first draft of the scenario was completed in June at the home of William G. Whyte, a vice-president of the United States Steel Corporation and a close friend of Ford's.

On August 5, Nixon released the transcripts of his June 23, 1972, conversations about Watergate, which proved him to be an early participant in the cover-up attempts.

On August 7, the "transition team" met from 5 p.m. until midnight to settle on the final details of Ford's first days in office. In addition to Buchen, Whitehead, and Whyte, former Pennsylvania Governor William Scranton, Michigan Senator Robert Griffin, former House member John Byrnes of Wisconsin, and Bryce N. Harlow of the Procter and Gamble Company attended.

They decided that Chief Justice of the Supreme Court Warren E. Burger would preside at the inauguration. They assigned a ghostwriter to draft Ford's first speech to the American public. They decided to kick out White House press secretary Ronald Ziegler and assign J. F. terHorst to the job. They assigned a special crew to handle Ford in his first days in office. This crew was headed by Scranton and Donald Rumsfeld, the U. S. am-

bassador to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

"And there was general agreement," Naughton continued, "that Mr. Nixon should not be present when Mr. Ford was sworn in; the outgoing President's absence would signify a clean start for his designated successor."

Thus the entire process of manufacturing the best possible image for the new president was plotted in advance. Within hours of Nixon's resignation and Ford's inauguration on August 9, the capitalist media took its cue and went all out to picture Ford as a "down-to-earth," "folksy" man of "the people"—a genuine "Honest John."

The *New York Daily News* pitched in with gusto in the assignment of hoodwinking the public. "Ford looks right for the role," it declared August 9. "Central Casting would have sent him to play the part of the good guy who takes over the executive mansion after the rascals have been driven out. At 61, he is 'Jack Armstrong, the All-American Boy' 40 years on."

The *Wall Street Journal* in an August 12 editorial was equally accurate in striking the right note: "Plain. Earnest. Simply spoken. Willing, with the habits of a life-long legislator, to embrace as friends all men of all political persuasions."

The *New York Times* struck a similar chord. "In homespun American idiom," the *Times* declared in an August 18 editorial, "President Ford set forth to Congress and the nation last week the three themes that seemingly will characterize his Administration: personal simplicity, philosophical conservatism and an openness to diverse people and differing ideas."

"The new President is direct, matter of fact, plainspoken. The country, weary of duplicity and demagoguery, finds his frank, open manner a source of enormous relief. He has already helped Americans to regain a sense of themselves as a people who like plain dealing and plain speech."

Ford himself collaborated to the best of his ability in carrying out the public relations job. At a joint session of Congress August 12, he read the text of a prepared speech that included such gems of ghostwriting as the following:

"I am the people's man, for you acted in their name, and I accepted and began my new and solemn trust

with a promise to serve all the people, and to do the best I can for America.

"When I say all the people I mean exactly that.

"To the limits of my strength and ability, I will be the President of the black, brown, red and white Americans, of old and young, of women's liberationists and male chauvinists and all the rest of us in between, of the poor and the rich, of native sons and new refugees, of those who work at lathes or at desks or in mines or in the fields, and of Christians, Jews, Moslems, Buddhists and atheists, if they really are any atheists after what we have all been through."

In this flood of pure hokum designed to convert a run-of-the-mill capitalist political hack into the very opposite of a Nixon or Agnew, a few items have appeared indicating the real score.

The August 17 issue of *Business Week*, referring to Ford's contention that he was the "people's man," accurately noted: "There are, however, no lathe operators in the new President's tight inner circle. His closest advisers are mostly canny veterans of the political wars. And his friends are, in surprisingly large numbers, successful Washington-based corporate executives who share the Ford passion for straight talk and exuberant golfing."

An article in the August 19 *New York Times* by Michael C. Jensen listed some of Ford's "friends": Rodney W. Markley Jr., the Ford Motor Company's chief Washington lobbyist; Bryce Harlow, who played a major role in writing the last three Republican party platforms and who was a close aide to President Eisenhower; William Whyte of United States Steel; Leon Parma, an executive of Teledyne, Inc.; Stark Ritchie, chief general counsel of the American Petroleum Institute; and Kimberley Hallamore, the Washington lobbyist of Lear Siegler, Inc. In addition, as Hallamore noted, "This guy has thousands of friends. . . ."

Hallamore, in particular, has been successful in transforming his connections in Washington into hard capital. His company, which has a plant in Ford's hometown of Grand Rapids, was granted a \$21.7 million Defense Department contract to produce aircraft navigation sets there.

Ford's twenty-five year record in

Congress shows how well he has represented the political interests of his capitalist backers.

For instance, *New York Times* correspondent Marjorie Hunter, writing in the August 9 issue, reported: "He opposed virtually all social welfare programs, including establishing a food stamp system for the needy, Federal aid to elementary and secondary schools, rent subsidies, model cities, Medicare for the elderly, and creation of the Office of Economic Opportunity. . . ."

"He opposed attempts to repeal 'right-to-work' laws [laws designed to protect strikebreakers], he voted to weaken all minimum wage bills and he voted to weaken occupational health and safety bills in 1970 and 1972.

". . . he voted for an antisubversive bill in 1950, voted against requiring prior court approval for wiretaps in 1954, voted consistently to fund the House Committee on Un-American Activities and its successor, the House Internal Security Committee. . . ."

(Trying to differentiate himself, however, from the mounting notoriety under Nixon of the government's practice of widespread political surveillance, Ford stated in his August 12 speech, "There will be no illegal tapings, eavesdropping, buggings or break-ins by my administration." He was careful to include the key adjective: "illegal." Most government snooping is perfectly "legal" under the broad antisubversive legislation passed by Congress.)

Ford has consistently backed higher arms budgets. On February 11 he said, "It is essential to maintain adequate force levels and a technological lead while negotiations continue. . . . If negotiations fail and the Soviet Union seeks military advantage, the United States must be prepared to increase its forces quickly and effectively."

Referring to the lessons that ought to be drawn from the Vietnam war, he affirmed during his confirmation hearings for the vice-presidency that regimes like the one in Saigon should be supplied with more economic and military aid so as to give more flexibility to the introduction of U. S. ground troops.

An article in the August 9 *Wall Street Journal* evaluated Ford's past performance in Congress. Staff writer Norman C. Miller wrote, "He wasn't an

innovative congressional leader but rather a dull party workhorse who plodded toward goals outlined by others."

To help the dull party workhorse through the rough spots, the ruling class has surrounded the new president with a gang of experts, including Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and Secretary of Defense James Schlesinger.

Perhaps the best recommendation as

to the honesty and dependability of Ford was made by the crook who named him to be vice-president. Speaking on national television on the night of August 8 to announce his resignation, Nixon said: ". . . in turning over direction of the Government to Vice President Ford I know, as I told the nation when I nominated him for that office 10 months ago, that the leadership of America will be in good hands." □

Ethiopia

Army's 'Creeping Coup' Overtakes Selassie

By Dick Fidler

Ethiopia's Emperor Haile Selassie, who styles himself the King of Kings, Elect of God, and Conquering Lion of the Tribe of Judah, is today under virtual house arrest in the capital city of Addis Ababa. Effective control of the country is in the hands of an "Armed Forces Committee" composed of junior officers in the Ethiopian army who have stripped the emperor of most of the key powers he held during forty-four years of autocratic rule. His key collaborators and family associates, including many leading members of the landed aristocracy, have been jailed by the military rulers.

A major turning point in the transfer of authority to the military movement occurred August 16.

"The Ethiopian military paraded through the capital today in a show of strength and unity aimed at stemming persistent rumors of growing dissension in the ranks," *Washington Post* correspondent David Ottaway reported from Addis Ababa.

"It was the first time the highly secretive Armed Forces Committee, the group behind the military reform, has come into the open to demonstrate the support it claims from all branches of the armed forces and police.

"The committee also took decisive steps in its war of attrition against Emperor Haile Selassie and the monarchy, dissolving the Crown Council, which was his highest advisory body, and the Imperial High Court, the highest judicial body.

"Further, it transferred the emperor's military staff to the Ministry of Defense, citing its high cost at a time of grave financial crisis. The emperor has now lost practically all his powers and most of his aristocratic allies have been taken into custody."

Included in the August 16 military parade were contingents of police, commandos, paratroopers, and army soldiers bearing the green tags of the Imperial Bodyguard. Three days earlier, some three or four thousand veterans and active members of the bodyguard, which was regarded as the last force apparently loyal to the emperor, had marched on the imperial palace. The marchers protested the refusal of both the emperor and the prime minister to meet their claims for millions of dollars in unpaid salaries for service ten years ago in the United Nations "peacekeeping" force in Zaire (the former Belgian Congo).

The immediate events leading up to this dramatic shift in the relationship of forces between the emperor and the dissident military officers began when the rebel Armed Forces Committee issued a thirteen-point manifesto July 9, declaring their intention to determine the content of a new constitution that would severely reduce the powers of the emperor. On July 22, Premier Endalkachew Makonnen, who had been appointed five months earlier when the officers' revolt began, resigned. He was arrested the following day. Michael

Imru, a cousin of Selassie, was appointed to succeed him as premier.

The new seventeen-man cabinet, approved by Selassie on August 3, included most of the ministers who had served under Makonnen, but with increased military representation. The new minister of national defense was Lieutenant General Aman Andom, whom the rebel officers had brought out of retirement a month earlier and appointed chief of staff of the armed forces.

On August 6, the military surrounded the building where a thirty-member committee was drafting a new constitution and demanded that the draft be submitted for consideration to the Armed Forces Committee before being shown to the prime minister. When the committee refused, the military backed down and the draft was presented to the prime minister.

"Today, however," Ottaway reported August 7, "the military demanded that the draft be published immediately and that a special committee be set up to receive suggestions for changes from the general public. It also asked that all suggestions be sent directly to the [Armed Forces] Coordinating Committee and gave a post office box number in Addis."

The new constitution, which has not yet been published, reportedly establishes a constitutional monarchy in which the premier, elected by parliament for a four-year term, would be responsible solely to parliament, and not to the emperor as has been the case up to now.

However, Ottaway reported, "Given the atmosphere here, there is some doubt whether the draft constitution, which must in any case go through several more levels of consideration and possible revision, will ever go into force. . . ."

"Since the mysterious Coordinating Committee of the Armed Forces, Police and Territorial Army—the group leading the Reform Movement—was formed in mid-June, Ethiopia has in effect had two governments, a civilian one and a military one."

Following the events of August 16, the military's supremacy over the civilian regime became even clearer. The *Washington Post* reported August 20 that Premier Imru had withdrawn his threatened resignation and submitted to military demands for a "phased resignation of four and pos-

sibly five ministers over the next few weeks. . . ." At the same time, the government-owned newspaper *Addis Zemeni* began calling for the overthrow of Selassie, a campaign that was said to be inspired by the military. The deputy director of the National Grain Board suggested, in a letter published in an Amharic-language newspaper, that the country do away with the monarchy. *New York Times* correspondent Paul Hofmann cabled from Addis Ababa August 19 that "there is talk of a cabal of younger military officers who want to oust the Emperor and abolish the monarchy. Many radical students and intellectuals profess similar views."

A series of measures confirmed the military's leading role in the day-to-day operation of the government. On August 22 the Armed Forces Committee announced a rent freeze in urban areas and an indefinite ban on the eviction of tenants. The following day, it launched an austerity drive, calling on Ethiopians to work harder and avoid alcohol and prostitutes. On August 25, the committee announced that Selassie's residence, the Jubilee Palace, had been "nationalized" and renamed the National Palace. And on August 28, it was reported that the committee had ordered his Imperial Majesty not to leave the capital.

In every case, it was the military body that acted, not the civilian "government."

This growing assumption of political authority by the military has been largely unopposed. The Orthodox, or Coptic church hierarchy, whose nominal head is the emperor, issued a statement protesting against provisions in the draft constitution that it said would disestablish the church. Signed by the church's ranking prelate, Abuna Tewoflos, it was widely interpreted as presaging his eventual arrest by the military.

As part of the military-sponsored campaign against the old regime, the Ethiopian press has begun telling its readers for the first time some of the facts about the country's poverty and backwardness—and equally significantly, placing responsibility for these conditions on the emperor himself. Recent press reports have noted that more than 95 percent of the population of 27 million are illiterate. A recent issue of the Amharic-language weekly *Yezareitu Ethiopia* cited World Health Organization figures indicating

that some 9 million Ethiopians are suffering from venereal disease. The article estimated the number of prostitutes at over 335,000, or more than 2 percent of the entire female population.

On August 27, a special civilian commission investigating corruption and abuse of power under former governments acknowledged that the emperor was directly involved in the cover-up of the drought in northern Ethiopia that killed at least 100,000 peasants in 1973.

On August 31, the Armed Forces Committee accused members of the royal family and the aristocracy of channeling their money abroad instead of investing it in Ethiopia.

And at least one critic of the old regime, a sergeant freed after spending seventeen years in jail, has publicly suggested that the emperor is guilty of complicity in the 1935 Italian invasion.

Addis Zemen has been publishing interviews with Ethiopians about their views of the draft constitutional charter. "One of the most interesting interviews," David Ottaway reported in the August 22 *Washington Post*, "was with a Coptic Priest, Tesfai Tadea, who discussed the contradiction between the principle of all Ethiopians being equal before the law and that of the emperor being above the law, 'sacred and inviolable.' . . ."

"Other people interviewed questioned the cost of the monarchy, nearly \$10 million, or about as much as the budget for the national universities this year, and blamed the monarch for Ethiopia's appalling poverty and backwardness."

The list of officials arrested and accused of abuse of power and corruption has reached deep into the emperor's immediate entourage. It includes two former prime ministers, Aklilu Habte Wold and Makonnen; the head of the imperial bodyguard; the minister in charge of the imperial purse; and the emperor's personal aide-de-camp.

The captives being held in the army's fourth division headquarters in the center of Addis Ababa were described by Ottaway in an August 22 dispatch to the *Washington Post*. "These were once the high and mighty of Ethiopia princes, imperial courtiers, provincial nobility, aristocratic landlords, blue-blooded ministers and

much-decorated generals. They could boast of ruling entire provinces, of owning enormous estates and commanding private armies and of belonging to royal families tracing their ancestry back two thousand years to the founding of the Ethiopian monarchy. . . ."

"Officially, these prisoners of the revolution number about 150. But it is said the total number of arrested persons throughout the country is somewhere around 350."

"Ironically," the August 19 *Christian Science Monitor* commented, "the only duty left to the octogenarian emperor is Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces. But it is precisely these armed forces who are ruling him."

If the military is allowing the press to lift the edge of the curtain on some of the old regime's corruption, there is still remarkably little information about the actual composition of the Armed Forces Committee. A *New York Times* dispatch from Addis Ababa August 24 described the group as "an interservice coordination committee of maybe 20 unidentified members." Other reports refer to their "cultivated anonymity."

But whatever the differences among them on the future of the country's state institutions, none have shown any sympathies toward demands of national minorities. One of the major factors that triggered the beginning of the "creeping coup" last February was the younger officers' despair at the Selassie regime's lack of success in suppressing the growing secessionist movement in Eritrea, the northernmost province, which contains much of the country's industry, important mineral deposits and its principal port, Massawa. The population of more than a million, mostly Muslim, forms a distinct ethnic and cultural group.

The Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF) is said to control large areas of the province outside Asmara, the capital, and the Red Sea ports of Massawa and Assab.

On August 16, the same day the army stripped Selassie of some of his powers and demonstrated its strength in the streets, all twenty-three Eritrean members of the Ethiopian Chamber of Deputies resigned in protest against the government's policy in the province. They denounced the army's "massacres of the population," citing

such atrocities as the summary execution in July of 170 civilians at Hom-Aguer, near the Sudanese border, in reprisal for attacks by the ELF. They also protested the suppression of news on events in Eritrea in the Ethiopian press and the fact that the government is still holding hundreds of political prisoners in Eritrea in violation of its own recently proclaimed amnesty.

The deputies' action provoked an unprecedented debate on the Eritrean question in the parliament on August 20. Without referring directly to the

ELF, Prime Minister Imru declared that the government was ready to open a "peaceful dialogue and negotiations" with the rebel forces, but insisted that Eritrea must "remain a part of Ethiopia" and that the government would not agree to its secession. He claimed that 189 Eritreans the government admits are still in jail were not political prisoners but common criminals since they advocated secession.

Representatives of the Eritrean Liberation Front responded to the premier's speech by declaring that

they were ready to participate in negotiations, but only with a view to achieving the "full independence of Eritrea," and only if the Eritrean Liberation Front were treated as the sole legitimate representative of the Eritrean people.

The August 17 *Washington Post*, in a dispatch from Addis Ababa, cited "Ethiopian officials" as saying they "doubted that the military would show much sympathy for Eritrean demands for a large degree of autonomy or even secession because of the province's strategic importance." □

Hundreds Railroaded to Prison in South Korea

Dictator Park Steps Up Political Witch-Hunt

By Peter Green

The South Korean dictator Park Chung Hee has exploited to the full the attempt on his life August 15 in which his wife was killed.

He has tried to blame the assassination attempt on the North Koreans, claiming that they masterminded the plot. He has pointed to the Japanese government, blaming it for allowing pro-North Korean political activity and for unwittingly issuing a passport to the assassin, who was identified by the Korean police as Mun Se Kwang, a Korean living in Osaka.

Anti-Japanese demonstrations were staged for days after the event in Seoul, Pusan, and Kwangju.

Attempts were also made to whip up feelings against North Korea. However, the South Korean police have been unable to produce any evidence showing North Korean involvement; and in fact the events are shrouded in a great deal of mystery and confusion.

For example, an early government version of the shooting claimed that the assailant rose from a seat in the front row of the National Theater during independence day activities, while later versions said that he ran down the center aisle firing a snub-nosed revolver. It isn't explained either how a man supposedly conspicuously involved in anti-Park activities could have been let into the heavily guarded ceremony hall carrying a loaded pis-

tol, or why a spy would go on an assassination mission leaving his apartment strewn with documents showing his relation with the government employing him.

In spite of the glaring inconsistencies in its case, the Park regime has seized the opportunity to try to revive its flagging anti-Communist witch-hunt.

At the funeral for Park's wife August 19, Premier Kim Jong Pil asserted that "our First Lady fell victim to a diabolical bullet of a Communist."

"The Communists are bent upon crushing our peace and prosperity," he said. "We should give the late First Lady release by smashing the evil intention of the Communists while marching resolutely toward our goal."

Two Decrees Lifted

Four days later Park lifted two of his "emergency" decrees. One of them, imposed January 8, banned all discussion, criticism, and demands for revision of the constitution, and the other, imposed April 3, prohibited all dissent against the government and its policies. They carried penalties ranging from imprisonment to death. Still in force are two decrees—one giving the government extraordinary powers over the economy, and the other establishing secret courts-martial and permitting arrests without warrant.

Park stated that there would be no amnesty for those who had been arrested and tried under the two decrees that were lifted. Trials and the judicial process would proceed, he said.

The August 23 *New York Times* reported that a spokesman for Park, Kim Seong Jin, said the Seoul government had imposed the emergency measures, at the cost of some "misunderstanding" by South Korea's friends, to alert the nation to the threat from Communist North Korea. According to Kim, the killing of Park's wife had made the nation better understand the Communist threat and the necessity for the emergency measures. But since the nation had been warned about the threat of Communism, he said, the time had come to lift the emergency decrees.

The Park regime rests on a very shaky social base. Owing its origins and continued existence to U. S. military might, and dependent economically on infusions of U. S. and Japanese capital, it has had to keep the mass of the South Korean population in check through a balance of harsh repression and virulent anti-Communist propaganda. When the joint communiqué was signed on July 4, 1972, between North and South Korea pledging to ease tension and clear the way for eventual reunification of the country, one element in Park's

control of the population was undermined. The increased contact with the North laid bare the hollowness of his anti-Communist propaganda. Park has reacted by intensifying the repression, while at the same time trying to whip up an anti-Communist hysteria through spy scares and the like.

Repression Stepped Up

On October 17, 1972, Park declared martial law, dissolved the National Assembly, banned strikes and political activity, imposed censorship of the press, and suspended parts of the constitution. Shortly afterward he imposed a new constitution on the country intended to maintain his dictatorial rule indefinitely. This provoked demonstrations headed by students in the fall of 1973 that spread to broader layers of the population.

Park responded with ever harsher repressive measures. The victims have included prominent intellectuals, poets, writers, student leaders, politicians, and members of the clergy.

Two prominent individuals recently dragged before Park's special courts-martial were Bishop Daniel Chi Hak Soun and Yun Po Sun, a former president of the country. On August 12 Bishop Chi was sentenced to fifteen years jail and his civil rights were suspended for another fifteen years. Yun Po Sun, who is seventy-six years old, received a three-year suspended sentence.

Also sentenced were Park Hyung Kyu, a Protestant pastor (fifteen years in prison and fifteen years suspension of civil rights); Kim Chang Kook, dean of the Yonsei Theological Seminary (ten years in prison and ten years suspension of civil rights); and Kim Dong Kil, a professor of American history at Yonsei (fifteen years in prison and fifteen years suspension of civil rights).

On August 7, the Ministry of National Defense, which is conducting the courts-martial, admitted that sixty more persons had been taken before the secret military courts in the previous week. On the following day it announced that an additional nineteen were being held. It was also announced that day that twenty-six defendants, mostly students, had received sentences ranging from three to fifteen years in prison.

On August 13, twelve more

students were sentenced to ten to twenty years, and a prison guard received seven years for attempting to smuggle a student's letter out of prison. On August 14, the day before the assassination attempt, it was announced that thirty-six more people had been sentenced to prison, with terms ranging from five years to life, and it was expected that another twenty-three would be sentenced the following day.

A total of 171 persons are known to have been convicted under Park's decrees. The August 23 *New York Times* estimated that more than 300 persons had been arrested, tried, and convicted under the two decrees that were lifted.

A report prepared for Amnesty International by William J. Butler, a New York lawyer, and presented to the Foreign Affairs subcommittees of the U. S. House of Representatives, states that South Korea holds approximately 1,100 prisoners charged with, or convicted of, political crimes. The report says that prisoners have been tortured, held incommunicado for long periods, and denied the right to call witnesses in their behalf.

Mounting Opposition

In spite of the extreme personal danger involved in even hinting at criticism of Park's regime or his decrees, there were sizable expressions of opposition, especially from Protestants and Catholics. Dissenters had to use very guarded language. The August 13 *New York Times* reported that after the sentencing of Bishop Chi and the Protestant leaders, services were held "in which political grievances were couched in the language of religion."

"This morning, about 700 Protestants from the National Council of Churches, which represents half of Korea's 3.4-million Protestants, gathered at the Saemunan Presbyterian Church, near the capital, to take part in a prayer meeting based on the Book of Isaiah — 'The King must repent.'

