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Ford Declares Economic War On Oil-Producing Countries



**Blames Them
for Inflation,
Threat of
World 'Chaos'**

King Faisal, the Arab Rockefeller. Pentagon denies military action is planned against him and his kind at this point in time.

Behind Resignation of General Spino

U.S. Doles Aid With Eyedropper

The hurricane and floods that swept Honduras beginning September 19 left an estimated 7,500 to 8,000 dead and more than 300,000 homeless, according to an official report by the Honduran government. The entire town of Choloma in northern Honduras was buried under water and mud, killing about 2,800 inhabitants. On September 24, about 40,000 refugees were still thought to be isolated by the floodwaters. The danger of starvation and disease among refugees in the disaster areas was reported to be acute.

U.S. officials, however, played down the extent of the disaster. State Department sources claimed that the death toll was about 1,500. Major Thomas Morgan, head of a U.S. survey team, "estimated" that no more than 1,000 persons had died.

On September 21, two days after the hurricane struck, U.S. Ambassador Philip Sanchez said that the Honduran government estimates were "way out of line." He added, "Those people live with hurricanes — and know what to do about them." According to the September 26 *New York Times*, "some foreign diplomats" suggested in private that the Honduran government had intentionally inflated the number of dead and homeless in order to get more relief aid.

This minimizing of the disaster is intended to justify the small amount of aid Washington has given to the hurricane victims. The Ford administration has sent only sixty military personnel, four helicopters, and two U-21 twin-engine aircraft to help move supplies and rescue survivors. Most of the relief aid from the United States has been donated by private organizations.

The Cuban regime, despite its own meager resources, has put the United States to shame. Havana sent a forty-one-member medical team to the disaster area. The team set up a tent hospital, complete with a ward, a surgical tent, and a field kitchen. One Honduran Red Cross worker in San Pedro Sula said that "the poor people are saying they see only the Communists helping us."

Shrinking Dollar

At the White House-sponsored conference on inflation held in Washington in late September, twenty-four Cokes delivered to the press room cost \$23.38.

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Behind Resignation of General Spínola

By Gerry Foley

When the strong man of the Junta de Salvação Nacional, General António de Spínola, resigned as president of Portugal on September 30, his speech to the nation sounded like a call to arms against the very regime he was summoned to head five months before.

The country was threatened, Spínola said, "by an economic crisis to which we are fast heading, by unemployment, by uncontrolled inflation, by business recession, by the retraction of investments and by the ineffectiveness of the central powers."

He went on to say: "In this general climate of anarchy, in which everyone dictates his own law, crisis and chaos are inevitable. . . ."

Spínola called for "trust in the secret ballot." But his catalog of calamities facing Portugal suggested that a stronger remedy is needed than an election.

"He warned that the country faced 'irreversible situations' in which it would be thwarted from exercising the right to choose," *New York Times* correspondent