"While there was no direct reference to President Park, one minister pleaded: 'However high a position he may have, if he makes a mistake against the Korean people, then please put him down, God.'"

That evening, the *Times* reported, about 3,000 Catholics climbed the

steep hill to their cathedral in downtown Seoul and read a message posted by their bishops: "The violation of human rights is a fearful crime against God."

Demonstrations against the Korean repression have been held in many cities around the world. Criticism has also come from various governments. The Belgian, French, and Italian ambassadors all called at the South Korean Foreign Ministry with expressions of concern. The Danish, Australian, and other governments have also protested.

Washington's Role

It took a while before Washington hopped on the bandwagon of pious protest. The August 4 *New York Times* reported that "when a protest mass was held in the Seoul Cathedral last week to demand the release of Bishop Chi, [U. S.] Ambassador Philip C. Habib, a Catholic, was not there. Conspicuously, the French and Belgian Ambassadors did attend.

"An American official scoffed at their presence. 'It is the only thing they can do. They have no leverage,' he said. He did not answer the obvious question."

However, the State Department later said, "We do not approve of actions depriving people of their human rights. The Korean Government is very much aware of our views on these issues." President Ford also let it be known through his press secretary that he was "concerned" about political prisoners in Korea.

What the U. S. ruling class is really "concerned" about was explained in an editorial in the August 14 *Wall Street Journal*:

"In order to make sense of our military aid program, in Korea or elsewhere, it's important to leave aside talk about democracy and ask whether such assistance is in America's self-interest. Secretary of State Kissinger rightly told a Senate appropriations subcommittee that Washington does not recommend Seoul's domestic policy, but believes we have a national interest in what happens there. Critics may scorn such talk as a new domino theory, but South Korea's political and military stability is important to the future of Japan and East Asia. Thus U. S. aid to South Korea repre-

sents an investment in Asian security, not an investment in General Park."

'An Investment in Asian Security'

The word "investment" was aptly chosen by the *Wall Street Journal*. The previous day the paper had run a long analysis headed "South Korea Economy May Suffer as Result Of Political Repression." According to the article, businessmen "are beginning to reassess seriously the effect of present political measures on the nation's long-term investment climate."

The article concluded, however, that despite government harassment and corruption, "most foreigners admit they are making money and successfully repatriating profits. They generally praise Korean workers, who are well-educated (86% of the adult population is literate), energetic and still willing to work for \$60 to \$70 a month. Moreover, the government encourages construction of high-pollution industries, such as steel and petrochemicals, which other nations now shun."

An article in the August 17 *New York Times* shed some light on why South Korean workers are so "willing" to work for \$60 to \$70 a month. It describes the superexploitation, and the repressive labor laws. Unions are legal, the article explains, but "union activity is hedged on all sides by legal restraints. To attract American and Japanese investment, for example, no union can be set up in a foreign-owned company without the management's consent. Collective bargaining is permitted in theory, but the Government's Office of Labor Affairs has the right to impose a settlement. Strikes are banned."

Thus, translating the language of the *Wall Street Journal* into ordinary speech, we see that "America's self-interest" means the interest of the American capitalists in exploiting the rest of the world, and an "investment in Asian security" includes, of course, political and military intervention to maintain that exploitation.

There are 38,000 American troops in South Korea. The U. S. force is still listed as the "United Nations Command," in accordance with the United Nations resolution approving Truman's decision to intervene militarily in Korea in 1950. The U. S. force includes an infantry division, a missile

unit, an air defense brigade, and three fighter squadrons with about sixty F-4 Phantom jet planes. They are under the command of seventeen generals and admirals.

The August 28 *New York Times* stated that "part of that command structure is a leftover from the Korean war period, part results from the political requirements of the mission here and part reflects the role of American generals as commanders and advisers of South Korean forces."

Setup Endangered by Overzealous Puppet

Thus criticism of Park's excesses by some sections of the American ruling class merely reflects a concern that his overzealous methods might have counterproductive effects. Edwin O. Reischauer, former ambassador to Japan and now a Harvard professor, defended this position before subcommittees of the House Foreign Relations Committee. The July 31 *New York Times* reported that Reischauer argued that Park's repressive policies "had so weakened South Korea that the United States should cut back on aid and perhaps withdraw some troops to press Mr. Park to liberalize his policies."

This stand was endorsed by the *New*

York Times in an editorial August 4. It was also supported by the *Wall Street Journal* editorial already quoted, which after reaffirming the American "investment in Asian security," concluded:

"Nevertheless, this should not rule out a possible symbolic cutback in aid, or, as Edwin Reischauer recently suggested, a token withdrawal of some U. S. troops—enough to convey American displeasure over Mr. Park's increasingly authoritarian activities. As a general rule, noninterference in another's domestic affairs is the wisest policy one government can adopt toward another. But some 35,000 Americans were killed in the Korean war and the U.S. has invested some \$11 billion [milliard] in military and economic aid in South Korea, so it can hardly be argued that Washington should have no influence there. It would be foolish to expect a model democracy in return for our investment, but the U. S. has a right and an obligation to protest Seoul's violation of civil and human rights."

The "symbolic cutback" was voted for in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on August 14. The committee set the figure at \$140 million instead of the \$157 million approved for the last fiscal year. Whether Congress will accept this cut remains to be seen. □

Britain

Gately Inquest Whitewashes Police

By Tony Hodges

London

A verdict of "death by misadventure" has been returned at a London inquest into the death of Kevin Gately, the Warwick student who was killed when hundreds of police attacked an anti-racist demonstration in London June 15.

The jury's verdict, agreed to by a 10-to-1 majority July 12, shifted the blame for Gately's death away from the police onto Gately himself. Dr Douglas Chambers, coroner for Inner North London, explained afterward that "misadventure" implied a person had been doing something more haz-

ardous than usual.

The inquest verdict failed to place any responsibility on the police who had attacked the demonstrators on horseback with batons drawn. This was despite evidence from Dr Iain West, the pathologist who performed the first post-mortem examination on Gately, that his death was due to a cerebral haemorrhage caused by a blow on the head. It also ignores evidence from an Essex University student, James Meiklejohn, who saw Gately slump unconscious to the ground shortly after mounted police had attacked the marchers with batons.

Warwick University Students Union stated after the inquest that it regarded the Gately verdict as "totally unsatisfactory since it failed to deal with the question of responsibility for his death." A spokesman for the students union said, "Our charges against the savage action of the Metropolitan Police remain unanswered. We reject the implication of the jury's recommendation that the blame for Gately's death rests on the shoulders of the demonstrators themselves."

The Labour government has still refused to hold a full, public, and independent inquiry into Gately's

death. But Labour Home Secretary Roy Jenkins has allowed the police to start gathering information with a view to prosecuting *Socialist Worker*, the paper of the International Socialists, for accusing the police of murdering Gately.

Further attacks on the left may follow two recommendations made by the inquest jury. The first proposed that demonstrations of "diametrically opposed factions should not be permitted in the same vicinity at the same time."

The second could be used by the police to prevent demonstrators from carrying banners. "The jury," reported

the July 13 London *Times*, "expressed concern at the type of object carried by demonstrators and said more attention should be paid to that matter in future." The report said that "staves several feet long with bits of cloth on them had been produced during the inquest."

A sustained defence effort must be launched to stop these threatened attacks on the right to demonstrate and the freedom of the left-wing press, and to force the government to drop all the charges brought against fifty-four demonstrators who were arrested on the march at which Gately died. □

In the Streets of Athens

How Caramanlis's Cops Uphold 'Law and Order'

By Giannis Felekis

[Giannis Felekis was imprisoned by the Papadopoulos junta, released during the abortive liberalization in the middle of 1973, and reimprisoned in the repression that followed the November 1973 mass demonstrations. He was released again in the amnesty for political prisoners that followed the resignation of the Gizikis junta on July 23.

[In August he became editor of *Ergatike Pale* (Workers Struggle), the paper reflecting the views of the Greek Trotskyists, which appeared regularly as a mimeographed monthly during the years of naked dictatorship. *Ergatike Pale* began publication as a legal four-page weekly with its August 10 issue. In the August 17 issue, the size of the pages was increased from 11 x 16.5 inches to 13.5 x 19 inches, an increase of about 40 percent.

[Since his release in July, Felekis has been arrested twice more by the Greek secret police. On August 12, he was arrested for selling *Ergatike Pale* "without a permit." He had gone with a group of three other activists to sell the paper in Kotzia Square in Athens. After the four had sold about 300 papers, the police tried to arrest them, taking their identity cards. But the workers came to their aid and drove the police off. The cops waited for a chance to catch them

alone, and then they made their move. This is the way the August 24 *Ergatike Pale* described it:

"[At the corner of Kaningos and Veranzerou, the cops again jumped our group of activists, grabbing them by the hair and hitting and kicking them. Citizens on the sidewalk ran to their aid and rescued two activists from them. The other two, Giannis Felekis and Aleka Abave, were taken to jail and beaten along the way. There a knight in a blue suit, the hard cop of the occasion, challenged our editor to a fight."

[The judge accused Felekis and his comrade of "profiteering" for selling their paper at three drachmas (about 10 U.S. cents) a copy. Nonetheless, he released them.

[Felekis was arrested again on August 18. In the following article from the August 24 issue of *Ergatike Pale*, he describes his latest arrest. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

On Sunday August 18 at 7:30 in the evening I went to the center of Athens to get a full picture of the various demonstrations. I intended to use this material for an article in *Ergatike Pale*. At the corner of Panepistemiou and Benake, I ran into a large dem-

onstration of young people who were marching toward Omonoia Square. Since in general I shared the views of the participants in this demonstration, I immediately joined it. Besides, this was the best way to gather information for an accurate article.

After the police attacked the demonstration at Stadiou road in a savage way, practically breaking it up, I made my way through a number of difficult situations to the corner of Philellenen and Metropoleos. A large number of demonstrators were gathered there, trying to join those in Syntagma Square. The police attacked them repeatedly, using a fire hose to try to disperse them. The cops also tried to scatter the crowd or intimidate it by applying their clubs and by arresting demonstrators.

At about 9:30, in one of the many police charges, I was arrested as I tried to get onto the portico of the Elysée. My arrest must have looked like one of the more brutal scenes of the evening. At least six cops in uniform and one in plainclothes jumped me. As they threw me to the ground, they kicked me and beat me with their clubs and fists, concentrating on my face. They were so infuriated that they often hit each other.

Then, continuing to beat me, they dragged me along the street to the Syntagma Square, where the paddy

wagon was parked. During the trip to the First Police Precinct, they held me by the hair while they continued to pound my face, which was covered with blood. In the police station, they used the most abusive language and threatened me continually. I tried to avoid their provocations, turning a deaf ear to their insults.

While I sat silently along with four other prisoners in the reception room, right in front of the duty officer's station, the three uniformed guards who were watching us turned over their epaulets so that their numbers would not show, and two in civilian clothes attacked me furiously.

Once again they beat me in the face, which again became covered with blood. After a while they took me to a wash basin and shoved my head under the water to wash away the blood. They kept sticking my head under the water every time they finished a round. I told the officer on duty at the time (his station was only four meters away) that he was responsible and demanded that he give the reason why the agents of the "forces of order" were beating me. Naturally, he didn't do it.

Later they took all of us prisoners to cells, and after about three hours they released everyone except Giannis Pekhivanidis, Giannis Tsonis, and me. Our faces were bruised and lacerated.

During the time I was in the cell, guards and officers came to threaten and insult me, my family, and youth in general in the foulest way. Twice I heard why they were doing this. Among a lot of threats and coarse insults, a guard said, "Caramanlis is a tough one and he'll make all you smart alecks run the gauntlet." A police inspector said, "All these kids who go out to demonstrate fuck." When I answered that I would remember what he had said and convey it to the youth and the public in general, he said, "The police and the public are not interested in the opinion of your type."

I relate all this to inform the people once again about the moral level of the organs of "law and order."

On the second afternoon, Pekhivanidis, Tsonis, and Karagiannakis (the latter was held in the Third Precinct) were taken to the public prosecutor's office. The first two were released. Karagiannakis will be remanded to the Fifth Tribunal on August 29. On

the following day, they took me to the prosecutor's office, after the "marks" of mistreatment had disappeared.

When I came before him, the prosecutor, Doris, declared immediately that the blood that remained on my shirt and trousers came from the "policemen's head that you split open." I commended him for the impartiality of bourgeois justice, noting that it did not surprise me, since I am quite familiar with the role of bourgeois justice in capitalist society.

Then, the prosecutor remanded me

to the Fifth Tribunal for trial on August 29 for resistance and insolence to authority, organizing an unlawful demonstration, and assault and battery against officers of the law.

So, we have before us another classical case of bourgeois justice condemning the victims in place of the perpetrators.

I thank the lawyers and the ordinary citizens who supported me and rescued me from the claws of the repressive forces with all my heart, and I hope that they will continue to offer me their solidarity. □

Interview With a Czech Revolutionist

The 1968 Invasion and Its Aftermath

[The following article appeared in the August 19 issue of *Direct Action*, a revolutionary-socialist fortnightly published in Sydney, Australia.]

* * *

On August 20, 1968, Soviet tanks rolled across the borders of Czechoslovakia, supported by forces from East Germany, Hungary and other East European workers' states. They quickly moved into Prague, and brought about the downfall of the Dubcek Government, against the overwhelming opposition of the Czechoslovakian people.

So ended the Dubcek experiment, which had brought a period of liberalisation after the harsh rule of Novotny, Dubcek's predecessor as chief of the Czechoslovak Communist Party. The explosion of discussion and of new demands which the liberalisation brought set up a process which began to threaten the very bureaucratic system upon which the Kremlin's control depended. Students and workers began to demand more and more freedoms, and even started to raise the question of workers councils and of socialist democracy at every level of society—demands which brought the sole power of the Communist Party bureaucracy into question. A political revolution against bureaucratic power was placed on the agenda.

This was the danger which the Kremlin had to move against, for the Czechoslovakian movement was

potentially a threat to bureaucratic power throughout Eastern Europe and even into the USSR itself.

Six years after these momentous events, *Direct Action* prints an interview with Max Wechsler, a young Czech worker and political activist during the Dubcek period. Wechsler was working in Pilsen at the time of the Soviet invasion, and helped in the attempts to prevent Soviet troops taking over the city's radio station. Wechsler came to Australia in 1969 and subsequently became active as a socialist in this country.

* * *

Direct Action: Could you tell us about your life in Czechoslovakia during the reform period under Dubcek? How did it change from the previous Novotny regime?

Wechsler: During the Dubcek reform period life changed. The economic situation improved because the morale of the workers improved. The abolition of censorship meant that the people could freely express their views. In other words there was freedom of speech, the press and the right to assemble. The whole nation "awoke" after 20 years of fear created by the hard-core Stalinist leadership.

Direct Action: What was the feeling of the Czechoslovakian people during the reform period?

Wechsler: Mainly young people were the most active. Many wanted to join the Communist Party because they were excited by the idea of "socialism with a human face." No one wanted capitalism to return to Czechoslovakia. Letters from workers in workshops all over the country were sent to Dubcek in support of him and his policies. Czechoslovakian workers and students supported Dubcek's Government overwhelmingly.

Direct Action: *What were some of the specific changes that Dubcek made?*

Wechsler: The most important reform was the abolition of censorship, as I have already mentioned. Other reforms included the right to form political parties. Dubcek planned to bring in increased workers' control. There were many other reforms planned for the future and included in the Communist Party's "action program" and the new constitution.

Direct Action: *Could you describe some of the events you witnessed during the "Prague Spring"?*

Wechsler: There was a high level of political consciousness. There were political discussions in factories, at sports meetings, parks and in schools. Posters were pasted up expressing support for Dubcek and the Government. There were also public rallies. The truth about Stalin's crimes was revealed in the newspapers. There were a number of new newspapers and magazines being published.

On May Day in Prague hundreds of thousands of people marched, carrying banners and chanting slogans. This was the biggest public demonstration supporting a Communist Government ever held in Czechoslovakia.

Direct Action: *What does socialism mean to you? How does it compare with the situation in Czechoslovakia?*

Wechsler: Socialism to me means true democracy. In other words workers' democracy. Before Dubcek there was a repressive Stalinist regime. During Dubcek's period in power there was more independence from the Soviet Union but there was still a long way to go. Now there is the same situation as before the Prague Spring. Perhaps it is even worse.

Direct Action: *What support did the "Prague Spring" receive in other Eastern European states that you know of?*

Wechsler: Many people in the other workers' states fully supported and agreed with the reforms of the Dubcek regime. But the media in the workers' states warned that there was imminent danger of counter-revolution and a return to capitalism. I met two young East German tourists about one week before the invasion. They said to me: "We are amazed what freedom you have—we wish you all the best." But the Soviet press was attacking the Czech Communist Party almost every day and this must have had some effect on what people in the other workers' states thought.

Direct Action: *Why do you think that the Soviet Union invaded Czechoslovakia?*

Wechsler: The Soviet Union was afraid that the events in Czechoslovakia would spill over into other workers' states—if not the USSR itself.

Dubcek merely argued for Czechoslovakia to be independent of control by the Soviet Union. This was unacceptable to the Soviet leadership, which continued Stalin's policy of keeping the East European workers' states under complete Soviet domination. In his speech, shortly after the invasion, Brezhnev warned the workers' states against following independent policies.

Direct Action: *Could you briefly describe the events of the Soviet invasion? What was the reaction of the Czech people? What defense actions were taken?*

Wechsler: It was a great shock. At first the people did not believe the Czech radio broadcasts announcing that the armies of the Warsaw Pact had begun invading the country—until we saw the first convoys of Soviet tanks and troops. The Soviet army seized radio stations, important buildings and key strategic points.

After the initial shock people began to talk to the Soviet troops, explaining to them the true situation. A general strike was called. Buildings and streets were covered with posters condemning the invasion. Many were written in Russian; there was not armed resistance, however.

Direct Action: *What was the attitude of the Soviet troops when they were received in a hostile way? Soviet troops had to be rotated very rapidly and suffered low morale. Why was this?*

Wechsler: It was difficult to say what they really thought. They were ordered not to talk to the people, but many obviously became demoralised and some even suicided after they found out what they had really done. Quite a number of innocent Czech people were killed for no reason at all, just because they were in the way of the invading armies.

Direct Action: *What did the Dubcek Government do? What was its policy towards the USSR Government?*

Wechsler: The central committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia called on the USSR and other workers' states to stop the invasion immediately and demanded that all foreign troops leave. Dubcek and his ministers were arrested and flown to Moscow, where they were pressured to sign a Moscow protocol, which, in practice, meant capitulation to the USSR.

The big dream of "socialism with a human face" and the fight for independence had ended.

Direct Action: *What is the situation like in Czechoslovakia today?*

Wechsler: After the invasion Czech Stalinists supported by the Soviet bureaucrats regained control of the country. At present there are about 60,000 Soviet soldiers in the country with the knowledge of the Czech Stalinists and their leader Dr Husak, once a supporter and a friend of Dubcek.

The trials of so-called "counter-revolutionaries" or supporters of Dubcek have ended. Sentences were "mild" compared with the 'fifties. There were no executions or life sentences. But many of Dubcek's supporters who had high qualifications as economists, etc., were sacked and were forced to seek other employment. A few of them were forced into self-criticism because they feared persecution or prosecution.

Trotsky's analyses and conclusions about Stalinism have been proved correct many times over. Maybe the Czechoslovakian events in one way

helped some communists to realise the real nature of Stalinism.

Direct Action: What do you think will be necessary for the creation of socialism in Czechoslovakia and other workers' states?

Wechsler: A social revolution has already occurred in these countries. Capitalism has been removed, but a bureaucracy rules and denies the people their democratic rights. A political revolution is necessary to overthrow this bureaucracy. To achieve this, a revolutionary party will be necessary to show workers and students the way forward.

Dubcek and his supporters were not able to provide this leadership. They did not pose an effective alternative to the old Stalinist bureaucrats. They brought welcome reforms, but not the revolutionary program which is required.

Direct Action: When you left Czechoslovakia and came to Australia you joined the Communist Party here. Why did you do this? Why did you later leave the CPA to join the Socialist Workers League?

Wechsler: When I left Czechoslovakia I didn't lose the desire to work for socialism. In fact more than ever I wanted to work for this goal. I wanted to use the experience I had gained in Czechoslovakia. I had experienced Stalinism and bureaucracy and had seen the limitations of the Dubcek experiment.

During my first three years here I educated myself and learned the English language. I also kept up to date with current events by following the foreign language press, particularly Czech and Russian.

Then through my study and union work (I belonged to the Amalgamated Metal Workers Union) I came across the Communist Party of Australia. I did not know much about the left movement in Australia and the CPA looked, at first glance, to be influential and to be the future real leadership of the workers movement here. (This was in the beginning of 1973.) I joined the CPA believing that I could put my experience to good use with others in the CPA.

After a while I began to realise that the CPA had never really broken com-

pletely with Moscow despite its condemnation of the invasion of Czechoslovakia. They never properly analysed why the invasion took place and have not drawn the right lessons from the events since then.

The CPA follows a program which basically follows the Stalinist politics of its past. Only a revolutionary program can lead to the overthrow of capitalism and show the way towards socialism.

The uncritical way in which the CPA spoke of Chilean "socialism" shows that its leadership still says that socialism can be built on a basis of class peace.

Even after the tragedy in Chile the leadership believes in a peaceful road to socialism. How many more times will the workers have to suffer such

defeats as in Chile?

What attracted me to join the SWL? I used to see them a lot selling their paper *Direct Action* on the streets. They realise the vital importance of the party press, and the need to put a lot of effort into the widest possible distribution.

As I began to look more closely at their program I could see that it explained what was wrong in the workers' states. It provided a revolutionary point of view for people in countries like Czechoslovakia as well as capitalist countries like Australia.

I think that people who are interested in socialism and also members of the CPA who are not happy with CPA policies, should join the SWL, as the only way to be sure that the job will be done. □

Angola

White Racists Intensify Terrorist Action

By Hugo Blanco

[The following is a translation of "Racistas Blancos Intensifican su Acción Terrorista," which appears elsewhere in this issue.

[Since July 20, when this article was written, additional incidents of white racist violence against the Angolan people have been reported. According to an article in the July 30 *Le Monde*, at least 300 African civilians were killed or wounded during confrontations with white extremists in Luanda during the last two weeks of July.

[An August 10 Reuters dispatch in the *New York Times* reported two more persons killed and nineteen injured in a Luanda suburban clash. Troops moved in, allegedly to restore order, and arrested 143 persons, of whom only two were white.

[Another development since the article was written was the Portuguese government's August 10 announcement of a two-year plan for the independence of Angola. The plan calls for the formation of a provisional government once a cease-fire has been signed in Angola. This government would include whites along with members of all liberation movements and

would preside over a series of parliamentary steps culminating in general elections at the end of two years.

[A London *Times* dispatch printed in the *New York Times* August 25 stated that the MPLA (Movimento Popular para a Libertação de Angola — People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola) and the UNITA (União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola — National Union for the Total Independence of Angola) had reached an unofficial peace with the Portuguese army.

[The only independence group reported to have opposed the two-year plan and to have continued fighting is the Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola (FNLA — National Front for the Liberation of Angola). According to the dispatch, the group has staged eight raids on coffee plantations in the Carmona region of Angola in recent weeks, along with two full-scale attacks on the Portuguese military. Portuguese army sources estimate that 5,000 members of the organization are still fighting.]

* * *

Angola is a country with a popu-

lation of six million Blacks, half a million whites, and several hundred thousand mestizos.

There are three liberation movements fighting to win independence of Angola from Portugal, the main one being the MPLA.

Faced with the perspective that independence might be granted to this colony, white racists have intensified their activity against the Black population since April 25 and are doing everything possible to prevent an independence that will not maintain a white government.

For quite a while now the white Partido Cristão Democrático de Angola [PCDA—Christian Democratic party of Angola] has been utilizing tribalism to divide the Black population.

Portuguese Minister of Interterritorial Coordination Almeida Santos was in the Angolan capital May 26. He was met by a proindependence demonstration of 20,000 persons, the majority of whom were Black.

But there was also a counterdemonstration of whites, mainly businessmen and taxi drivers, who insulted the minister.

A few days later a white businessman killed a Black for having shouted, "Long live General Spínola!"

April 25 produced no change whatever among Angolan authorities, who, in a more or less underhanded way, defend the actions of the white racists.

On July 11 a white taxi driver was found dead near a Black neighborhood. This served as the pretext for unleashing terrorist actions against the Black population.

Groups of whites, mainly taxi drivers and businessmen, marched on the official radio station in search of Norberto Castro, and on the Studios of the North looking for Sebastião Coelho. These two radio announcers were accused by the whites of having incited the Blacks. At the Studios of the North the whites broke windows and abused the secretaries, but they could not find Coelho, who had fled in time.

Later they marched on Cazenga, the neighborhood where the taxi driver had been found dead. Armed with grenades, pistols, clubs, and other weapons, they began to attack all Blacks passing in vehicles. Then, when they were dispersed by police, they marched to another neighborhood—Cuca—to continue the same kind of action. White authorities ac-

knowledged three deaths and thirty or forty wounded, all of them Black.

On the morning of July 13, friends and family of the dead went to the hospital to claim the bodies. Then they conducted a march of protest and mourning, carrying the bodies through the main streets of Luanda, until they were stopped by the police, who seized the bodies from them.

In view of the fact that the actions of white terrorists continued with the approval of the white police, on July 15 a column of 5,000 Black soldiers and officials was formed. They marched on the military headquarters to ask that they be permitted to protect the Black communities. General Franco Pinheiro was forced to accept this request. Meanwhile, Black civilians who had accompanied the soldiers and who were arrested en route, were being attacked by the police.

On the same day, there were many incidents in Black communities where the population responded to attacks by burning down the stores of white businessmen.

Also that day there was a general strike of Black workers, as a sign of mourning and protest. In spite of the strong police repression, the strike was a success. Strike pickets were prevented from being present at workplaces, so they stationed themselves on the outskirts of the Black neighborhoods.

During the afternoon the burial of five victims of white terrorism took place. The funeral march left from the Liga Nacional Africana [African National League] and was accompanied by more than 20,000 persons, many whites among them. There were banners of the liberation movements in Angola and the other colonies, and singing of the MPLA anthem and religious songs in the Kimbundu dialect.

Earlier, family members and other Blacks at the Liga Nacional Africana had repudiated the attitude of the government council in compensating the families and paying for the funerals, saying that such an attitude was "an offense to the dignity of the Angolans" who want "protective measures and not alms."

The bank workers union is demanding that reactionary whites be expelled from Angola.

In Luanda there was a plenary meeting of students, teachers, and administrators from all secondary

schools and universities, which agreed to call three days of academic mourning, with the occupation of all schools, to demand the immediate arrest, trial, and expulsion from the country of all who were implicated directly or indirectly in the crimes.

In addition, university students have agreed to demand the resignation of government bodies, banning the representative organizations of the university from entering relations with the Angolan government as long as the provisional government of Portugal and the Armed Forces Movement do not explicitly put into practice anti-colonialist measures.

The repression has taken different forms:

It is reported that more than 100 Blacks have been assassinated.

Radio programming has been placed under government control and union assemblies have been suspended.

Governor General Silvino Silveiro Marques says, "We are now passing from a peaceful situation to one that I would characterize as urban or sub-urban guerrilla warfare." He says the police are being harassed and that those who question the impartiality of the assertion are also agitators and will be punished.

In Lisbon, Almeida Santos offers the opinion that these are "insignificant racial conflicts."

Angolans say that the government is pledged to smash their protests and for that reason is giving a free hand to the racist and ultrarightist parties. They point out that the curfew acts to prevent Blacks from moving freely and facilitates their capture by white terrorists.

Concretely they denounce RUA [Resistência Unida de Angola—United Resistance of Angola], which is made up of white commando groups organized to carry out terrorist acts, as initiator of the events. They indicate that this paramilitary organization has offered money to some Portuguese officials to stay in Angola after independence is granted. RUA has support in the press and radio, the armed forces, and the various police apparatus.

In addition, Angolans are of the opinion that the latest events have strengthened the unity of the Black population and heightened its desires for independence. □

Writings of a 'Stubborn Ukrainian'

Reviewed by Marilyn Vogt



"A small group of people in Kiev scattered sparks all over Ukraine and where they fell the ice of indifference and nihilism, that had accumulated over long years, began at once to thaw." Thus Valentyn Moroz describes the effect of the "generation of the sixties" in Ukraine on the political and cultural life of the Ukrainian SSR, frozen by decades of Stalinist repression.

He describes the radicalization in the 1960s in Ukraine in his essay "In the Midst of the Snows," one of the notable documents in this collection of Moroz's writings, recently put out by Cataract Press, a new publishing house specializing in Ukrainian dissident writings. The publication of the collection coincided with the beginning of Moroz's hunger strike in his solitary-confinement cell in Vladimir prison.

Although he was not in Kiev like the others, Moroz was one of this "small group of people"—the "generation of the sixties" in Ukraine. And this small group was to produce some of the most politically sophisticated anti-Stalinist but prosocialist literature to make its way abroad in the past decade.

This particular essay concerns the activity of the most prominent figure in this generation of radicals, Ivan Dzyuba. In his book *Internationalism or Russification?* Dzyuba criticized the Stalinist policy toward non-Russian peoples in the Soviet Union—i. e., Russification—from a Leninist point of view. He contrasted Russification of Ukraine, which has been enforced since Stalin's time, to the policy of Ukrainization, which the Bolsheviks under Lenin (and Trotsky) implemented in the 1920s in this, the largest of the non-Russian republics in the USSR.

Written in 1965, *Internationalism or*

Russification? was an inspiration to young Ukrainians in the Soviet Union (where the work circulated only clandestinely because it was forbidden official publication), as well as to those living abroad, to fight in the name of socialist democracy against the political repression and the Russian chauvinism of the ruling bureaucracy.

Most of those in the forefront of this struggle fell victim to the waves of repression that have swept Ukraine

Report From the Beria Reserve, by Valentyn Moroz. Translated by John Kolasky. Toronto: Cataract Press, 1974. 162 pp. \$2.95.

since the mid-1960s. Moroz and Dzyuba were among the hundreds who were arrested.

Dzyuba was arrested in April 1972, and in November 1973, sick with tuberculosis after more than eighteen months in KGB prisons, he succumbed to the relentless police pressure and signed a statement, published in the official press, renouncing the ideas in his book.

"In the Midst of the Snows" is a product of the events surrounding the repression campaign against Dzyuba and Dzyuba's response to it.

In the course of the campaign, Dzyuba, a literary critic, was threatened with expulsion from the Ukrainian Writers Union in 1969 because of the "nationalist flavor" of his speeches and articles and because his ideas had "become food for the enemies of the Soviet system." Under pressure, Dzyuba released a statement in 1970 that temporarily satisfied the bureaucrats. As a result, he was not immediately expelled from the Writers Union, although he was ultimately expelled in

1972, just prior to his arrest. In this 1970 statement, Dzyuba said, "I reject the term 'nationalist' regardless of how it is interpreted. . . ."

Moroz felt that Dzyuba, in this statement, had made a dangerous and damaging concession to the Stalinist bureaucracy. Moroz wrote, "I reject the term 'nationalist' regardless of how it is interpreted," writes Dzyuba. . . . It is difficult to believe this. Absolute rejection of nationalism 'regardless of how it is interpreted,' is Stalin's and not Lenin's thesis. Lenin never took such a stand. Lenin, as is known, interpreted the nationalism of an oppressed nation in a positive sense. Here Dzyuba not only departs from Lenin but from himself."

Pointing out that Dzyuba was the "symbol" and "inspiration" for struggle, Moroz says that such figures as Dzyuba are the ones the bureaucracy must destroy by nullifying their inspirational effect. He indicated that he felt that Dzyuba had betrayed the struggle against Russification by making this statement. In the long run, Moroz asserted, this concession had weakened Dzyuba's own position and the position of other opponents of Russification in their fight against the bureaucracy.

"Has Dzyuba still not really comprehended the elementary police truth that having admitted A, triple pressure will be applied on him to admit B? Many, having embarked on this road, have also admitted B."

The "realists" had maintained that Dzyuba's statement was a pragmatic move that would allow Dzyuba to remain in the Writers Union and that to condemn his statement was to exhibit "Don Quixotism"—impractical idealism. Moroz writes that it is precisely "impractical idealism" that is the only realistic course to take. For one

"realistic" compromise only leads to another. What is needed, he maintains, is intransigence—to live up to the phrase, used in a derogatory manner by Poles and Russians, "stubborn as a Ukrainian."

Moroz is a stubborn Ukrainian. It was on July 1, 1974, that he began his hunger strike in Vladimir prison. He is there serving part of a fourteen-year term he received for his activities, mostly his writings, upholding the democratic and national rights of the Ukrainian people against the Great Russian chauvinist bureaucrats' repressive policies. (This is a "crime" under Article 62 of the Ukrainian criminal code—"anti-Soviet activity.")

The bureaucrats are attempting to destroy Moroz mentally and physically because he is intransigent and won't recant his views. In addition to the starvation diet at Vladimir prison—where he is to serve six of the fourteen years—he has been subjected to further barbarities. He was placed in cells with mentally insane inmates, harassed and knifed by criminal cellmates, and administered brain-damaging drugs. Since 1972 he has been in solitary confinement.

He has launched the hunger strike to back up his demand that he be transferred to a prison camp. Otherwise, he says, he will carry on the hunger strike until death, for he fears the treatment he is receiving will succeed in driving him insane and he would rather die than lose his reason.

Report from the Beria Reserve contains Moroz's principal works written between April 1967 and November 1970. Moroz does not call himself a Marxist or a Leninist. However, he continually points out the hypocrisy of Stalin and Stalin's heirs. Although they claim to represent communism, their practices reflect no more than a concerted and vicious effort to repress any ideas that might upset the status quo, which insures their power and privilege.

"Could the most inveterate anti-communist invent a more effective means of undermining the position of communism in the ideological struggle with the West" than those in the Kremlin who identify "Soviet power with chauvinism, Stalinism and lawlessness?" Moroz asks.

The collection provides several different sides of Moroz's thinking. Moroz wrote the title essay, "Report from

the Beria Reserve," in April 1967 in a solitary-confinement cell where he was serving a four-year term after his arrest in 1965 for dissident activities. This essay explores the mentality of those individuals in the bureaucracy's repressive apparatus—the "empire of cogs," the gray mass of mindless enforcers. What he describes is an empire of Rusanovs—the bureaucrat in Solzhenitsyn's *Cancer Ward*—whose existence is incompatible with uncensored and uncontrolled thought.

But although the terror of the Stalin era produced these cogs, Moroz believes that people are becoming aware that it is only their own fear that keeps the cogs in power. Whom will it inconvenience if the masses of Soviet people begin to fight for their democratic rights, Moroz asks. And he answers: "Those who will lose their privileges with the complete wiping out of the lawlessness of Stalin: first of all the KGB; then the chairman of the collective farm who fears that if all legal norms are actually complied with, he will not even be appointed swineherd; then the academician who climbed to his chair over the corpses of betrayed comrades in 1937; finally the chauvinist who will have to give up his program of Russification. These are the forces which defend the past and block the path of progress with their dead weight. Only *they* require people to be cogs. Yet they steadfastly pose as protectors of society and defenders of 'socialist legality.'"

The "Report" is concerned fundamentally with describing the forces behind the massive repression and the stifling of ideas, and the stagnation of Soviet life that has resulted.

One of the more fascinating of Moroz's essays is the "Chronicle of Resistance," written in January 1970. It concerns Kosmach, a village in Western Ukraine, and its inhabitants, the Hutsul people.* Moroz views Kosmach as a bastion of Ukrainian resistance to foreign domination, assimilation, and national annihilation. He documents the resistance and tenacity the Hutsuls have exhibited in with-

* The Hutsuls are ethnographically distinct Ukrainian inhabitants of a region of the Carpathian Mountains. They subsist on agriculture, cattle and sheep breeding, and forestry; they are known for original architecture, wood carving, brass work, weaving, and ceramics.

standing attempts by the Poles and the Russians—of the tsarist and Stalinist variety—to subdue them.

The touchstone of Moroz's thinking is his commitment to the rights of the Ukrainian people and his opposition to the Stalinist bureaucrats who repress and destroy creativity and independent thought.

In a May 15, 1968, declaration to the head of the Ukrainian Communist party, when speaking of the rising opposition to Russification in Ukraine, Moroz stated:

"Not to allow' a new trend is impossible. It will emerge regardless, but perhaps in foreign attire as an argument in the hands of an opponent. Not to allow a spring stream into its channel means to let it turn someone else's mill. Failure to turn a new trend into one's own weapon means to allow it to fall into the hands of an opponent. . . .

"Will today's Ukrainian communists succeed in finally resurrecting Lenin's policy of Ukrainianization and declare a decisive war against Russian chauvinism in Ukraine? This will determine the success of the ideological struggle with the West."

Leon Trotsky, writing in 1939, made the same point. And he stated further that if the proletarian vanguard, the revolutionists, did not take up the struggle of Ukrainians against the Stalinist bureaucracy and Russification and make it their own, providing leadership in the struggle for an independent socialist Ukraine, the struggle was doomed to defeat. For the "ideological" enemies in the West that Moroz speaks of would only lead Ukraine into the arms of imperialist powers, whose suppression of Ukrainian life would be no less vicious than the suppression implemented by the Stalinists (as the German occupation of 1941-43 proved).

Moroz is striving to inspire others to struggle—to hasten the erosion of bureaucratic terror. He believes that when people begin to stand up and fight for their rights, the "empire of cogs" will collapse. And he believes this process is under way.

The strength of the Ukrainian opposition is manifested in Moroz's writings. His essays underscore the thoroughgoing damage that has been inflicted on Ukrainian life since Stalin consolidated his power in the 1920s. The practices of Stalin in Ukraine—

the massive repression of the late 1920s and early 1930s to halt the Ukrainization that threatened his control, the forced collectivization and mass starvation of the 1930s, the massive offensives against Ukrainian resistance in the 1940s and 1950s—all this had catastrophic consequences on the Ukrainian people.

Many of the new generation of revolutionary fighters in Ukraine like Moroz have sifted through the ravage wrought in Ukraine and among other non-Russian peoples by Stalinist rule. They are seeking the facts that have been obscured by Stalin's falsification of the history of the revolution. They distinguish between the policies the Bolsheviks were implementing and the Great Russian chauvinism that characterized the Stalin era as well as

the policies of the post-Stalin Kremlin rulers: The demand for an independent socialist Ukraine has been advanced by several groupings of Ukrainian workers and students, groupings that are known because they were crushed by the secret police in the post-World War II period.

But Moroz is not a Marxist and his writings exhibit a high degree of subjectivity in many instances. He is searching for and upholding what he sees to be genuine expressions of Ukrainian culture, tradition, and values in the face of the prefabricated "culture" and hypocrisy that pervade present-day Ukrainian life under the rule of the Stalinist bureaucracy. Despite the shortcomings of his thinking, what he is opposing is Russification, and against Russification he has been

a model fighter.

Moroz is furthering the process of building a movement in Ukraine of workers, students, and intellectuals who will fight to abolish the repressive Stalinist bureaucracy and restore socialist democracy in Ukraine. That is why the bureaucracy wants him destroyed. And that is why revolutionists must come to his defense.

In 1939, Trotsky expressed what the attitude of a revolutionist must be toward the struggle of the Ukrainian people against the oppression of the Stalinist bureaucracy: "Of importance to me is your attitude toward your national destiny and not the 'socialistic' sophistries of the Kremlin police; I will support your struggle for independence with all my might!"

The same holds fully true today. □

Three Union Leaders Tell the Story

'How We Organized in Totalitarian Portugal'

[The following interview was given to Gerry Foley in Lisbon at the end of May by three activists of the Movimento da Esquerda Socialista (MES—Movement of the Socialist Left). One of the persons interviewed, António Santos Junior, is a past president of the Lisbon metalworkers union. Another, Geronimo Franco, is the present head of this union. The third, an activist at the Portuguese airline, TAP, did not wish to be identified by name. None of the persons interviewed have had the opportunity to check the edited version of their remarks.]

* * *

Question. First, would you describe the conditions under which workers struggles developed under the old regime?

Santos Junior. I became the president of the metalworkers union in 1970, since in that year a democratically elected leadership took office. Of course, it was subject to all the restrictions of the fascist laws. But the workers did have the opportunity

to vote in elections for our slate.

Thus, in June 1970, a group that actually enjoyed the confidence of the working class was able to take the leadership of the metalworkers in Lisbon. Since this leadership really was of the working class, and its lines of action in no way fitted in with corporatism, its election marked a historic turning point in the country. It was obvious that corporatism was eroding. The struggle of the metalworkers shattered the government's propaganda about corporatism defending the interests of the working class.

Gigantic struggles developed that struck fear into the rulers of the country. The repressive forces were sent in, of course. But the leaders were able to organize meetings almost immediately in the union headquarters, despite the fact that there was very little room there. The meetings lasted into the middle of the night, and the workers were informed about the conditions they were being subjected to and the purges that were being carried out.

This agitation frightened the government, and it took further repressive measures against the metalwork-

ers and their leadership. The leadership had strong links with the rank and file and was mobilizing them on the basis of clear slogans and grassroots methods of organization. At that point the government banned meetings, including the meeting to discuss the contract that was then in the final stage of negotiation. The membership meeting was to be held in the Benfica stadium, and we expected about 25,000 workers to attend. At the last minute the government banned this meeting. It sent out announcements over radio and television and in the newspapers that the meeting was not being held—not that it had been banned, but that it was not being held.

This struggle lasted from June to October 1970. When, in connection with our rank-and-file work, we put out a circular to get a campaign going for elections for shop stewards to inform the workers, that was the final straw for the government. They ousted the democratically elected leadership, who then returned to the ranks after only four months in office. But in this short time the workers had gained a certain consciousness. The new

board was nothing but an administrative committee appointed by the government. The workers did not play the slightest role in choosing this board; its members were just bosses and did not enjoy any confidence whatever among the workers.

From this point on, the workers gained a certain understanding of what the purpose of corporatism was in Portugal. Other leaderships began to follow the example of the metalworkers, despite the fact that they included persons who were completely reformist or fascists who criticized the metalworkers leadership for being too hotheaded, etc. Other leaderships that understood that corporatism was a betrayal of the working class adopted more or less the same lines of action as the metalworkers. Other leaderships began to be ousted by the government, such as the bank workers, the hospital workers, and others. And from these ousters the workers began to understand still more clearly that what was involved was not, as the government wanted them to believe, a half-dozen wild men who had gone into the unions with the idea of overthrowing the regime immediately.

The metalworkers union leadership was ousted on the third of October. After that, the struggles of the workers became still more violent. We were under heavy surveillance by the repressive forces—the Guarda Republicana, the PIDE [Policia Internacional para a Defesa do Estado—International Police for the Defense of the State, the secret police], etc. Police were present at any meetings that were not banned outright.

Since the workers had no confidence in the administrative board appointed by the government, a struggle developed between the ranks and the formal leadership. The Grupos do Trabalho [Work Groups] that were formed functioned completely independently of the administrative board. It was these groups that played the predominant role in the struggles. They worked more or less clandestinely. Our comrades in the various factories published and circulated materials to inform the workers. They also criticized the work of the administrative board. They forced the formal leadership to hold some meetings and raise some demands.

Some groups were formed with the objective of winning new democratic elections in the metalworkers union.

"Democratic" is a vague term. There was no democracy; it was impossible. But within the laws that existed, they tried to get a leadership elected once again that would be representative of the workers, a leadership that would enjoy the confidence of the working class.

When the government ousted us, it involved us in a court case. At first we were removed only temporarily. We were charged with "antinationa" activity, with being "revolutionists," and so on. On the order of the Ministry of the Interior, we were to be tried by a tribunal. Of course, the ministry and the tribunal were the same thing, just as the government and the courts were the same thing. The workers pressed for a rapid trial, but the government kept postponing the case. It stretched out so much that we were kept under indictment for three years. This enabled the government to hold a club over our heads as new struggles developed.

After three years of waiting for a decision in our case, the majority of metalworkers came together through the Grupos do Trabalho to discuss the situation that had developed. A certain impatience had begun to arise among the metalworkers. Some wanted to continue to press the court case to reinstitute the elected leadership. Others argued for dropping the court case to clear the way for new elections, maintaining that given the nature of the regime the tribunal was not going to rule in favor of the workers. Still others replied that the facts were so clear that it was impossible for the tribunal to rule against us.

The three of us who were involved in the court case agreed to accept the will of the majority. The vote was to drop the court case. But despite the fact that we decided not to contest the case, the Ministry of the Interior continued to find pretexts for not holding new elections. They continued the case and delayed things for another year. The elections were finally set for December 1973. It was then that Comrade Franco was elected president of the union, and so I'll turn the floor over to him now.

Geronimo Franco. It was necessary to win new elections, as the comrade explained. But what was important for us was mobilizing the workers so that they could operate with a certain independence in the factories. We

couldn't have people telling the government that the leaders were inciting the workers to struggle. In order to carry out this campaign, we distributed leaflets hand to hand and we tried to stay in the official union structure to keep the government from repressing us.

The elections, as might have been expected, since there was a lack of thoroughgoing preparation, were marked by a rather small participation. That did not concern us very much. We had always tried to get the workers to participate in the Grupo do Trabalho and to get the leading bodies set up through this framework. We did achieve a single slate. We prevented the government from putting up its own slate.

At present the leadership is made up of workers representing the various sectors—the metallurgical industry proper, the automotive industry, air transport, the brewing industry, electricity, and so forth. Every branch of industry that has fifty metalworkers is represented in the leadership.

Q. How can you talk about metalworkers in the brewing industry?

Franco. Under the corporative system, the unions were based on professions and not industries. So, in the brewing industry, a machine operator or mechanic would come under the jurisdiction of the metalworkers union, as would a machinist in the automotive industry. This was a maneuver by the government to divide the workers. In some plants there can be thirty to forty unions. Any place where there are different professions or categories of workers, each trade has its own union.

Q. At the same time, that must mean that the metalworkers union includes key workers in all important branches of industry.

Franco. Yes. But a lot of Portuguese workers are unorganized because unions do not exist for their professions. For example, there are the workers who operate digging machines. If they do this for agricultural purposes, they have a union. But if they do it in civil construction, they do not.

Santos Junior. The old regime created these difficulties precisely so that

the capitalists could exploit the workers more easily. There can be twenty or thirty unions in one establishment and still be workers who are unorganized because there is no union for their trade. For example, TAP, the Portuguese airline, has twenty unions to represent its workers. For example, the office clerks belong to the office clerks union. There is a metalworkers union local. The pilots belong to the civil aviation association. There is a chemical workers local for the personnel who work in the laboratories. There is a union for the truck drivers.

Franco. The trade-union structure in Portugal was designed primarily to divide the workers. So, you find some very curious things. There is one union for seamstresses and another for tailors. They do almost exactly the same thing. The only difference is their sex.

Santos Junior. Very many strikes, very hard struggles occurred in Portugal that were not reported. There were student strikes and protests against the colonial war and, most of all, workers struggles. It was possible to conduct such struggles, although they were not reported in the press here or abroad. They prevented this so that workers in other factories would not know what was happening or follow such examples. But you asked how it was possible to organize struggles under such conditions. It was possible by working very hard. It was possible through clandestine work, since the activists had to remain under cover. They had to take very careful security measures and work with great caution.

The work many times had to be on a rather long-term basis. Meetings had to be held secretly. We had to select activists in the factories who were able to gather other activists around them and distribute carefully produced literature to inform the workers about their conditions and victimizations. At certain times, such as when a contract was being discussed, a favorable climate could be created for getting agitation going and promoting a strike.

In order to accomplish this, we had to have a body of activists whose consciousness had been awakened by other activists and who had been trained by other activists. And it was

this vanguard that would draw in other workers and raise the correct slogans at the correct time. It was certain that any strike would immediately run up against the repressive forces. In this country whenever there was a strike, the police riot squad, the PIDE, and all the rest showed up immediately. Workers would be arrested.

The first time the repressive forces were defeated in this country was in the TAP strike in 1973. Up until then, every time there was a strike, the police beat up the workers, broke the links that united them, and imprisoned the most conscious elements. And then the strike was broken and the workers would go back.

In TAP in July 1973, there was a fantastic struggle. As in other strikes, the police came onto the grounds to beat up the workers. They used pistols and machine guns. Dozens of shots were fired. A lot of property was damaged, including jet engines. Trucks were riddled with bullets. It was precisely at this point that the TAP workers forged such a strong unity that they were able to defeat the police.

If the police attacked again, a lot of unfortunate things could happen to the important and expensive machines on the premises. Because of the combative spirit that reigned among the workers, it was possible to take some very strong positions on the grounds. So the strike continued. The police did not go into the building again. And the workers were victorious.

Obviously, to maintain this mobilization we needed a certain organization, the Grupos do Trabalho. These existed mostly in TAP but also in other industries, such as Lanifícios [a wool mill], foundries, the chemicals industry, electricity, among office workers, and others. These groups worked on the rank-and-file level. They were of the workers and for the workers. They put out a lot of leaflets. They reached the workers in large numbers and received a good reception, because they were written in simple, familiar language.

These groups, which were more or less well organized, had a certain impact on the CDE [Comissão Democrática Eleitoral—Democratic Electoral Committee, a popular-front formation dominated by the Communist party but which also includes Social Dem-

ocrats and left Catholics. In the broader sense, this combination goes under the name Portuguese Democratic Movement.] Their voice was heard or seemed to be heard in some of these circles. They put out a lot of leaflets on questions like overtime, piecework, etc., the fundamental problems of the workers.

These groups, which were of the workers and for the workers, felt after the April 25 coup that the main parties on the scene were not very relevant to them. I personally thought that these parties were trying to work from the top down and did not really accept the kind of work we were doing.

So the idea arose of forming not a party but a movement, the Movimento da Esquerda Socialista. This movement arose directly out of the factory groups that had been functioning for quite a while. It was a movement and not a party because its objective was working among the ranks, to reorganize these groups and form others, to build groups on the basis of the most immediate needs of the workers, to discuss these problems with the workers and educate them on this basis.

Given the kind of repression they were subjected to under the old regime, the Portuguese workers are still rather confused about what the April 25 coup really offers them. The kind of work we intend to do is rank-and-file work and cannot be confused in any way with what the parties are doing.

Q. What perspectives do you have for organizing the Portuguese working class in the period that has opened up? Specifically what tasks has the metalworkers union set itself?

Franco. At present, many strikes are taking place in factories and other establishments where metalworkers are the predominant element. And we see now that the workers are no longer presenting their demands as members of one trade only, but all the workers in a plant or center are putting forward lists of joint demands. The workers are opting for unions organized on the basis of industries or groups of related industries, because this makes it easier for them to unite and to discuss their common problems. It makes it easier to get a picture of what is happening in the factory and in the larger context

and to go into a fight united, not just the metalworkers but all the workers in a plant.

At present the Communist party is trying to present itself as the leadership of the working class, to convince the workers that they are the ones who run things. But that is not true. The workers are looking for leadership on the rank-and-file level. They want to make the decisions themselves.

But there are many in the unions who are preconditioned to accept paternalistic tutelage. We went through quite a long period, forty-eight years, in which the state imposed its paternalism. And its paternalism was of a very tough type. So, now the Communist party wants to put its dogma in the place of this older, ingrained kind of tutelage.

When the workers discuss these problems, they tend to go beyond this doctrine, since this doctrine approaches things from the top down instead of from the bottom up. That is, the propagators of this doctrine try to convince the workers that what they want is best. But in the overwhelming majority of cases what they want goes against the instincts of the workers. For example, they tell the workers that this is not a good time for strikes. But the workers know that if they don't strike, they are going to continue to get the same starvation wages.

That is the kind of relationship that exists between the Communist party and the masses. In most situations, the workers outdistance the Communist party. And they don't have as many followers as they claim. For example, the fact that the Communist and Socialist parties were at the head of the May 1 demonstration was because of the machinations of a few leaders of the CP stripe. They managed to give the impression that the workers were following them. But the workers wouldn't even have known that they were there if they hadn't read about it in the newspapers the next day.

Q. Do you think that the fact that the big workers parties are in the government is going to inhibit the workers' struggles?

Franco. There are no workers parties in the government. There are left parties, but they don't have as much

of a link with the masses as is thought. They have too little influence and too few members to claim to be workers parties. We think, moreover, that they will have to revise their positions if they don't want to run the risk of getting completely out of step with the real aspirations of the working class.

Q. That is, the Portuguese workers do not believe that having the Communist and Socialist parties in the government is going to solve their problems?

Santos Junior. Yes. The conscious workers have no illusions about this. Some workers' wives, for instance, are not so politically aware. It is our task to enlighten them so that they will not be taken in.

TAP worker. The so-called Communist and Socialist parties are nothing but brakes on the struggles of the workers. We do not propose, like them, to talk all the time, but to let the workers talk, to provide a framework within which they can discuss their problems.

The best example of the kind of democratic workers struggle we want to develop is the one in TAP, that is, the Transportes Aéreas Portugueses. It was the TAP workers in large part who gave the lead to the trade-union struggles in 1969. And after April 25 they immediately went on the offensive. They purged the administration and put some workers they trusted in certain positions. As a result of this occupation of positions in the administration a whole series of struggles took place.

Then, the workers had to force the supervisory personnel to work. They called on them to take up tools themselves and work alongside the workers. They also called for eliminating the servility and the whole hierarchy of tasks that keeps the workers divided. No one should have to clean up after others. The demand was that everybody should clean up his or her own mess ("*Quem suja, limpa!*"). That was the program of the purge.

For example, in relation to the highest supervisory personnel, such as chief engineers and head mechanics, those elements implicated in the repression were purged. Their activity before April 25 was examined on the basis of information provided by the

workers.

It is important to note that some of these supervisory personnel tried at that time to sabotage production at TAP. They tried to delay flights. They also tried to foul up the paper work. The workers launched a counteroffensive, occupying the key places in the organization. They established a check on the paper work. They established their control over the entire operation. This was a very important step forward. It put these workers in the lead of the process in Portugal. And it went much, much further even than the situation that exists in some socialist countries. It showed the class consciousness and the political maturity of the workers in TAP.

The Communist party, to repeat, is an elitist party and does not have a strong hold on the masses. But it does have some active cadres. These cadres are now beginning to have doubts about the policy of their party, about its dogmatic, hierarchic, elitist aspects.

So, the Communist party and the so-called Portuguese Democratic Movement and the Socialist party led by Mario Soares were afraid of finding themselves isolated in the May 1 demonstration. To prevent this, they carried out a series of coups d'etat in the unions so that they could change the character of the demonstration and prevent others from speaking. Since many unionists were not alert to this kind of tactics, these elements were able to get control of the demonstration.

As regards the metalworkers, for example, the organizers scattered them throughout the entire demonstration. The revisionists controlled and dominated the demonstration with their slogans. Perfectly coordinated cadres came from the CDE. Thanks to their organization, they were able to get their slogans taken up by the majority.

In this process of sabotaging the demonstration, of preventing the workers from expressing their real aspirations, Mario Soares and Alvaro Cunhal took the platform at the Estadio FNAT [the stadium of the Fundo Nacional de Alegria no Trabalho—the National Fund for Joy Through Work]. These individuals usurped the workers' right to speak on the day that was supposed to belong to them. At the start, they even tried to stop

the trade-union leaders from speaking.

For example, the president of the metalworkers union, Geronimo Franco, had prepared a talk for this occasion. He had already given it at a meeting of the bank workers union in Lisbon, which is a well-known nest of revisionists. Some of those who heard it said it would be out of place. Others even said it was reactionary. But, thanks to some pressures from the metalworkers leaders, he managed to read it; and it was the speech that got the most applause and even made an impression on the press in Lisbon, which considered it a document of great revolutionary value, a document that embodied the collective will, the will of the people.

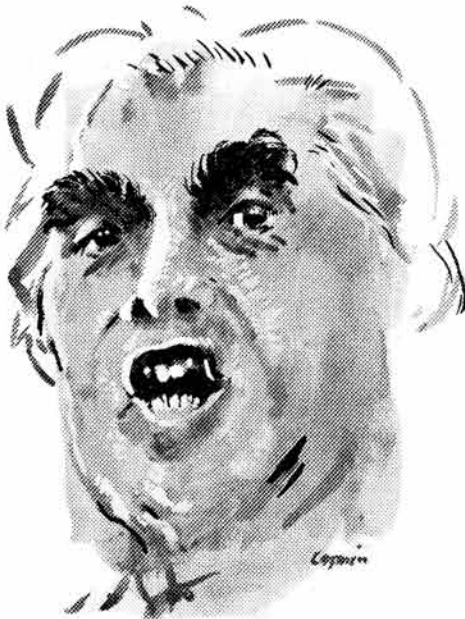
This speech received so much popularity that the revisionists retreated in their attempt to seize the metalworkers union by maneuvers at the top, by slandering the leadership elected in the period of repression as fascists. It showed the workers that in accordance with its line of independent trade unionism, this leadership was carrying out a program that was in the interests of the workers.

One of the worst examples of the revisionists' sabotage of the May 1 demonstration, their attempt to prevent the workers from expressing themselves, was their complete blackout of Santos Junior, a leader of the Movimento da Esquerda Socialista and of the Portuguese trade-union movement. He had prepared a speech on the MES, which was then in an embryonic stage. But he was prevented from giving it by the revisionists who were in control of the sound equipment. So when he did finally get to the microphone, he was drowned out by music, including the strains of the reactionary Portuguese national anthem.

This incident shows the revisionists' determination to prevent the workers from expressing themselves. And in order to accomplish this, they also try to exploit all sorts of myths. For example, in their present attempt to sabotage the strikes, they raise the danger of a counter coup. Of course, there is such a danger if the workers are not on the alert and do not go on the offensive immediately, seizing the key positions in the factories and operating them for their own benefit. But the workers seem more advanced than the revisionists at this moment

and are ready to respond if there is any attempt at a lockout or anything like it.

The revisionists try to use the example of Chile, without making any scientific analysis of this process, which has fundamental lessons for the peoples of the entire world. They try to use this example to frighten the masses, who are ready to go beyond



ALVARO CUNHAL

the revisionist program. They fulminate hysterically in the cabinet against those leaders who call for a rank-and-file struggle.

Q. Comrade Santos Junior, why do you think the Communist party tried to prevent you from speaking at the May 1 demonstration?

Santos Junior. The persons who were standing around the sound booth and shouting, "Cunhal ao governo! Cunhal ao governo!" [Take Cunhal into the government] could only have been members or supporters of the Communist party.

This is an example of what I was talking about earlier. It is the workers who have the right to run their own struggles, to set their own lines of action, and to choose their own arenas of struggle. Preventing me from speaking was part of the obstruction the other comrade described, part of keeping the workers from expressing themselves.

I was not included in the initial speakers list, but toward the end the

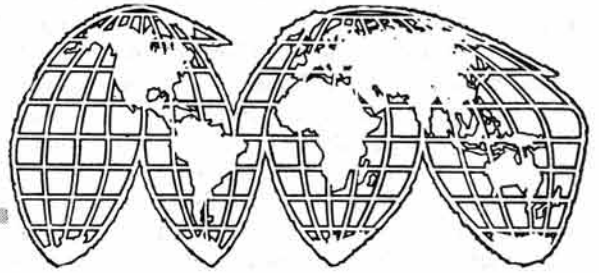
presiding committee itself, believing that it represented the majority of the CP, opened up the platform. I was among those who were demanding the right to speak. But they did not want me to speak either as a representative of the Movimento da Esquerda Socialista, which was then in the process of being organized, or even in my own name. I wanted to speak to the workers. Many of them came along with me and said that I should speak. A rather violent exchange of opinions developed between them and the so-called committee or secretariat.

I was prevented from speaking, the way the comrade said. The persons on the platform were shouting, "Cunhal ao governo." I saw that they were letting Cunhal and Mario Soares leave and so I continued my speech. But they grabbed Cunhal and started shouting again. After Cunhal left and they didn't have any other excuse, the radio started to play the so-called national anthem.

Since I was not able to speak, I sent copies of my speech to the radio and television network and to all the papers. I got the papers the next day to see if anything had been printed. Nothing had. In the first days following the demonstration nothing appeared in the press. The papers claimed they had received calls from unnamed persons saying that they represented the MES, and that these people told them the organization had decided not to publish my speech. I don't know who these persons were, but they certainly did not represent the workers or the Movimento da Esquerda Socialista.

These calls created a certain confusion. By the time we could counter these stories and get the speech published, it was not possible to explain to the workers that a certain struggle was occurring among the left groups. All that could be said was the bare fact that I was unable to speak to the workers on May Day. It was not explained why. After this delay, my speech was published. It was printed in the daily *República* and later in *Diário Popular*. It was also published in the weekly *Expresso*, but, I think, not in its entirety. It was not published, however, in any of the other papers. And so, despite the claims that censorship has been completely abolished in this country, the right of free speech was severely abridged, in this case by a new kind of censor. □

AROUND THE WORLD



Ten Portuguese Police Agents Charged With 1965 Murder of Opposition Leader

After lying dormant for years, the investigation of the 1965 police assassination of opposition leader Humberto Delgado was reopened under popular pressure following the April 25 military coup in Portugal. As a result, ten members of the Portuguese secret police have now been charged with the murder.

According to a government announcement released July 30, seven of those charged are currently under arrest, including Chief of Police Services Fernando da Silva Pais. The others, including the agent charged with the actual shooting, are still being sought.

Delgado, who had run for president in 1958, was the leader of an underground movement dedicated to the overthrow of the Salazar dictatorship. The new investigation has turned up evidence that Salazar began planning to kill him in 1962. Ernesto Lopes Ramos, a police agent who infiltrated the Delgado organization, eventually succeeded in luring Delgado into a trap on the Spanish border, where other police agents were lying in wait.

South African Newspapers Institute Self-Censorship

The South African Newspaper Press Union (NPU) published a self-censorship code on August 5, following threats by Prime Minister John Vorster to institute press curbs. Under the code, newspapers may be fined up to 10,000 rand (US\$15,000) if they publish articles that "incite racial animosity or publish material affecting the safety and defense of the country."

New Arrests in the Philippines

The Philippine Defense Department announced August 28 that fifty-seven persons had been arrested on charges of smuggling arms and manufacturing explosives. The officials stated that "explosive-detonation teams" had been formed in Manila and were being trained by the "military commission" of the Communist party. Among those arrested were Danilo Vizmanos, Dolores Fera, Dante Simbulan, and two writers, Jose Lacaba and Mila Astorga.

Four days previously, about 150 troops

raided a Jesuit seminary in Manila and arrested the head of the Jesuit order, the Reverend Benigno Mayo, and twenty others. The Reverend Jose Blanco, one of the twenty, was accused of being the secretary-general of an antigovernment village organization. The Marcos regime released Mayo immediately and a few days later turned Blanco and thirteen others over to the custody of leaders of the Roman Catholic church.

Oil Strike Reported Off Coast of South Vietnam

South Vietnamese officials announced in Saigon August 28 that the first traces of oil in the South China Sea off the coast of Vietnam had been discovered. The well was drilled by Shell Oil and City Service. Oil company officials cautioned that the well could not produce enough oil to be profitable, but they pledged to continue drilling in that area.

Thai Student Activist Murdered in Bangkok

A Thai student activist, Saeng Rungnirandornkul, was assassinated in Bangkok August 23 by an unknown assailant. Saeng was a leader of the Final Truth party and had helped organized demonstrations against the presence of U. S. troops in Thailand. In 1962 he was arrested by the military regime of Field Marshal Sarit Thanarat on charges of being a "communist" and spent two years in prison.

The assassination of Saeng was only the latest of a series. In March, Claudia Ross, a U. S. journalist who had close ties with the Thai student movement, was found stabbed to death in her apartment in Bangkok. In July, the editor of a provincial newspaper who had written stories exposing local corruption was murdered by a gunman, and the secretary-general of a student group in Udorn was shot to death.

Protest Delays Sailing of Japanese Nuclear-Powered Ship

Tokyo's first nuclear-powered ship, the *Mutsu*, was prevented from leaving port for sixteen hours on August 26 by an armada of 259 fishing boats. The Japanese fishermen feared that debris from the ship would contaminate their fishing waters.

New Left-Wing Party Formed in Italy

Two organizations of Italy's "extraparlimentary left," *il Manifesto* and the Party of Proletarian Unity (PDUP) have fused to form the Party of Proletarian Unity for Communism. The two former groupings dissolved respectively in congresses held July 14 and July 21 at Rome and Florence. The new formation will hold its founding congress in January 1975.

Il Manifesto, with an estimated 8,000 members, originated in a 1969 split in the Communist party of a grouping that opposed the Kremlin invasion of Czechoslovakia, supported China's Cultural Revolution, and opposed the CP leadership's aim of entering a government coalition.

The PDUP originated in a section of the membership of the Italian Socialist party of Proletarian Unity (PSIUP) who refused to support either the CP or the Socialist party during the May 1972 legislative elections. Many of its reported 16,000 members are active in some of the most militant unions in the metallurgical, chemical, and textile industries.

The August 1 issue of *Le Monde* reported that the two formations agree that the capitalist system is in crisis, that reformism no longer has any room to maneuver within capitalist society, that the Socialist party and the trade unions are an integral part of this system, and that the CP's proposed "historic compromise" with the Christian Democracy must be rejected.

The Paris daily also reported that they continue to disagree on the structure and discipline of the new party, the role of the newspaper *il Manifesto*, and whether or not to participate in elections.

New Series of Political Trials Begins in Indonesia

Hariman Siregar, a twenty-four-year-old medical student and the former chairman of the Student Union of the University of Indonesia, went to trial in Jakarta August 1. He was charged with "subversion," an offense that carries the death penalty. This was the first in a scheduled series of trials stemming from the January upsurge that greeted the visit of Japanese Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka.

Of the 800 persons arrested by Kopkamtib (Command for the Restoration of Security and Order) following the mas-

sive street clashes, most have been released, according to the government. Hariman Siregar and forty-one others have been turned over to the attorney general for trial, and arrests connected with the January events are continuing.

The Suharto regime admits to still holding 35,000 political prisoners who survived the 1965 bloodbath, but Amnesty International places the figure at 55,000. There are rumors that these prisoners have been used on forced-labor projects. A government information officer denied this but admitted that any prisoners to be released first had to undergo a "process of socialization and mental training."

Tokyo and Baghdad Sign 10-Year Economic Pact

The Iraqi minister of economy and the Japanese foreign minister signed an accord August 16 in which Tokyo agreed to supply the Iraqi regime with \$1,000 million in loans and credits for economic development in exchange for oil. The Japanese financing will help cover the construction of an Iraqi oil refinery, a petrochemical complex, cement and fertilizer plants, and an aluminum smelter. Tokyo also agreed to train Iraqi technicians and engineers.

In return, the Iraqi regime agreed to supply Japan with 1,120 million barrels of crude oil and oil products over the next ten years.

New Iceland Government Pledges to Retain NATO Base

Geir Hallgrímsson, a supporter of closer cooperation with U. S. imperialism, was nominated as Iceland's new premier August 26 by the parliamentary group in his Independence party. No party won a majority in the national elections held last June 30, but the conservative Independence party carried twenty-five of the sixty parliamentary seats. An agreement reached with the Progressive party, which won seventeen seats, gives Hallgrímsson a coalition controlling forty-two seats. The new government has pledged to retain the U. S.-manned NATO base at Keflavik. The previous government, a coalition led by the Progressive party, had announced plans to expel the U. S. NATO force by mid-1975.

Panama Ends Diplomatic Break With Castro Government

Panama restored diplomatic relations with Cuba on August 22, becoming the seventh country in the Western Hemisphere to restore or establish diplomatic relations with Havana since the beginning of the blockade by Washington and the Organization of American States.

Hailing Panama's "reaffirmation of its

sovereignty," Prime Minister Fidel Castro told journalists August 26 that Nixon's departure from the White House could mean a change in U. S. and OAS policy toward Cuba.

It is believed in Havana that Colombia, Costa Rica, and Venezuela are preparing to reestablish diplomatic relations with Cuba in the near future.

Spanish Sahara to Vote on 'Self-Determination' in 1975

Madrid announced August 21, in a note sent to United Nations Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim, that it would hold a referendum in Spanish-controlled Sahara in 1975 to determine whether it would grant the colony "self-determination." Neither the terms of the referendum nor the details of how it would be carried out were mentioned.

Containing rich deposits of phosphates, and possibly oil, Sahara is one of Madrid's last formal colonies. It has a population of 70,000, most of whom are nomads. Madrid has \$300 million invested in the phosphate mines and maintains 10,000 troops in the colony. In addition, the territory plays an important role in the defense of the nearby Canary Islands, which are administered as part of Spain.

The Moroccan, Algerian, and Mauritanian regimes have all laid claim to the territory. King Hassan of Morocco has opposed the idea of a referendum, demanding that Sahara be turned over to Morocco immediately and threatening possible armed conflict.

Velasco Alvarado Takes Over Eight Major Newspapers in Peru

General Juan Velasco Alvarado took over eight major newspapers in Peru July 27. Police and riot troops surrounded the newspaper offices at dawn, just before the measure was made public.

According to the decree, the newspapers' former owners are to be compensated. An immediate 10 percent cash payment will be made, with annual installments to follow for a ten-year period, including 6 percent interest.

State-appointed committees are to run the papers for one year. It is promised that they will then be turned over to organizations of the workers and peasants.

The take-over followed weeks of heated debate between rival newspapers and increasingly sharp editorial criticism of the government. As rumors of the impending nationalization spread, *La Prensa* and *El Comercio*, the two most influential dailies, charged that "Communists close to the government" were trying to muzzle the "free press." Progovernment dailies responded by charging that *La Prensa* and

El Comercio were "mouthpieces of the oligarchy."

Soon after the take-over, rightist students staged three consecutive evening demonstrations in which they stoned government buildings and burned automobiles. More than 500 persons were arrested.

On August 16, the government announced the arrest of eight opposition leaders associated with Accion Popular, the party of former President Fernando Belaunde Terry. According to the government newspaper *La Cronica*, the eight had helped organize the student demonstrations.

Other sectors of the population appear to support the press take-over. According to a report in the August 1 *Le Monde*, "Satisfaction with the government's decision to carry out the press 'socialization' measure was expressed by many trade-union organizations representing various Peruvian professional sectors—including the journalists associations—and by various currents of thought ranging from Christian to Marxist."

Two Dominica Activists Face Trumped-Up Murder Charge

Trial is scheduled to open in October for two young activists in the struggle for democratic rights on the Caribbean island of Dominica. Desmond Trotter, 21, and Roy Mason, 22, supporters of the Movement for a New Dominica, are charged with the February 25 fatal shooting of a U. S. tourist in the capital city of Roseau.

According to the Defence Committee for Political Prisoners in Dominica, "The prosecution is yet to present credible evidence in support of their charge. But in the meantime, two freedom fighters . . . remain on remand in a prison noted for primitive facilities and intolerable conditions."

CP Beats Drum for Popular Front as Solution to Crisis in Italy

A front-page editorial in the September 1 issue of *L'Unita*, the Italian Communist party daily, restated the CP leadership's offer to collaborate with the government in saving Italian capitalism. The article, signed by Carlo Galluzzi, a member of the CP directorate and a deputy chairman of the foreign affairs committee of the Chamber of Deputies, asserted that progress in the Soviet-U. S. detente had laid to rest "specters of anti-Communist crusades" and had made it possible for the party to come to the coalition government's aid.

Particularly noteworthy was the timing of the statement, which followed the previous day's announcement that West Germany had granted Italy a \$2,000 million

loan to help Rome surmount its financial crisis.

The editorial in *L'Unita* stated that "without the Communists—regardless of whether they are inside or outside the government set-up—the problems of our economic crisis cannot be tackled."

The editorial came on the heels of a public debate between leaders of the ruling Christian Democratic party and the CP over possible CP entry into the government. In a recent editorial in the Christian Democratic daily *Il Popolo*, the party's General Secretary Amintore Fanfani argued against members of his party who have expressed support for an "opening" toward the CP.

Replying to Fanfani in the August 25 issue of *L'Unita*, CP General Secretary Enrico Berlinguer called for "new initiatives" in governing the country and said the question of participation in the government would be discussed at the party's congress to be held this winter.

Carlo Galluzzi, writing in the August 24 *L'Unita*, stated that "the relationship between the CP and the other democratic forces must be constitutionally correct, recognizing the full right of the CP to participate in the political leadership of the country. . . . Recognition of this means posing the relationship between the Christian Democracy and the Communist party in a new way that takes account of their historic, political, and ideological differences—that is, as a relationship between equals, between two parties with the same rights and the same duties."

South African 'Volunteers' To Fight Zimbabwe Guerrillas

South Africa plans to form special units of volunteers to fight Black African liberation forces in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), Jimmy Kruger, minister of justice and police announced August 2.

These units will replace police contingents that South Africa has been sending to Rhodesia on a rotating basis.

The racist government is offering "patriotism bonuses" to volunteers who serve one year in these counterinsurgency forces: 1,200 rand (US\$1,800) for whites, and, of course, a lower amount for Blacks—900 rand.

Malaysian Election Results Reveal Growing Polarization

In the first general elections since 1969, the National Front coalition of Prime Minister Tun Abdul Razak swept the polls August 24, winning 59 percent of the popular vote but taking 87 percent of the parliamentary seats as a result of election gerrymandering. The only opposition formation to gain a significant vote was the Democratic Action party, which is composed of ethnic Chinese. It received 20 percent of the popular vote, a substan-

tial increase since the 1969 elections.

The increase of support for the Democratic Action party was seen as an indicator of growing polarization between the Chinese and the predominantly Malay National Front, which campaigned for greater Malay participation in the economy. Malays comprise more than 50 percent of the population; the Chinese, 35 percent; and the Indians, about 15 percent.

Following a sharp increase in votes for the Chinese candidates during the 1969 elections, violent clashes took place between the Chinese and the Malays, leaving hundreds dead, mostly Chinese.

Electoral Sweep Renews Smith Regime's Grip on Zimbabwe

With the political future of neighboring Mozambique uncertain and with a spreading guerrilla war in northern Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), the nervous white minority overwhelmingly voted for the candidates of Prime Minister Ian Smith's Rhodesian Front in the July 30 elections. The Rhodesian Front won all fifty of the seats in the parliament reserved for whites and netted 77 percent of the votes. The white opposition Rhodesia party, which calls itself more "moderate" than the Rhodesian Front, received 18 percent of the vote. The results marked an even greater backing of Smith's racist policies by the white minority.

Of the eight seats open to the small Black electorate, seven went to supporters of the African National Council (ANC), while those African candidates who were more willing to compromise with Smith than the ANC were defeated. An additional eight African seats are filled by the nominees of the tribal chiefs and the village headmen, who in the past have supported the Smith regime.

The white population of Zimbabwe is 250,000; Blacks number some 5.7 million.

Following the elections, Smith announced that he would continue with plans to hold a "round-table conference" with the leaders of the ANC and the tribal chiefs, as part of Salisbury's efforts to reach a constitutional settlement agreeable to London. Before the elections, however, the talks with the ANC broke down and ANC leader Bishop Abel Muzorewa denounced the idea of discussions that included the tribal chiefs. Such discussion would clearly be weighted in favor of the regime.

Gordon Chavunduka, the secretary-general of the ANC, said on August 1 that the ANC was willing to hold talks with Smith, but added, "Africans just do not trust the present government." If the negotiations fail, he said, "then there is no alternative but for the war to continue."

While the regime has downplayed the extent of the fighting in northern Zimbabwe, indications are that it is spread-

ing and even moving southward toward Salisbury. In July the regime began the forced removal of about 60,000 people living in the Chiweshe tribal reserve in an effort to cut off the guerrillas from popular support. The Africans are to be herded into twenty-one fenced-in camps ("protected villages"), a technique borrowed from U.S. operations in Vietnam in the 1960s. Chiweshe is only forty-five miles north of Salisbury.

Imperialist 'Foreign Aid' Drains Underdeveloped Countries

According to World Bank data cited in the August 6 issue of *Le Monde*, almost half the amount of loans paid to the "underdeveloped" countries by "developed" countries goes to paying off interest and amortization of previous debts.

Between 1965 and 1971, eighty-one underdeveloped countries received \$72,400 million of new capital financing from lender countries. But during the same period, they paid back \$33,400 million (or 46 percent of the principal) in servicing their external public debts.

The heaviest public debt charges were borne by Latin American countries (an average of 70 percent of new investment) and Southern Europe (66 percent).

Moreover, the situation is deteriorating. According to World Bank projections, payments to service external public debt will rise between 1972 and 1981 to \$66,900 million. At the end of this period, servicing the debt will absorb 71 percent of net payments by these borrower countries. If the profits from private foreign investments are added—and in 1967 acknowledged profits already amounted to \$5,000 million—these figures provide conclusive proof that nonindustrialized countries are financing the industrialized countries.

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JAMES P. CANNON

11 de febrero de 1890—21 de agosto de 1974

[Esta es una traducción del artículo "JAMES P. CANNON, February 11, 1890—August 21, 1974", que aparece en este mismo número de *Intercontinental Press*].

* * *

El 21 de agosto murió James P. Cannon en la ciudad de Los Angeles, de un ataque al corazón. Tenía 84 años de edad. Como coincidencia, el 21 de agosto se cumplían treinta y cuatro años de la muerte de León Trotsky.

Cannon fue uno de los fundadores del Partido Comunista de los Estados Unidos y fundador y dirigente del

movimiento trotskista internacional. Su vida política abarcó sesenta y seis años de participación en la lucha de clases—desde el movimiento socialista de antes de la Primera Guerra Mundial, hasta la radicalización de los años sesenta y setenta. Cuando murió era presidente nacional honorario del Socialist Workers Party.

Cannon se unió a la Industrial Workers of the World cuando tenía 21 años, llegando a ser un agitador y organizador muy hábil. Siguiendo el ejemplo de Eugene V. Debs y otras personalidades que se opusieron a la guerra imperialista, se negó a apoyar la carnicería de la Primera Guerra Mundial. Como miembro del ala

izquierda del Partido Socialista, saludó jubiloso el triunfo de la revolución rusa de 1917.

Como miembro de la sección norteamericana de la Tercera Internacional, aprendió de los bolcheviques el tipo de partido que se necesitaba para llevar la lucha revolucionaria a la victoria: un partido de combate, disciplinado y democrático, que esté basado en un claro programa marxista.

Cuando surgió la burocracia stalinista en la Unión Soviética, Cannon rechazó su doctrina del "socialismo en un solo país", y después de ser expulsado del Partido Comunista en 1928, fundó *The Militant* con un

La Cuarta Internacional Elogia Triunfos de Cannon

[Esta es una traducción del mensaje enviado por la dirección electa de la Cuarta Internacional, y que fue leído en el acto de homenaje político a James P. Cannon].

* * *

La muerte de Jim Cannon es una pérdida no sólo para el movimiento marxista revolucionario de los Estados Unidos, sino también para la lucha mundial por la revolución socialista. Durante toda su vida, Cannon personificó las mejores tradiciones norteamericanas de lucha de clases militante, y las combinó con el reconocimiento de que es necesario construir el instrumento esencial para la victoria de la revolución proletaria: el partido leninista y la internacional revolucionaria.

Pudo jugar un papel crucial para hacer realidad este reconocimiento teórico, luchando toda su vida por construir ese partido en el bastión

más fuerte del imperialismo mundial.

Desde la IWW hasta el ala izquierda del Partido Socialista, desde los primeros años del Partido Comunista de los Estados Unidos hasta la International Labor Defense [Defensa Obrera Internacional] y la lucha por la libertad de los presos políticos como Sacco y Vanzetti, desde la lucha en el Partido Comunista en defensa del programa trotskista del marxismo revolucionario hasta la lucha por un nuevo partido y una nueva Internacional, desde los días de su colaboración íntima con León Trotsky y la creación del Socialist Workers Party hasta las décadas de trabajo para construir y fortalecer ese partido—Cannon siempre estuvo guiado por la profunda convicción de que sin dirección revolucionaria la lucha de los trabajadores por un mundo socialista sería en vano.

Ni los arrestos masivos ordena-

dos por Palmer, ni los juicios ocasionados por el Acta Smith, ni la cacería de brujas durante el macartismo, ni la fuerte presión constante de la clase dominante norteamericana, pudieron disuadirlo de actuar resueltamente según esta convicción.

Sus más de seis décadas de actividad revolucionaria sirven de inspiración a las nuevas fuerzas que se están agrupando en torno al programa y la bandera de la Cuarta Internacional en todo el mundo.

Esa inspiración no sólo es moral, también es práctica, ya que ofrece las lecciones más ricas para la nueva generación de luchadores revolucionarios.

Todos nosotros lamentamos la pérdida de este camarada, y nos comprometemos a continuar la lucha por el programa, el partido y los objetivos a los que Jim dedicó su larga y fructífera vida.

Secretariado Unificado de la Cuarta Internacional

puñado de compañeros que compartían sus ideas, y que se convirtieron en el núcleo de lo que ahora es el Socialist Workers Party. En 1938, Cannon y otros colaboraron con Trotsky para fundar la Cuarta Internacional, el Partido Mundial de la Revolución Socialista.

Junto con otros miembros del SWP, fue encarcelado por sus oposición política a los objetivos militaristas del imperialismo norteamericano. Cannon salió de la prisión en 1945, después de haber cumplido un año y veinte días de la sentencia de dieciocho meses que se le había impuesto, para ayudar a dirigir el partido durante el ascenso que se produjo después de la guerra y la cacería de brujas que siguió durante la década del cincuenta. Mientras que muchos otros revolucionarios se decepcionaban y abandonaban el marxismo en ese período, Cannon siempre mantuvo su confianza en que los Estados Unidos estaban sujetos a las mismas leyes históricas que se aplican a los otros países capitalistas y que algún día presenciarán el ascenso revolucionario de la clase obrera.

El equipo de dirección que él ayu-

dó a forjar, mantuvo unido al partido para cuando se presentara un clima político más favorable, lo que comenzó a suceder en los años sesenta. Los 1,250 socialistas que estaban reunidos en Oberlin, Ohio, cuando murió Jim, realizando la conferencia de educación socialista de 1974, demuestran que Cannon logró crear una base sólida para la creación del partido socialista revolucionario en los Estados Unidos.

Siguiendo la tradición del movimiento trotskista de los Estados Unidos, la conferencia de Oberlin realizó un "Tributo Político a Jim Cannon", en el cual dirigentes del partido y activistas que trabajaron con Cannon durante su larga carrera, rindieron homenaje a las contribuciones que hizo al movimiento socialista.

Los oradores del acto fueron Jack Barnes, presidente nacional del Socialist Workers Party; Karolyn Kerry, camarada y colaboradora de Cannon durante cuarenta años; Andrew Pulley, presidente nacional de la Young Socialist Alliance; Peggy Brundy, una de las camaradas del equipo que vivía en casa de Cannon durante los últimos

años, compartiendo las tareas y ayudando a organizar el trabajo de Cannon; Joseph Hansen, editor de *Intercontinental Press* y George Novack, que trabajó junto con Cannon en el movimiento socialista revolucionario durante cuarenta y un años. (Todos los discursos han sido reproducidos en una sección especial de la edición del 6 de septiembre de *The Militant*. El discurso de Joseph Hansen también aparece en este número de *Intercontinental Press*).

Cuando se realizó el homenaje, ya habían comenzado a llegar de todas partes del mundo mensajes y telegramas de los amigos y camaradas de Jim. Entre los que se leyeron en el acto estuvieron los mensajes de la dirección electa de la Cuarta Internacional (ver el recuadro) y el de Peng Shu-tse y Chen Pi-lan, fundadores del Partido Comunista de China y de la Cuarta Internacional.

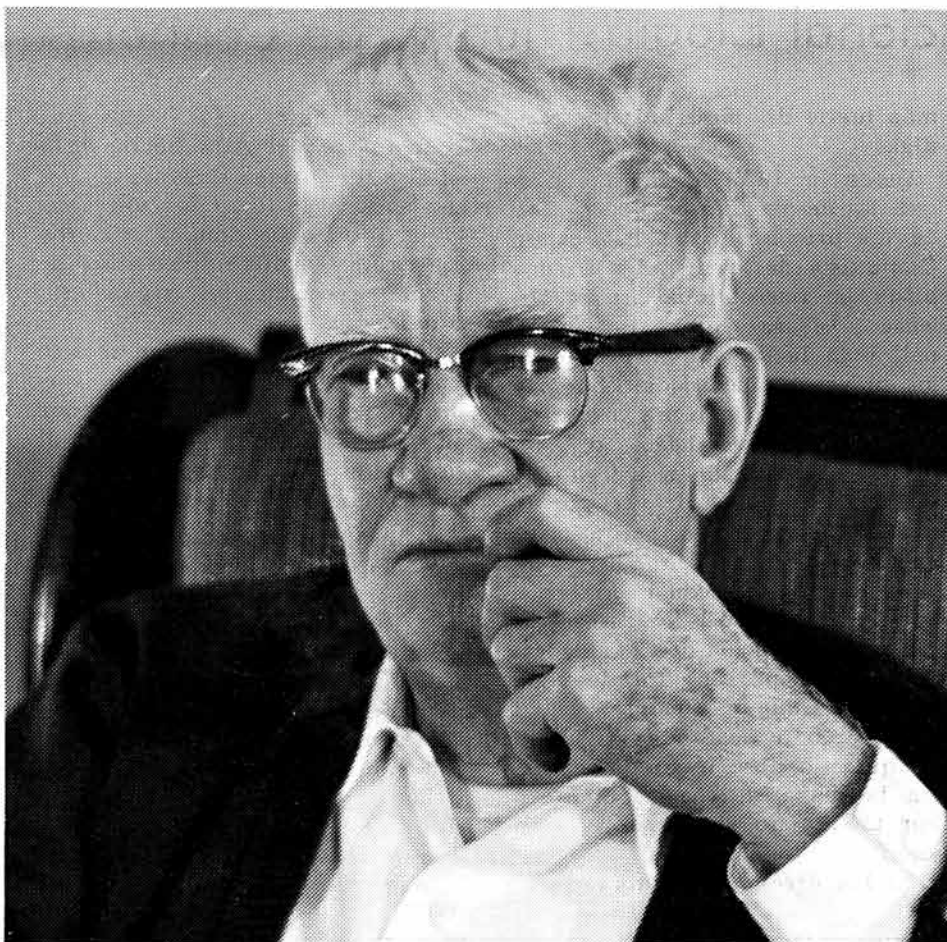
Además, el presidente del acto, Jack Barnes, destacó en particular una oración de un mensaje proque, dijo, "predice muy bien cuál es el futuro de las contribuciones de Jim sobre la construcción del partido en todo el mundo".

La última oración del mensaje, del Frankfurt Gruppe Internationale Marxisten (los miembros de Frankfurt del Grupo Marxista Internacional, sección alemana de la Cuarta Internacional), decía: "Nos comprometemos a transmitir el mensaje de Jim Cannon a la clase obrera alemana, haciendo un esfuerzo especial por publicar y traducir sus contribuciones más valiosas para nuestra lucha común en Alemania".

Los editores de *The Militant* tienen planeado publicar otros mensajes en los números siguientes, así como más material sobre la vida y actividades de Cannon.

La reunión de Oberlin terminó lanzando una campaña: el Fondo James P. Cannon para la Construcción del Partido. Este fondo ayudará a avanzar la lucha por la construcción del partido socialista revolucionario a la que Cannon dedicó su vida. Los participantes en la reunión contribuyeron, o se comprometieron a dar, \$50,000 para este objetivo.

Invitamos a los lectores que quieren compartir este esfuerzo, a que envíen sus contribuciones a: James P. Cannon Party-Building Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N. Y. 10014. □



Homenaje a Jim Cannon

Por Joseph Hansen

[El siguiente discurso fue parte del acto de homenaje a James P. Cannon que se celebró el 23 de agosto en Oberlin, Ohio, bajo el patrocinio de la Young Socialist Alliance y el Socialist Workers Party. A continuación aparece una traducción de este discurso, que publicamos en inglés en este mismo número de *Intercontinental Press*].

* * *

La vida de Jim estuvo tan ligada a la de la generación a que yo pertenezco, que es difícil hablar de él brevemente. La gran cantidad de material, particularmente la abundancia de memorias, es sencillamente inmensa. Me voy a limitar a hacer sólo algunas observaciones sobre su desarrollo como revolucionario y los éxitos que obtuvo.

A la edad de 84 años, después de 66 años de servicio en el movimiento socialista revolucionario, la mente de Jim era todavía aguda y ágil. Seguía muy de cerca los acontecimientos internacionales, se mantenía al corriente de la literatura del movimiento radical, se mantenía enterado de los desarrollos del Socialist Workers Party y la Young Socialist Alliance, y estaba profundamente interesado en los asuntos de la Cuarta Internacional, manteniendo firmes puntos de vista sobre las actuales diferencias que hay dentro del partido mundial de la revolución socialista.

Nos van a hacer mucha falta sus juicios y sus consejos. Siempre fueron planteados con una objetividad total y dando el lugar central de sus consideraciones a los intereses del movimiento en su conjunto.

Jim nació en Rosedale, Kansas, el 11 de febrero de 1890. La familia, de origen irlandés, era ordinaria en todo menos en la política. Su padre era socialista y partidario del *Appeal to Reason* [Llamado a la Razón], periódico socialista muy popular y de amplia circulación. Un padre que tenía puntos de vista socialistas fue una

ventaja enorme para un niño que creció en el atrasado centro-occidente de los Estados Unidos.

El resultado directo fue que Jim se unió al Partido Socialista cuando tenía 18 años. Tres años después se unió a la IWW [Industrial Workers of the World] siendo por entonces muy común y aceptado el que una persona militara en las dos organizaciones al mismo tiempo.

En aquel entonces, los Estados Unidos atravesaban por una gran radicalización. Era un periodo de huelgas muy duras y confrontaciones violentas con los rompe-huelgas y la policía. Bajo la dirección de Eugene V. Debs, el Partido Socialista creció a grandes saltos, echando raíces muy profundas en el movimiento obrero.

LUCHADOR CLASISTA

Jim se formó como luchador clasista en este periodo, llamando la atención de luchadores y organizadores de la talla de Vincent St. John, de quien Jim aprendió lecciones muy valiosas.

Cuando era estudiante secundario, Jim sobresalió en la polémica, que por aquel entonces era un deporte estudiantil de mucho más nivel que ahora. La participación en esta polémica dió a Jim un buen principio para lograr una de sus ambiciones: llegar a ser un buen orador.

Estudió la oratoria, observando a las personalidades que venían a la ciudad a dar conferencias, leyendo libros sobre la técnica y haciendo todo lo que podía para eliminar los defectos al hablar que son tan naturales en el centro-occidente de los Estados Unidos. Esto iba aunado a la experiencia práctica como agitador en las esquinas, que es una escuela muy dura. Esto dió como resultado que llegara a ser conocido en el movimiento comunista de principios de los veinte como orador altamente dotado.

De la misma manera estudió el arte

de la escritura, se entrenaba en este campo viendo cómo lo hacían otros y leyendo todo lo que podía al respecto. En algún momento comenzó a escribir una novela.

Tanto al escribir como al hablar, tendía a ser perfeccionista, revisando una y otra vez sus proyectos y tratando de pulirlos todavía más.

De tal manera que ya contaba con capacidades muy sólidas como organizador, orador y escritor cuando se convirtió en editor del *Workers World* [Mundo Obrero] de Kansas City en 1919, a la edad de 29 años, y de *The Toiler* [El Trabajador], una publicación del Partido Comunista, el año siguiente.

Ha habido pocos que igualen a Jim en su capacidad para presentar los conceptos y objetivos fundamentales del socialismo revolucionario en términos populares. Era un artista en este campo. Muchos de los artículos cortos que escribió a través de varios años en su columna *The Notebook of an Agitator* [El Cuaderno de un Agitador], pueden ser considerados modelos del periodismo revolucionario.

Durante los años que precedieron a la Primera Guerra Mundial, la IWW y el Partido Socialista eran un buen campo de entrenamiento para un activista. Lo que aprendió ahí, acompañó a Jim durante todo el resto de su vida.

Pero la influencia más grande en su educación política fue la revolución rusa, particularmente el levantamiento de octubre de 1917, en el que los bolcheviques, dirigidos por Lenin y Trotsky, tomaron el poder.

LA REVOLUCION RUSA

Ese gran acontecimiento, que ganó la imaginación de los trabajadores clasistas de todo el mundo por ser un ejemplo vivo de cómo derrocar al capitalismo, inspiró a toda una nueva generación de revolucionarios. Para Jim, como para muchos de sus camaradas, fue una escuela avanzada en la que se reeducaron en algunos aspectos, mientras que en otros recibían entrenamiento superior en la teoría y en la política.

Aprendieron esto en una escuela muy práctica: la unión del ala izquierda del Partido Socialista con todos los rebeldes que estaban en la IWW que pudieron ser convencidos, y algunos otros, para fundar el Partido Comunista de los Estados Unidos, proce-

so en el que Jim participó. Fue elegido miembro del Comité Central del partido en el congreso de 1920, celebrado en Bridgeman, Michigan.

En esta escuela fue donde Jim terminó su educación básica como revolucionario. Fue bajo la tutela directa de los rusos, junto con la experiencia viva de la lucha de clases de los Estados Unidos durante la década de los veinte, que floreció el talento de Jim y se reveló como organizador de mucho calibre.

La clase capitalista cuenta casi siempre con muchos organizadores capaces; algunos vienen de las familias ricas que se especializan en dar dirección política. Entre la clase obrera son muy escasos, ya que muchos de los que tienen este talento acaban sirviendo a los partidos capitalistas. Una persona con este talento debe ser muy dedicada y tener mucha capacidad de autosacrificio para tomar la causa de la clase obrera y mantenerse leal a ella durante décadas e, incluso, toda una vida.

Jim era este tipo de persona. Le salía naturalmente la capacidad para abordar correctamente una situación, para considerar las principales fuerzas, para juzgar acertadamente qué

es lo que se debía hacer después y para ganar a otros para sus puntos de vista. Jim desarrolló una gran habilidad para responder a los ataques que se lanzaban contra el movimiento revolucionario y para organizar contraofensivas poderosas.

Esto le ganó a Jim merecida fama en el movimiento comunista de los veinte. Fue el desarrollo de este talento en particular lo que le ganó un lugar entre los dirigentes claves del Partido Comunista.

Por aquellos días, desde luego, el Partido Comunista era una especie de jungla—esto es, en lo tocante a las luchas internas. Al principio, la Internacional Comunista dirigida por Lenin y Trotsky podía mejorar la situación y ayudar a los camaradas a sacar las lecciones correctas de los errores que cometían.

Pero después degeneró la Comintern, y se convirtió en una verdadera jungla, en la que Jim era uno de los que mejor luchaban contra la jungla. Cometió errores de los que aprendió más tarde, y nunca los olvidó.

POLITICA PRINCIPISTA

La principal diferencia que había

entre Jim y algunos otros que también tenían talento, era que Jim operaba dentro del marco de los principios, los principios del socialismo revolucionario. Trataba de ganar, naturalmente. Pero su perspectiva era a largo plazo, para ganar la batalla final; esto es, la batalla final en la lucha por derrocar al capitalismo y reemplazarlo con el socialismo a escala mundial.

En su opinión ésta era una gran perspectiva, la única que realmente merecía que se le dedicara toda la vida. El consideraba que era también una perspectiva realista, que se realizaría inevitablemente, aunque se necesitaran los esfuerzos combinados de varias generaciones sucesivas de revolucionarios.

Jim era internacionalista hasta la médula de los huesos. Absorbió la concepción internacionalista en su juventud, cuando era miembro del Partido Socialista y de la IWW. La revolución rusa le ofreció una confirmación viva de lo correcto de esta perspectiva.

Jim comenzó a tener también experiencia directa en los problemas internacionales. Además de las incesantes discusiones, debates y luchas fraccionales que se daban dentro del Partido Comunista de los años veinte, Jim fue delegado al importante Cuarto Congreso de la Internacional Comunista y luego al Sexto, en el que Stalin trató de acabar con la defensa trotskista del programa leninista.

CONGRESO DE LA COMINTERN

El Sexto Congreso de la Internacional Comunista, realizado en 1928, marcó un paso importante en el desarrollo de James P. Cannon como figura política de estatura internacional. Fue en ese congreso que decidió adoptar la causa representada por León Trotsky.

En los años anteriores, le habían preocupado grandemente las medidas perniciosas que había tomado la Comintern al intervenir en los asuntos del Partido Comunista de los Estados Unidos. Pero no encontraba ninguna vinculación entre esto y la lucha sobre el "trotskismo" en el partido ruso. De hecho, en base a la información de que disponía tendía a menospreciar esa lucha, e incluso le daba a Stalin el beneficio de la duda.



En el Sexto Congreso, él y Maurice Spector, del Partido Comunista de Canadá, recibieron por accidente copias de la traducción al inglés de parte de la crítica de Trotsky al proyecto de programa que se había presentado al congreso. Lo que siguió es historia.

El documento convenció totalmente a Cannon, quien decidió luchar por la crítica de Trotsky—no porque tuviera esperanzas de lograr un éxito inmediato, sino porque consideraba que Trotsky *tenía la razón*.

UNA DECISION DIFICIL

Fue una decisión difícil. Cannon se daba cuenta, quizás mejor que nadie fuera de los trotskistas rusos, que esto quería decir ostracismo, terminar muchas amistades y poner fin a relaciones personales con camaradas a los que había conocido durante muchos años, a través de luchas comunes.

Sin embargo, era políticamente necesario dar ese paso. Para Jim esta consideración era la más importante. No podía permitir que ninguna consideración personal se interpusiera en el camino de la defensa de la posición de Trotsky contra la pandilla burocrática de Stalin.

La decisión de Cannon ofrece un ejemplo magnífico de lo importante que es lograr claridad política cuando hay una lucha fraccional. Stalin también comprendía esto. Por esto trató de amordazar a Trotsky y por eso acabó recurriendo al asesinato para acallar la poderosa voz de Trotsky.

De esta manera, en el momento crucial, cuando Trotsky estaba exilado en la lejana Alma-Ata, imposibilitado por la fuerza de defender sus posiciones y de responder las calumnias y mentiras venenosas, uno de los dirigentes centrales del Partido Comunista de los Estados Unidos se une a Trotsky en la defensa del programa del leninismo, determinado a hacer todo lo que pueda para organizar una fracción principista que luche por ese programa a escala internacional en el movimiento comunista.

Esta decisión marcó el verdadero comienzo de nuestro movimiento en los Estados Unidos, aunque ya se habían dado antes pasos en esa dirección, por figuras como Antoinette Konikow, de Boston. Esta decisión marcó también una fecha memorable para el movimiento mundial que finalmente se convirtió en la Cuarta

Internacional.

En 1928 James P. Cannon se unió a la lucha internacional contra el stalinismo. Vivió lo suficiente para ver sacudirse al monolito stalinista.

COLABORACION CON TROTSKY

La colaboración entre Cannon y Trotsky fue particularmente fructífera. Algunos detractores de nuestro movimiento han retratado a Cannon como "el hombre que nunca decía que no", totalmente dependiente de las ideas elaboradas por Trotsky, y que servía sólo para ponerlas en práctica. Podría mencionar peores tipos de relaciones; pero este retrato no es exacto. De hecho, hace tanto daño a Trotsky como a Cannon.

En sus relaciones con Cannon, como en sus relaciones con sus secretarios y todos los miembros del equipo que trabajaba con él, el nivel de Trotsky era el de un igual. Recibir y dar era muy fácil. Trotsky los animaba a dar ideas y la tendencia de estas personas era a responder y a superarse.

Esta colaboración era, desde luego en un nivel político. El equipo no era un grupo de espíritus afines, unido por predilecciones, gustos y hábitos personales comunes. Trotsky y Cannon, por ejemplo, tenían personalidades muy diferentes.

En Coyoacán, ví como trabajaban juntos Trotsky y Cannon y sé el valor que Trotsky daba a las opiniones de Cannon como estrategia política y alguien que aplicaba el leninismo en la construcción del partido.

En cuanto a Cannon, consideraba que Trotsky era un genio, uno de esos raros individuos como Carlos Marx, que nacen en generaciones que a veces están muy separadas entre sí. Aceptaba el genio de Trotsky como un hecho, un hecho de enorme importancia para el movimiento revolucionario, y no pretendía ponerse al mismo nivel.

Pero Cannon nunca aceptó nada en base a su fe en Trotsky, ni Trotsky lo hubiera esperado. Si Cannon no estaba de acuerdo, defendía sus puntos de vista, y convenía a Trotsky sobre algunas cuestiones. Cannon no era único en este sentido. Esta experiencia la compartían otros miembros del equipo de Trotsky.

LA CUARTA INTERNACIONAL

Para fundar la Cuarta Internacional

en 1938, Trotsky y Cannon hicieron una poderosa combinación, comenzando con las conversaciones sobre el programa que habría de ser presentado al primer congreso, y terminando con el lanzamiento en la práctica del nuevo partido internacional.

Había personas, hay que recordarlo, incluso dentro del movimiento trotskista, que se oponían a la formación de la Cuarta Internacional, diciendo que era inoportuna. Tanto Trotsky como Cannon estaban a favor de dar ese paso, ya que la inminencia de la Segunda Guerra Mundial lo hacía todavía más necesario, dada la turbulencia de la nueva etapa de los problemas internacionales que se podía abrir.

Cuando Trotsky fue asesinado en 1940 muchos opinaban, especialmente los stalinistas y los reaccionarios en general, que ése era el fin de la Cuarta Internacional y del trotskismo en general.

Cannon, que entonces tenía 50 años, era considerado el dirigente más prominente del movimiento trotskista mundial. En su opinión, era irreal pensar que un solo individuo podría llenar el vacío dejado por la muerte de Trotsky. Desde luego nadie debía pensar que él trataría de hacerlo. El no era un genio, decía, y consideraba que era pretencioso y ridículo tratar de jugar ese papel.

Sin embargo, sí tenía un plan para seguir la lucha sin Trotsky. El plan no era complicado. Consistía en cerrar filas, tratar de mantener unido el equipo, de fortalecerlo, de ampliarlo y de renovarlo.

CONTINUIDAD DE DIRECCION

Así se podría mantener la continuidad de la dirección. Si surgía un nuevo Trotsky, eso sería una suerte extraordinaria. Ayudaría a acortar la lucha por el socialismo. Pero si no surgía un nuevo Trotsky, nosotros podríamos seguir la lucha sobre la base del programa de Trotsky y sus enseñanzas y, finalmente, el equipo de trabajo vencería.

En este curso que planteaba, Cannon consideraba que la Cuarta Internacional tenía una importancia central. Había que hacer todo lo posible por mantener a la Cuarta Internacional y para expandirla a todos los continentes, como única forma de sostener el programa del trotskismo y de ayudar a formar direcciones nacio-

nales capaces de construir partidos de masas y de dirigir las luchas revolucionarias a la victoria.

El interés de Cannon por el desarrollo y bienestar de la Cuarta Internacional no tenía nada en común con una concepción federalista, según la cual la Internacional está muy bien siempre y cuando se mantenga fuera de la bailía del Socialist Workers Party, como han dicho algunos.

Cannon estaba totalmente dedicado a la construcción de la Cuarta Internacional según las líneas trazadas en su fundación. Consideraba que el Socialist Workers Party era sólo una sección de la Cuarta Internacional—una sección importante, en su opinión. Nunca cambió este punto de vista, a pesar de que la aprobación de leyes reaccionarias en los Estados Unidos obligó al Socialist Workers Party a desafiliarse de la Cuarta Internacional.

EL MAYOR TRIUNFO

El mayor triunfo del camarada Cannon, sin embargo, tuvo lugar en suelo norteamericano. Este triunfo lo compartió con los otros pioneros del trotskismo en los Estados Unidos—entre ellos Vincent R. Dunne, Carl Skoglund, Arne Swabeck y, especialmente, con Rose Karsner, que fue la compañera de Jim y murió en marzo de 1968. Estos pioneros trotskistas, sin embargo, daban el principal crédito a Jim.

Este triunfo fue la construcción de un fuerte núcleo del partido revolucionario en los Estados Unidos, el principal bastión del capitalismo mundial. Jim no sólo construyó este núcleo, sino que lo mantuvo y siguió construyéndolo durante varias décadas, teniendo que enfrentarse a enormes presiones. No ha habido nada parecido en la historia del movimiento socialista revolucionario.

Jim mantuvo unido este núcleo contra la tentación de obtener puestos en la burocracia sindical, en los que se ganan sueldos bastante considerables.

Mantuvo unido este núcleo contra los golpes inmisericordes y las calumnias ponzoñosas del stalinismo norteamericano, que una vez fue una fuerza poderosa en el movimiento radical y en muchos sindicatos de los Estados Unidos.

Mantuvo unido este núcleo frente a la histeria de la Segunda Guerra

Mundial, yendo a la prisión al frente de los trotskistas que fueron sentenciados como las primeras víctimas del Acta Smith por su oposición política a la guerra imperialista.

Mantuvo unido este núcleo durante la infame década del macartismo en los Estados Unidos, cuando los trotskistas eran echados de sus trabajos por la policía política norteamericana, el FBI, y cuando nuestro movimiento estaba casi totalmente aislado políticamente y virtualmente paralizado por falta de dinero.

Mantuvo unido este núcleo contra la combinación mortal de la represión macartista y la prosperidad económica que produjo muchos años de pasividad en el movimiento obrero.

LAS BAJAS

Hubo bajas, desde luego. Camaradas que eran valiosos se decepcionaron y abandonaron la actividad. Cuadros con años de experiencia no pudieron soportar la tensión y desarrollaron diferencias políticas que les dieran una justificación aparente para encontrar un camino que les permitiera salirse del movimiento.

Pero nuevos reclutas tomaron su lugar. Y algunos de estos reclutas demostraron tener un valor excepcional, precisamente porque nadaban contra la corriente al unirse al movimiento en ese período.

El vigor y la tenacidad de Jim acabaron por triunfar. Logró mantener la continuidad de la dirección, continuidad que se remonta directamente hasta los fundadores del socialismo norteamericano en el siglo pasado, y llega en línea directa hasta los bolcheviques y, a través de ellos, hasta los fundadores del socialismo científico.

El núcleo de socialistas revolucionarios que se unió, mantuvo y renovó bajo la dirección de James P. Cannon, está cumpliendo su tarea muy bien actualmente, y sabemos la satisfacción que él encontraba en este triunfo.

DESARROLLAR CUADROS

Durante los años en que fue el principal dirigente del trotskismo en los Estados Unidos, Jim fue el maestro de tres, si no es que de cuatro, generaciones de revolucionarios. No enseñó tanto a través de conferencias formales, en realidad no dió muchas,

ni siquiera a través de sus escritos, a pesar de que en este sentido nos dejó una herencia considerable.

Nos enseñó de manera más efectiva, a través de su participación con nosotros en las luchas. Durante muchos años estuvo a nuestro lado en muchas situaciones y batallas de la lucha de clases, donde una de sus principales preocupaciones era el desarrollo de cuadros, particularmente de la capacidad de los camaradas para pensar por sí mismos.

Pero yo diría que el campo en que Jim nos dió las lecciones más importantes, fue en el desarrollo del Socialist Workers Party. Me refiero no sólo a la administración del partido, la organización del trabajo de las ramas, la producción de nuestra prensa y el desarrollo de dirigentes en estas áreas, sino a las muchas luchas internas, incluidas las de los primeros años del Partido Comunista, en las que la mayoría de los que estamos aquí no participamos más que indirectamente, a través de las narraciones que nos han llegado.

Nuestro partido debe su misma existencia a la forma en que Jim condujo estas luchas. A través de ellas era como Jim impartía su conocimiento político, para que se convirtiera en una adquisición de todos los cuadros, algo que nuestro partido puede usar como cimiento en las duras luchas que están por venir y que determinarán el destino de los Estados Unidos y, con el de éstos, el de todo el mundo.

Después de la Segunda Guerra Mundial, Jim estaba firmemente convencido de que la victoria de la Unión Soviética, el derrocamiento del capitalismo en Europa Oriental y la victoria revolucionaria de China acabarían por debilitar al stalinismo a escala mundial, haciendo posibles nuevos avances revolucionarios. La victoria de la revolución cubana en 1959 confirmaba esto, desde su punto de vista.

Sus ojos estaban fijos, desde luego, en los trabajadores norteamericanos. A largo plazo, los ascensos ocurridos en otras partes del mundo tendrían un efecto acumulativo en la arena política de los Estados Unidos. Aunado esto a las contradicciones económicas y sociales que cada vez se profundizan más, los trabajadores norteamericanos, el poder más grande que hay sobre la tierra, se lanzarán a la acción y habrá comenzado la revolución norteamericana.

En los últimos años de su vida,

Jim estaba convencido de que la revolución norteamericana no está muy distante. Se ha acercado considerablemente. Veía las señales de esto en el surgimiento del movimiento de liberación de los negros, en la década de los sesenta, y del movimiento de liberación de la mujer, a principios de los setenta. Las veía en la incapacidad del imperialismo norteamericano para ganar victorias contundentes, primero en Corea y después en Vietnam. Las veía en la radicalización de la juventud a escala nunca antes vista en los Estados Unidos. Las veía en el movimiento contra la guerra que barrió este país de costa a costa, sacudiendo el sistema político capitalista, hasta el punto de que un presidente decidió no lanzarse por la reelección, y su sucesor — un bribón menos astuto — tuvo que renunciar, siendo la primera vez que sucede esto en la historia de los Estados Unidos.

Todas estas señales llevaron a Cannon a creer que el momento del trotskismo está cercano.

VIDA PERSONAL

En su vida personal, Jim prefería una existencia sencilla, en compañía de los camaradas y amigos con quienes congeniaba. Era un lector voraz, pero también le gustaba conversar. Su conversación, desde luego, era en torno a la política, o giraba en esa dirección, algunas veces con chistes y comentarios entremezclados.

Jim fumaba puros y pipa y no era nada exigente en cuanto a la calidad del tabaco, fumando con igual deleite el tabaco de baja calidad que él compraba y los habanos o mezclas que le regalaban en los últimos años, con la sola condición de que el tabaco se quemara sin llama y con humo.

Consideraba que tener una fiesta de vez en cuando era una necesidad, y se aseguraba de que no faltara el buen humor. Durante mucho tiempo no tomó más que té y, cuando mucho, cerveza, limitación con la que no estaba de acuerdo; pero el alcohol le creaba problemas que se veía obligado a tomar en cuenta.

En su forma de trabajo, Jim no era una persona fácil de tratar. De hecho, podía ser muy exigente. Algunos camaradas consideraban que esto era enojoso y surgían fricciones ocasionales.

Jim tenía la capacidad de reconocer

sus errores y debilidades. Cuando hablaba con sus amigos cercanos, incluso tendía a enfatizarlos demasiado, pensando que tenía más de los que eran normales.

La objetividad de Jim se aplicaba también a otros. Esto se puede ver de manera sorprendente en sus comentarios sobre las personalidades que conoció en el Partido Comunista y que se habían vuelto stalinistas y habían traicionado al movimiento socialista revolucionario. Les daba todo el crédito por lo que habían sido alguna vez y por lo que habían tratado de ser, y explicaba cómo los habían abrumado fuerzas que no alcanzaron a comprender.

HOMBRE DE EQUIPO

Sería muy interesante hacer un estudio psicoanalítico de Jim, ya que él era muy complejo, pero no nos diría mucho sobre las razones que lo convirtieron en un gran político. Vivía como una persona política y es a ese nivel que tenemos que juzgarlo. En este sentido trabajaba como hombre de equipo, completamente consciente del poder de una dirección de equipo, y como un maestro para construirla; esto es, un grupo bien balanceado, compuesto por personalidades contrastantes, ya sea unilateral o multilateralmente, incluyendo a personas que siempre tienden a ser críticas y otras que tienden a reflejar la opinión de esta o aquella capa.

Como parte integrante del equipo, Jim se subordinaba completamente a la disciplina del partido, al "deber", como le gustaba considerarlo, o a la necesidad de "esforzarse por el partido."

Jim se describía a sí mismo como un "anarquista" en el fondo, y ciertamente tenía algo de razón. No era natural en él ser parte de un equipo. Tuvo que aprenderlo y aplicarlo muy conscientemente, aferrándose al llamado del deber. En consecuencia, se podía observar que cedía a sus inclinaciones anarquistas, si eso es lo que eran, sólo en pequeñas cosas, haciendo todo lo que podía por excluirlas de cuestiones importantes para el partido.

UNA PERSONA ENOJADA

Jim era fundamentalmente una per-

sona enojada. Estaba enojado con la injusticia, con la iniquidad, con los privilegios especiales, con la explotación. Estaba enojado con la pobreza, la falta de oportunidades, la opresión, el racismo y el sexismo.

Hervía de coraje con los crímenes del capitalismo, sus guerras, sus ideologías reaccionarias. Odiaba su policía, sus cortes, sus cárceles, su fascismo, su tendencia a retroceder a la barbarie.

Se puso furioso cuando Truman lanzó la bomba atómica sobre Hiroshima y Nagasaki y ante el peligro de que la raza humana fuera aniquilada en un holocausto atómico.

Este perpetuo y profundo odio contra el capitalismo, acrecentado diariamente por lo que leía en los periódicos y veía por todas partes, era una de las principales fuerzas que movían a Jim.

Estaba completamente decidido a derrocar este sistema monstruoso en el que tuvimos que nacer.

Jim tenía una visión clara del socialismo y las perspectivas que podría abrir. El tuvo esta visión desde que era joven, y nunca la abandonó. Durante toda su vida consciente trató de impartir esta visión a otros, de inspirarlos y de ganarlos para la causa.

Repitió este llamado con toda su elocuencia en el discurso que gravó hace poco tiempo para la celebración del décimo aniversario de *Intercontinental Press*.

Se puede decir que ese discurso fue el último mensaje de Cannon al partido y a la nueva generación de rebeldes, en el que expresó sus más profundas convicciones.

SIGUE CON NOSOTROS

No voy a decir adiós a Jim. Sigue con nosotros. Sigue con nosotros a través de sus escritos. Sigue con nosotros a través del partido por el que tanto hizo para construirlo. Sigue con nosotros a través de la continuidad de la dirección de ese partido y a través del ejemplo personal que dió con toda una vida de dedicación a la causa de la emancipación de la humanidad.

A través de estos triunfos, Jim seguirá participando, siendo un camarada de armas, en la lucha internacional por el socialismo hasta que se gane la victoria final. □

Racistas Blancos Intensifican su Acción Terrorista

Por Hugo Blanco

[Desde que Hugo Blanco escribió este artículo, el 20 de julio, han habido nuevos informes sobre la violencia de los racistas blancos contra el pueblo de Angola. Según un informe que apareció en *Le Monde* el 30 de julio, cuando menos 300 civiles africanos resultaron muertos o heridos en los enfrentamientos con los extremistas blancos que se produjeron en Luanda durante las últimas dos semanas de julio.

[En un despacho de Reuters del 10 de agosto, aparecido en el *New York Times* se informaba que murieron otras dos personas y que diecinueve más resultaron heridas en un enfrentamiento ocurrido en las afueras de Luanda. El ejército intervino, supuestamente para restaurar el orden, y arrestó a 143 personas, de las cuales sólo dos eran blancos.

[Mientras tanto, el *New York Times* informaba el 11 de agosto, que el gobierno portugués había anunciado un plan de dos años para dar la independencia a Angola. El plan llama a formar un gobierno provisional, una vez que haya sido firmado el alto al fuego en Angola. Este gobierno incluiría tanto a blancos como a miembros de todos los movimientos de liberación, y presidiría toda una serie de pasos parlamentarios que culminarán con las elecciones generales dentro de dos años.

[Un despacho del *Times* de Londres aparecido en el *New York Times* el 25 de agosto, decía que el MPLA (Movimento Popular para a Libertação de Angola—Movimiento Popular para la Liberación de Angola) y la UNITA (União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola—Unión Nacional para la Independencia Total de Angola) han acordado una paz no oficial con el ejército portugués.

[El único grupo independentista que se ha opuesto al plan de dos años, según los informes, y ha seguido la lucha es el FNLA (Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola—Frente Nacional de Liberación de Angola). Se-

gún este despacho, el grupo ha realizado ocho ataques contra plantaciones cafetaleras en la región de Carmona, en Angola, durante las últimas semanas, así como dos ataques a gran escala contra el ejército portugués. Fuentes del ejército calculan que 5,000 miembros de esa organización siguen en armas].

* * *

Angola es un país en el que viven seis millones de negros, medio millón de blancos y algunas centenas de millares de mestizos.

Los angolanos luchan por obtener su independencia de Portugal a través de tres movimientos de liberación, de los cuales el principal es el Movimento Popular para a Libertação de Angola [MPLA—Movimiento Popular de Liberación de Angola].

Después del 25 de abril, ante la perspectiva de que se diera la independencia a esta colonia, los racistas blancos han intensificado su acción contra la población negra, y están haciendo todo lo posible para impedir que se logre una independencia que no les dé el gobierno a ellos.

Hace mucho tiempo que el Partido Cristão Democrático de Angola [PCDA—Partido Demócrata Cristiano (blanco)] ha venido utilizando el tribalismo para dividir a la población negra.

El ministro portugués de Coordinación Interterritorial, Almeida Santos, estuvo en Luanda, capital de Angola, el 26 de mayo. Lo recibió una manifestación pro-independencia de 20,000 personas, la mayoría negros.

Pero también se efectuó una contra-manifestación de blancos, compuesta fundamentalmente por comerciantes y taxistas que insultaron al ministro.

Días después, un comerciante blanco asesinó a un negro por haber gritado: "¡Viva el General Spínola!"

El 25 de abril no produjo ningún cambio en las autoridades de Angola, que protegen en forma más o menos disimulada las acciones de los racistas blancos.

El 11 de julio apareció muerto un

taxista blanco en las afueras de un barrio negro. Esto sirvió de pretexto para el desencadenamiento de acciones terroristas contra la población negra:

Grupos de blancos, principalmente taxistas y comerciantes, se dirigieron a la Emisora Oficial en busca de Norberto Castro, y a Estudios del Norte en busca de Sebastián Coelho. Estos dos locutores radiales eran acusados por los blancos de ser los incitadores de los negros. En los Estudios del Norte rompieron vidrios y patearon a las secretarías, pero no pudieron encontrar a Coelho, que había huido a tiempo.

Posteriormente, se dirigieron al barrio de Cazenga, sitio donde había aparecido muerto el taxista. Armados de granadas, pistolas, garrotes y otras armas comenzaron a atacar a todos los negros que pasaban en vehículos por ese lugar. Luego, cuando fueron desalojados por la policía, se dirigieron al barrio de Cuca a continuar la misma acción. Las autoridades blancas reconocieron que hubo un saldo de tres muertos y treinta o cuarenta heridos, todos ellos negros.

En la mañana del día 13, amigos y familiares de los muertos fueron al hospital a retirar los cuerpos. Una vez hecho esto, y llevando los cadáveres, hicieron un desfile de protesta y duelo por las principales arterias de Luanda; hasta que fueron reprimidos por la policía que les arrebató los cuerpos.

En vista de que las acciones de los terroristas blancos continuaban con el beneplácito de la policía blanca, el día 15 se formó una columna de 5,000 soldados y oficiales negros que se dirigió al Comando General a pedir que se les permitiera ser ellos quienes protegiesen los barrios negros; este pedido tuvo que ser aceptado por el General Franco Pinheiro. Mientras tanto, los civiles negros que habían acompañado a los soldados y que fueron detenidos a la mitad del recorrido, estaban siendo atacados por la policía.

El mismo día 15 hubo muchos incidentes en los barrios negros, donde la población respondió a los ataques quemando las tiendas de comerciantes blancos.

Ese mismo día hubo un paro general de los trabajadores negros en señal de duelo y de protesta. A pesar de la fuerte represión policial, el paro fue un éxito. Los piquetes de huelga, que no podían estar en los lugares de trabajo, se instalaron a la salida de los barrios negros.

En la tarde se realizó el entierro de cinco víctimas del terrorismo blanco. El cortejo salió de la Liga Nacional Africana y fue acompañado por más de 20,000 personas, entre ellas muchos blancos. Había banderas de los movimientos de liberación de Angola y de las otras colonias, y se escuchó el himno del MPLA y cánticos religiosos en dialecto quimbundo.

Anteriormente, los familiares y otros negros, que estaban reunidos en la Liga Nacional Africana, habían repudiado la actitud del Consejo de Gobierno de indemnizar a los familiares y pagar los funerales, opinando que dicha actitud era una ofensa contra la dignidad de los angolanos, que quieren "medidas de protección y no limosnas".

El sindicato de empleados bancarios exige que se expulse de Angola a los

reaccionarios blancos.

En Luanda hubo una reunión plenaria de estudiantes, profesores y funcionarios de todos los establecimientos de enseñanza secundaria y superior, que acordó decretar tres días de luto académico con ocupación de todos los establecimientos escolares para exigir que inmediatamente se detuviera, juzgara y expulsara a todos los que estuvieran implicados en los crímenes, directa o indirectamente.

Por otra parte, los universitarios han acordado exigir la dimisión de los cuerpos gubernamentales, prohibiendo a los órganos representativos de la universidad que se contacten con el gobierno de Angola, mientras el gobierno provisional de Portugal y el Movimiento de las Fuerzas Armadas no tomen en la práctica, e inequívocamente, medidas anticolonialistas.

La represión se ha manifestado de diferentes formas:

Se dice que más de cien negros han sido asesinados.

Hay un programa único de radio y las asambleas de sindicatos han sido suspendidas.

El Gobernador General Silvino Silveiro Marques dice que "estamos pasando ahora de una situación de paz, a una situación que puedo llamar de guerrilla urbana o sub-urbana". Dice que hay hostigamiento de las

patrullas y que quienes dicen que no es imparcial también son agitadores, y serán castigados.

El ministro de Coordinación Interterritorial en Lisboa, Almeida Santos, opina que son "pequeños conflictos raciales".

Los angolanos señalan que el gobierno está empeñado en aplastar las manifestaciones de los angolanos y que para esto da libertades a partidos racistas y ultra-derechistas. Señalan que el toque de queda sirve para que los negros no se muevan y sean fácil presa de los terroristas blancos.

Denuncian concretamente, como originadora de los sucesos, a la organización Resistência Unida de Angola [RUA— Resistencia Unida de Angola], que está compuesta por comandos blancos organizados para el terrorismo. Indican que esta organización para-militar ha ofrecido dinero a algunos oficiales portugueses para que se queden en Angola después de la independencia. Tiene puntos de apoyo en la radio, prensa, Fuerzas Armadas, Policía de Seguridad Pública, Policía Militar y Policía Judicial.

Además, los angolanos opinan que los últimos acontecimientos han servido para unir más a la población negra y para aumentar las ansias de independencia. □

DOCUMENTS

Whither the PST?

[The following resolution, passed by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, was published in the July 26, 1974, issue of *Rouge*, the weekly newspaper reflecting the views of the French Trotskyists organized in the Front Communiste Révolutionnaire. The title under which the resolution appeared was "Où Va le PST?" (Whither the PST?). The translation from the French is by *Intercontinental Press*.

[A reply by the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International in Argentina, appears below under the title "In Defense of the PST and the Truth."]

On March 22, at their request, the Argentine president Juan Perón received representatives of eight political parties. The parties involved were the Unión Cívica Radical [Radical Civic Union, the bourgeois liberal opposition party], the Partido Revolucionario Cristiano [Revolutionary Christian party], the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores [PST, Socialist Workers party], the Partido Socialista Popular [People's Socialist party], the Partido Intransigente, the UDELPA [Unión del Pueblo Adelante—People's Union for Progress], the Communist party, and the Progressive Democratic party. This meeting was not an isolated incident. It was part of a series of moves

made by Perón with the aim of "normalizing" his relations with the officially recognized parties (another meeting took place on April 5). But the March 22 meeting was the most important one up to now because the eight organizations issued a joint statement at its conclusion:

"The participants," this statement said, "have confirmed their fundamental commitment to spare no effort to maintain and consolidate the process of institutionalization in our country within the context of the democratic system and through the practice of coexistence and constructive dialogue. . . . The republic has been experi-

encing difficult moments as a result of its confrontation with forces that have long subjected it to their pressure. But these problems will be easily surmounted by actions of solidarity conducted by sectors that respect the aspiration of the majority of the people and of the popular strata for freedom that was expressed in the elections, a freedom that guarantees their right to continue to express themselves in the future so that they can apply this liberty in practice to free themselves from the burden of imperialist domination and assure enjoyment by the workers of the benefits of the wealth created by their labor.

"As participants in this process, we have not taken an attitude of opposition to achieving these objectives. Because of the spectrum of opinion represented by those taking part and the development of the discussion, this meeting must be considered a concrete step forward, a combining of efforts that will assure the continuation of the ongoing process of institutionalization along the lines the people voted for. We understand all the risks involved in the endeavor the country is calling for, and, over and above any differences about how deep or how fast the process of change should go, we agree on the unavoidable need for it. As for those who want the constitutional system to fail or are waiting for circumstances that will permit a new reactionary adventure, those who are trying to use sectors of the regime to prejudice future options, and those who are adopting totalitarian or corporatist practices that fit in ideologically with fascist-type demands and the interests of the multinational companies that exert a constant pressure on our frontiers, all these people must realize that this country is united on the basis of a fundamental agreement and will respond to their actions."

This statement, which was published on March 22 by all the daily papers, was reprinted in the March 28 issue of *Avanzada Socialista*, the organ of the PST. But *Avanzada Socialista* did not confine itself to publishing the communiqué; it added two commentaries in the form of editorials.

After noting the escalating violence from the right, which reached its culmination in the coup by the police chief Navarro in Córdoba, the first editorial explained that "participation

(by the PST) in the dialogue with the president of the republic" was a "concrete step in defense of the democratic rights gained in heroic struggle by the mobilizations of the workers and the people that have developed since the Cordobazo." It went on to explain that "defending constitutional stability" should not coincide with a political defense of the government and drew the following conclusion: "The fact that eight parties reached an agreement to call for a meeting to demand institutionalization is of extraordinary importance. But as always we will continue to maintain that mobilizations constitute the primary way to defend democratic gains. This has been shown, moreover, by the Acindar struggle and that of the bank workers. This is why we will continue to point to the need for an agreement to defend democratic rights in action, starting with a big public meeting of all the parties, the political youth organizations, and all the workers and student organizations." The same appeal for a joint meeting with the bourgeois parties was repeated at the end of the second editorial, which explained the need for "concrete, flexible responses to every conjuncture in the class struggle."

The PST leadership must have realized that all of this—its decision to participate in a meeting that served as a cover for Perón's "normalization" moves, its signing a common document with bourgeois parties (including the Unión Cívica Radical, the traditional bourgeois party and even today the principal bourgeois force aside from Peronism), its proclaiming a "fundamental agreement" among all the signers on defending the process of "institutionalization," its accepting "objectives" approved by "the people" (which in reality are objectives elaborated by Cámpora and Perón), and its thesis that the fight against fascism can and must be conducted in common with the parties representing the class enemy—would provoke reactions among the party membership.

That is why the same issue of *Avanzada Socialista* published a letter signed by a "Comrade F." (a letter that reached the editors with astonishing rapidity) along with an answer that took up almost two pages.

The letter seemed to accept class collaboration with the bourgeois parties. Indeed, it said (falsifying a quota-

tion from Trotsky referring to the need for a united front with the Social Democrats in Germany at the beginning of the 1930s) that "it is permissible to form a united front with the class enemy and even with the devil's grandmother." But the author criticized signing the eight-party document because, he said, in this way the PST had aided Perón and given its support to a bourgeois government on the brink of collapse. The editors' answer clarified the central question. It maintained that the starting point had to be "a basic fact—there has been a semifascist coup that has toppled a regional government. This coup was not an isolated incident but represented a leap in the escalation of violence by the right that is moving onto the offensive and has no intention of stopping." The conclusion was that in the given context one should not conduct a struggle to overthrow the government or the existing institutions but, to the contrary, it was necessary to defend "democratic institutionalization and that, to this end, it is correct to establish an accord with bourgeois parties by signing joint declarations and calling for joint demonstrations."

In the past, the leaders of the PST have criticized the Stalinists' popular-front conceptions and they formally reaffirmed these criticisms in the issue of *Avanzada Socialista* in question. But just as they previously supported the Uruguayan Frente Amplio, which was led by a representative of the bourgeoisie, SEREGNI, today they have signed a joint statement with bourgeois parties and called for common actions with these parties. In order to justify this ultraopportunist attitude, they utilize precisely the argument the Stalinists advanced in the mid-1930s to justify their adopting the popular-front line, that is, that it is legitimate to make alliances with the bourgeoisie or its so-called democratic sectors in order to oppose a fascist danger. By this action, the PST is entering a new stage in its evolution, openly breaking with the revolutionary Marxist conception of the workers united front based on the Leninist conception of the Third International and revived by Trotsky.

At the same time, they have forgotten the fundamental distinction that exists between the democratic rights demanded by the workers movement

and the structures of bourgeois democracy. In signing a document that calls for institutionalization in the country and in taking a stand alongside bourgeois parties as a "participant in the process of institutionalization," they are helping to maintain Perón's principal obfuscation, the pseudodemocratic farce that the Argentine bourgeoisie has been playing for three years, and they are falling for the maneuver designed to present Perón as the guarantor of a "democracy" that includes everybody except the extreme right and extreme left organizations (Perón has expressed this line in an explicit way). The term used several times by *Avanzada Socialista*, dialogue with the president, is quite revealing of the opportunist conceptions of the PST leaders.

The United Secretariat of the Fourth International, which has always rejected every form of class collaboration with the "democratic parties" of the bourgeoisie, thinks that while they should take advantage of whatever openings for legal or semilegal activity there are, the duty of revolutionists in Latin America is to expose the fraudulent operation inaugurated by the Gran Acuerdo Nacional (GAN—

Great National Agreement) and carried forward by Perón, that their duty is to fight without compromise or truce against the government in office and the bourgeois state.

June 1974



In its issue of June 26, 1974, *Avanzada Socialista* states that the PST did not sign the declaration of March 22, 1974, "because there was still disagreement" with the other parties. Supposedly the editor in chief published the report about the signature by error. But the article in the paper that offered this correction still contained an explicit reaffirmation of the legitimacy in Argentina today of concluding tactical accords with bourgeois parties for the defense of democratic freedoms and of bourgeois democratic institutions.

The fundamental option of the PST is further confirmed by the fact that on June 29, 1974, three days after the publication of this issue of *Avanzada Socialista*, the PST together with seven other parties called "center-left" by the Argentine papers signed a statement supporting "the process of insti-

tutionalization in the country" and "the operation of the legal mechanisms of constitutional succession." (*La Opinión*, June 30, 1974.) On July 3, in the aftermath of Perón's death, it signed a new statement in the city of Santa Fe at the request of the president of the provincial chamber of deputies favoring "the maintenance of constitutional stability as the only adequate means for attaining social justice in freedom, breaking the grip of the imperialist interests, and achieving lasting independence." (*El Cronista Comercial*, July 4, 1974.)

This proves that despite the article in the June 26, 1974, *Avanzada Socialista* the PST has fully maintained its fundamental difference with the programmatic line of the Fourth International on the method of defending the workers' freedoms.

This tidying up of a programmatic deviation for which the Fourth International cannot take any responsibility must in no way stand in the way of developing a vigorous campaign of solidarity with the PST and a defense of this party against the blows of the repression and the terror of the extreme right.

July 12, 1974

In Defense of the PST and the Truth

[The following statement was issued by the Executive Committee of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (Socialist Workers party), a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International in Argentina, in reply to a resolution "Whither the PST?" passed by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.

[The translation from the Spanish is by *Intercontinental Press*.

[The text of the United Secretariat resolution appears elsewhere in this issue.]

* * *

The United Secretariat of the Fourth International, in a resolution passed at the end of May, subjected the leadership of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores to a severe criticism that

we consider to be unjustified.

Ordinarily the matter would be discussed within the ranks of the world Trotskyist movement, whose political activities are of fraternal interest to us. (Reactionary legislation bars the PST from affiliating with the Fourth International as an official section.) However, the authors of the resolution made the document public, thereby compelling us, much to our regret, to reply in public.

There are several versions of the resolution. In our reply we shall refer to the version published in the July 26, 1974, issue of *Rouge*, the weekly newspaper reflecting the views of the French Trotskyists organized in the Front Communiste Révolutionnaire. For the information of the Argentine workers, *Avanzada Socialista* is publishing a Spanish translation of the document.

No information is provided in the resolution as to the vote cast in the United Secretariat. It was not unanimous. The resolution was proposed by representatives of the International Majority Tendency, which holds a majority in the United Secretariat. Representatives of the Leninist Trotskyist Faction argued and voted against it. They proposed seeking further information from Argentina, in particular from the PST.

An additional fact should be indicated. The decision to make the resolution public was made at a United Secretariat meeting held July 3, 1974. A postscript, dated July 12, was included in the version published in *Rouge*. The postscript was not considered at any meeting of the United Secretariat.

The central contention made in the resolution is that "the PST is entering

a new stage in its evolution, openly breaking with the revolutionary Marxist conception of the workers united front based on the Leninist conception of the Third International and revived by Trotsky."

This charge is accompanied by the assertion that the leaders of the PST have adopted a policy of crossing class lines and that in justification "they utilize precisely the argument the Stalinists advanced in the mid-1930s to justify their adopting the popular-front line, that is, that it is legitimate to make alliances with the bourgeoisie or its so-called democratic sectors in order to oppose a fascist danger."

In justification of these grave accusations, the authors of the resolution allege that the leaders of the PST joined with representatives of seven other political parties, among which were several bourgeois parties (including the Unión Cívica Radical), in signing a common document that was presented to "the Argentine president Juan Perón" in an interview held "March 22." (The actual date was March 21.)

To prove that the document could not be signed by the PST without crossing class lines, the authors of the resolution quote several key passages from it. They then quote from two supposed editorials in the March 28-April 5 issue of *Avanzada Socialista*.

(We say "supposed editorials" precisely because only one of the articles cited as such by *Rouge* is actually an editorial. This confusion is odd since in recent months *Avanzada Socialista* has followed an explicit norm, publishing its editorial in each issue on page 3 in 12-point type under the caption "EDITORIAL" placed in the right-hand column. The authors of the resolution are apparently utilizing the fact that almost all of the articles in *Avanzada Socialista* are unsigned (a tradition inherited from twenty-six years of clandestinity) in order to dub any and all articles as editorials. And they do this despite the fact that the very issue of *Avanzada Socialista* cited by them, adhered to our norm, that is, published only one article under the title of "EDITORIAL"—on page 3 in 12-point type. And from that article, devoted entirely to the interview with Perón, the authors of the resolution cite nothing except the following phrase: "concrete, flexible re-

sponses to every conjuncture in the class struggle.")

In their opinion, this assemblage of quotations proves that the leaders of the PST believe that presenting Perón with a document containing a bourgeois political line signed by a mixture of bourgeois and proletarian parties constitutes an exemplary action in defending democratic rights and fighting fascism.

The charges appear on the surface to be irrefutable. Nonetheless something is awry. The Peronist administration does not appear to have concluded that the PST capitulated. On March 25, four days after the interview with Perón, Comrade Juan Carlos Coral was arrested and imprisoned for participating in a meeting with workers on strike held in front of the entrance to the Banco Nación. An article on this was published in the same issue of *Avanzada Socialista* that reported the meeting with Perón.

Nor do the ultraright thugs, who are operating in collusion with sectors of the government, appear to have concluded that the PST is bowing to the pressure of the bourgeoisie. To the contrary, they consider that the PST, in view of its fast rate of growth and its expansion into more and more areas, is becoming a greater potential threat to Argentine capitalism. That is why they have stepped up their raids on our headquarters and their assassinations of members of the PST.

The leaders of the PST did not sign a common document with any other political party, and no document of such kind was presented to Perón at the March 21 interview.

How then did the authors of the United Secretariat resolution gain a contrary impression?

We acknowledge that we are partly to blame for this. *Avanzada Socialista* did publish the text of the supposed common document in the March 28-April 5 issue. Moreover, it included a list of supposed signers. This was an error—along with the delay in correcting it—for which we take responsibility. Comrade Coral did make a public correction on May 8 in a television interview. A public rectification was also made by the editorial staff of *Avanzada Socialista* in the June 26 issue.¹

1. For the Spanish text see *Intercontinental Press*, July 22, page 1002. An

However, these public acknowledgments that an error had been committed did not satisfy the authors of the United Secretariat resolution. Apparently they consider the public rectifications to be merely part of a cover-up.

It has thus become necessary to explain the circumstances of the interview with Perón more fully.

The context was the ultrarightist coup of February 27 in which the chief of police in Córdoba, Antonio Domingo Navarro, toppled the elected provincial government headed by Obregón Cano. This ominous development, which threatened to start a chain reaction that could lead to a similar coup in Buenos Aires and the reinstatement of a military dictatorship on a national scale, was profoundly disturbing. To meet the threat, it was imperative for the Argentine workers to mobilize in defense of their hard-won democratic rights and press toward a socialist resolution of the economic and political crisis racking Argentine society. For the PST, this was the central objective governing everything we did.

The coup in Córdoba also disturbed other circles, including sectors of the bourgeoisie. For various reasons these sectors feared a resumption of military rule; they also feared the possibility of a confrontation that could goad the workers into a socialist revolution.

From the revolutionary-socialist point of view there was every reason to foster this incipient division within the ruling class and to seek to take advantage of it. While this was a secondary consideration, it played a role in shaping our immediate tactics, particularly in the question of gaining publicity that might aid in mobilizing the workers.

The leading figure in the move to seek an interview with Perón was Ricardo Balbín of the Unión Cívica Radical. He had his own political reasons, of course, for doing this. Among them was fear of what the Córdoba coup might signify. He arranged the interview with Perón.

Perón granted the interview as head of the government. As the authors of the United Secretariat resolution correctly explain, Perón was interested in bolstering his political image as the

English translation was published in the July 15 issue, page 960.—IP

"guarantor" of democratic rights for everyone except the ultrarightists and the protagonists of guerrilla warfare. We understood this, and we did everything we could to counteract Perón's objectives in this respect, exposing the real role of his regime.

The projected interview had another side—it involved a formal governmental act of quasiparliamentary character. The interview was an official one between the president and the representatives of legally recognized parties listed as being in the *opposition*. Perón therefore demanded that the opposition parties present a document stating the objectives they sought in the interview.

For an opposition party to withdraw at this point would have brought into question its legal status. To struggle for legality and to defend it when it is won is a matter of principle for Leninists.

Oscar Alende, of the Partido Intransigente, drew up a draft for consideration by the seven other parties. Aside from other items, we found the draft to be totally unacceptable both for what it included (support of a bourgeois government and its institutions) and for what it left out (mobilization of the working class in defense of democratic rights). At a meeting of representatives of the eight parties, we argued in favor of amending the document along these lines.

We sought to eliminate all references to supporting the Peronist regime and to add points concerning mobilizing the workers. It soon became clear, of course, that it was impossible for the eight parties to reach agreement on a joint statement.

Balbín communicated this fact to officials of the Perón administration. Perón then made a concession; he withdrew his demand that a common statement be presented.

Thus the interview was held without a common statement being presented to Perón and with each party free to state its own positions. It was on that basis and that basis alone that we participated in the interview. We went as representatives of the PST and not as adherents of an unprincipled block or incipient popular front.

It can be argued that we made a mistake in doing this. We do not think it was a mistake, but we are quite willing to discuss the question and are open to persuasion if sufficiently

compelling arguments can be adduced. However, this has nothing to do with the charge made by the authors of the United Secretariat resolution that we joined with bourgeois parties in signing an unprincipled document.

We recognized that our participating in an interview with Perón might be misunderstood by a few loyal militants and that some of our opponents might subject it to malicious misinterpretation. Through all the means at our disposal, including nationwide television broadcasts, we sought to lessen those risks. In the only genuine editorial cited by the authors of the United Secretariat resolution, we clearly stated our political opposition to Peronism and the Peronist regime. For instance, in relation to our posing the danger represented by the violent actions of the budding semifascist currents, we said:

"Preserving the stability of the institutions in this period does not mean supporting the Peronists' policy or their government; rather it means defending the right to utilize all democratic instruments, which however precarious, insufficient, and grudgingly conceded, make possible a more extensive and continuous relationship with the working class as a whole and the people. It means preserving the right—for ourselves as well as the other political forces—to publish journals, open headquarters, make use of radio and television, organize rallies, assemblies, and demonstrations. It also means the right for workers to improve their trade-union organizations, freeing them both from military intervention and from the bureaucracy, as the *compañeros* in Villa Constitución have just done. It means, finally, the chance to make an impact in the election of our rulers and in criticizing their programs and the activities of the government.

"All this has absolutely nothing to do with a *defense of the policy of the government*. Perón came to office with the support of a broad alliance of all the capitalist and imperialist sectors. Defending Perón's government would mean defending the Social Pact designed to freeze wages at the present levels of exploitation, guaranteeing the privileges of the landholding oligarchy and the investments of the foreign monopolies. It would mean, finally, defending the broad range of repressive

means by which they are trying to impose this economic policy, from reforms of the Penal Code to enforcing the Ley de Prescindibilidad [Civil Servants Redundancy Law]." (Emphasis in the original.)

We believe that it is impermissible under any circumstances to give *political* support to a bourgeois regime, party, coalition, structure, or representative—and we have never done so in the slightest way. We have always opposed taking the road of class collaboration leading to popular frontism and to bourgeois nationalism.

In the face of a rightist coup, the threat or actual outbreak of civil war, and an assault on the liberties of the people and the rights of the workers, it is permissible and even sometimes imperative to organize and carry on *practical actions* in defense of democratic rights together with nonproletarian organizations and tendencies. That is what Lenin taught. At the same time the revolutionary party must make it crystal clear that such a strictly limited tactic of joint action to ward off an immediate danger does not entail the slightest political subordination, rapprochement, agreement, or collusion with the false policies of the temporary bourgeois democratic allies. Lenin instilled the principle of maintaining independence of action and voice. Democracy can be safeguarded only through the constant and independent struggle of the workers for power and socialism. The PST has worked to mobilize the masses along this line and will continue to do so.

What led the daily papers to report that a common document had been signed? What led some of them to say that the supposed joint document had been handed to Perón? (The majority of the Buenos Aires dailies, however—*Noticias*, *La Nación*, *Clarín*, *Mayoría*—said that it was only a press release.)

In giving the press his version of the interview with Perón, Balbín used as an aide-mémoire his own draft statement based on corrections he had made to the draft drawn up by Alende and the one proposed by Coral. No doubt it was from this that the reporters gained the impression that it was a joint statement, and a few of them concluded that it had been handed to Perón. It should be added that the leaders of the Communist party have been pressing for the for-

mation of a popular front in Argentina and they hoped to utilize the interview with Perón as a step in that direction. It was in their interest to help advance the interpretation that a common document had been agreed to.

Let us now take up the attempt by the authors of the United Secretariat resolution to show by judiciously selected quotations from two articles in the March 28-April 5 issue of *Avanzada Socialista* that we have made a turn and now favor joining unprincipled blocs with bourgeois parties in defense of democratic rights.

The United Secretariat resolution states that it is our position that in the given context a struggle must not be conducted to overthrow the government or the present institutions, but on the contrary it is necessary to defend "democratic institutionalization and that, to this end, it is correct to establish an accord with bourgeois parties by signing joint declarations and calling for joint demonstrations."

Neither the genuine nor the supposed editorials utilized by the authors of the United Secretariat resolution contain the quotation ascribed to us. Was the "quotation" taken from a different source? We would appreciate learning what the source was.

The matter is important, because it is on the basis of that "quotation" and its accompanying interpretation that we are accused of repeating the arguments used by the Stalinists in the thirties in favor of a popular front. The truth is that we have been campaigning in the most consistent way for many years against popular frontism. The very same issue of *Avanzada Socialista* that has proved so serviceable to the authors of the resolution carries vigorous polemics against popular frontism, which in the current situation in Argentina represents a real danger. (The authors of the resolution acknowledge our polemics against popular frontism, but brush them aside, saying we only "formally reaffirmed" our position.)

They brush aside, for instance, the following statement in one of the articles cited by the authors of the United Secretariat resolution:

"We . . . are the most determined opponents of 'democratic' or 'popular fronts.' That is, united fronts between workers and bosses. The most basic thing we are fighting for is the

political independence of the workers movement from the parties or fronts of the bosses. For this reason, we did not join in the elections either with Frejuli [Frente Justicialista de Liberación Nacional—the National Liberation Front for Social Justice, the Peronist electoral formation] or the APR [Alianza Popular Revolucionaria—People's Revolutionary Alliance, a popular-front-type front of small left liberal parties supported by the CP.] We stand, more strongly than ever, for a united front of the working class."

The authors of the United Secretariat resolution even go so far as to take phrases from the document allegedly handed to Perón, place them in quotation marks, and represent them as our position. This procedure enables them to say the following:

"The PST leadership must have realized that all of this—its decision to participate in a meeting that served as a cover for Perón's 'normalization' moves, its signing a common document with bourgeois parties (including the Unión Cívica Radical, the traditional bourgeois party and even today the principal bourgeois force aside from Peronism), its proclaiming a 'fundamental agreement' among all the signers on defending the process of 'institutionalization,' its accepting 'objectives' approved by 'the people' (which in reality are objectives elaborated by Cámpora and Perón), and its thesis that the fight against fascism can and must be conducted in common with the parties representing the class enemy—would provoke reactions among the party membership."

With such methods, it is easy to prove a case—any case, no matter how far it departs from the truth.

The other quotations selected by the authors of the United Secretariat resolution are irrelevant inasmuch as they do not presumably defend the famous statement that was allegedly presented to Perón. They deal with the concrete situation revolving around the ultrarightist coup in Córdoba, the broader threat this represents in Argentina today, and how the opposition of certain bourgeois sectors to a possible fascist threat in Argentina might be utilized in furthering the only sure answer to fascism, that is, mobilization of the working class in accordance with the program of revolutionary socialism.

From the way these quotations are

utilized and from a couple of mistranslations, it is evident that the authors of the United Secretariat resolution do not understand the concrete situation in Argentina or our position on it. For instance, they quote one of the articles in *Avanzada Socialista* as talking about "defending constitutional stability." The original reads "defending institutional stability." That difference is not an essential one; what is essential is to understand that the reference is to the *coup in Córdoba and its ramifications*.

The loose use of the word "institutional" has undoubtedly added an element of confusion (and we are not free of blame in this), but it is hard to understand how the authors of the United Secretariat could have so badly misinterpreted the term in this instance, for it immediately follows the opening paragraph of the article outlining the concrete situation. The translating error (if that is what it really is) is repeated elsewhere. For instance, the article states that the fact "that eight political parties converged to demand a meeting to raise the institutional question is of extraordinary importance [que ocho partidos políticos hayan coincidido en solicitar la entrevista para plantear el problema institucional es de extraordinaria importancia]." This is translated as "the fact that eight parties reached an agreement to call for a meeting to demand institutionalization is of extraordinary importance [le fait que huit partis soient arrivés à un accord pour demander la réunion, afin de demander l'institutionnalisation est d'une importance extraordinaire]." But the reference in the article is to the struggle for the establishment of constitutional guarantees of democratic rights, a process that began with the Cordobazo and the subsequent downfall of the military dictatorship. In other words, the eight parties sought the interview in order to dramatize the problem of the coup in Córdoba and the danger that the process of establishing democratic rights might be reversed. The objective of the PST was not to plead with Perón but to give impetus to mobilizing the Argentine workers.

Still another charge is made against the leaders of the PST by the authors of the United Secretariat resolution. They state: "At the same time, they [the PST leaders] have forgotten the fundamental distinction that exists between the democratic rights demanded

by the workers movement and the structures of bourgeois democracy."

We acknowledge that some of the formulations we have used could have led to this impression. We might even have made the error in the current situation in Argentina of not carefully distinguishing between a given bourgeois "structure" and the defense of democratic rights. Since our attention has been called to this, we have begun discussing the matter. We appeal to other sectors of the Trotskyist movement to also consider this question, bearing in mind the concrete situation in Argentina, including the meaning acquired by the word "institucionalización."²

If an adjustment is called for, we will not hesitate to make it as we have in the past on other questions.

However, we insist that our basic approach is squarely in accordance with the Leninist concept of the Third International, particularly as promulgated by Leon Trotsky. That basic approach is to mobilize the workers and their allies along the road to a socialist revolution through methods outlined in the Transitional Program.

We see no alternative to this approach. The "guerrilla strategy" has been advanced as a possible shortcut. We have rejected the "guerrilla strategy" as not being in accordance with the Leninist concept of the Third International, above all as promulgated by Leon Trotsky. In Argentina the "guerrilla strategy" has proved to be a big obstacle to mobilizing the workers and their allies along revolu-

2. "Institutionalization" and the "process of institutionalization" have acquired a special meaning in current Argentine politics.

In 1949, during his first regime, Peron put a new constitution into effect. After he was overthrown in 1955, his successors restored the 1853 constitution. A brutal military dictatorship that seized power in 1966 converted the 1853 constitution into a dead letter, dissolving congress, altering the judicial system, violating democratic rights in the most arbitrary way, and ruling by decree.

Upon regaining the presidency in September 1973, Peron began drafting still another constitution. This was supposed to be unveiled next year.

The status of the constitution in Argentina is thus far from clear.

Meanwhile the Argentine workers themselves, through a series of giant mobilizations that in some instances amounted to semi-insurrections, thoroughly under-

tionary-socialist lines.

We note in passing that the authors of the United Secretariat resolution throw in the charge that we "previously supported the Uruguayan Frente Amplio, which was led by a representative of the bourgeoisie, SEREGNI. . . ."

The intent of this gratuitous assertion is clear. The authors want to suggest that we supported the bourgeois figure Seregni, and called on the workers to vote for the Frente Amplio, a class-collaborationist bloc. The innuendo, however, has no basis in fact. That is why the authors of the United Secretariat resolution offer no quotations or other "proofs." (We are willing to discuss the character of the Uruguayan Frente Amplio, the Chilean Unidad Popular, or the French Union de la Gauche, and what tactical attitude ought to have been adopted toward them, but this is hardly the place to take up these problems.)

We turn now to the July 12 addendum to the resolution of the United Secretariat. The addendum acknowledges the public self-criticism made by the editorial staff in the June 26 issue of *Avanzada Socialista* only to shrug it off as meaningless. If the leaders of the PST did not sign the

mined the military dictatorship, and re-established at least certain democratic rights in practice. This set off a broad movement to extend the process—to "institutionalize," these rights; that is, to compel observance of rights that have been formally recognized and to codify additional ones.

The PST has actively supported this movement, seeking to develop it through mass mobilizations. The stand taken by the PST is not different from that of Trotskyists in other countries who battle for democratic rights.

In the United States, for instance, during the McCarthyite period the Socialist Workers party stressed the struggle for observance of the Bill of Rights, the section of the U. S. constitution guaranteeing democratic rights.

Today the SWP supports the struggle for an amendment to the constitution guaranteeing equal rights to women. If the amendment were passed, this could be described in the current terminology of Argentine politics as "institutionalizing" equal rights for women.

In Argentina, reactionary forces are seeking to reverse the "process of institutionalization." Thus the issue has become an acute one in the class struggle there. — IP

document handed to Perón, that proves nothing, they argue, because the PST leaders support such a course in general! But then the specific case involving our allegedly signing the document, on which the authors of the United Secretariat hinged everything, also disappears, and we are left with nothing but their general assertion, deprived of any foundation in fact, that our course has been "opportunist."

Moreover, the authors of the resolution contend, if the leaders of the PST did not sign the document allegedly handed to Perón, they at least signed other unprincipled documents; therefore the charges against us still stand. The fresh "evidence" adduced for this argument—which is an extraordinary one to say the least—is that on June 29, 1974, the PST added its signature to the signatures of seven other parties on a "center-left" declaration supporting "the process of institutionalization in the country" and "the operation of the legal mechanisms of constitutional succession." The source of this "evidence," state the authors of the resolution, is the June 30, 1974, issue of the Buenos Aires bourgeois daily *La Opinión*. (Other newspapers reported to the contrary. For example, *La Nación*.)

Besides this, the authors of the resolution declare, on July 3, following the death of Perón, the leaders of the PST signed a statement in the city of Santa Fe in response to a request from the president of the provincial parliament in support of "the maintenance of constitutional stability as the only adequate means for attaining social justice in freedom, breaking the grip of the imperialist interests, and achieving lasting independence." The source cited for this "evidence" is a dispatch from Rosario published in the July 4 issue of the Buenos Aires bourgeois daily *El Cronista Comercial*.

The reports are erroneous in both instances. In neither case did either leaders or members of the PST sign any such documents or support them. We would suggest to the authors of the postscript to the resolution of the United Secretariat that the standards of accuracy in the bourgeois press in Argentina are even below those of *Le Monde*.

A final point: How could it happen that the editorial staff of *Avanzada Socialista* made the error it did in reporting the March 21 interview with

Perón? It is of no public interest to go into the details, which concern the organization and functioning of the staff. Suffice it to state that the specific problem is but one of many facing our organization in a period of tumultuous growth. The opportunities for recruitment and expansion have placed

extreme demands on all our seasoned cadres. New adherents are being integrated as fast as possible, but full integration requires time. Meanwhile errors are bound to crop up. Our situation, we are sure, will be appreciated by those sectors of the world Trotskyist movement that have un-

dergone similar periods of swift growth. What we require above all from the Fourth International at present is understanding of our opportunities and problems—and loyal collaboration in our effort to handle them in a principled way.

August 20, 1974

Greek Trotskyists Appeal to Trade-Union Activists

[The following manifesto of the Ergatike Epitrope Organotikes Protovoulías (Vanguard Organizing Committee) was published in the August 10 issue of *Ergatike Pale*, which reflects the views of the Greek members of the Fourth International. At least three printed issues of this paper have appeared since the fall of the dictatorship on July 23. The issue dated August 10 seems to be the first. The translation from the Greek is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

Comrades:

After nearly eight years of ruthless persecution of all trade-union activity in our country, when every attempt to represent the workers' interests was suppressed with bullets, prison, exile, and torture, today as a result of our patient struggle and the struggle of all the oppressed strata of society a breach is opening up. In order to fulfill our responsibilities, which are to defend, advance, and consolidate the interests of our class, we must systematically exploit this opportunity. To do this, we must form trade-union groups that really defend our interests.

The first step towards this is to form a Vanguard Organizing Committee [Epitrope Organotikes Protovoulías] in every category, in every city, and in every branch of industry. These groups must serve as provisional leaderships that can impel and direct the struggle to drive out the opportunists appointed by the junta, the labor skates who for years collected big salaries for their betrayals and whose sole mission was to send congratulatory telegrams to the murderers of our fellow workers. These committees will launch a campaign to sign up all the workers in every category. They will set up leading bodies in a democratic way as quickly as possible, taking

every step necessary to assure that they really represent the will and the choice of the workers in that category. The committees will study the most pressing problems of every category and give expression to their demands.

We must not lose sight of the current crisis and we must not rely on promises. We must be on our guard and organize this vigilance systematically. Only the working class itself has the capacity and the genuine will to defend and consolidate the interests of the workers. It is certain that attempts will be made to replace the junta's designates through the appointment of new opportunistic labor skates of the Markos breed. Likewise, the pre-1967 hacks who brought such misery to the working class are bound to try to take the places of the junta's appointees. The workers of the country must resist such attempts in a determined and organized way.

In no case can appointed leaders be tolerated at any level of the trade-union structure. In the base units, the leaders must be elected democratically by the workers. And leaders at higher levels, including the highest, must be chosen by such elected representatives of the workers. Moreover, all elected leaders must be subject to recall by the ranks at any time.

We appeal urgently to all veteran trade-union activists to take the lead quickly in this movement to form the Epitrope Organotikes Protovoulías, drawing around them all our young brothers who have proved themselves under fire in these last eight years but who have no experience in legal trade-union work.

Taking into consideration the general picture of the situation in which our class finds itself and the technological advances that have occurred, the central demands for each category should be the following:

● Immediate democratic election of

leading bodies, which are to be run by the workers themselves without any interference from tutors of the breed sponsored by the junta or by Markos.

● A five-day workweek.

● A seven-hour workday.

● An immediate 50 percent raise in wages and salaries to cover part of the buying power of the pay we have lost in the past seven full years, and continual readjustments to bring wages up to the European level.

● Equal pay for men and women.

● A temporary reduction of working hours without any cut in pay in order to spread the work to absorb the unemployed in every category. Public works to eliminate unemployment.

● The banning of overtime and the enactment of legislation carrying stiff penalties for employers who force workers to work overtime.

● Unemployment compensation at full pay.

● One month paid vacation for all blue- and white-collar workers regardless of their years of service.

● All insurance premiums to be paid by the employers.

● Administration by the workers themselves of all social insurance funds.

● Nurseries and special care for working mothers.

● Four hours work and four hours study for working youth between the ages of fourteen and eighteen.

● Abolition of labor by minors under the age of fourteen and full social coverage for the guardianship and education of such minors.

● Equal conditions and equal rights for all foreign workers, including complete freedom to organize economically and politically.

● Abolition of all antilabor laws.

● Absolutely no state interference in the unions.

Everyone join in the struggle!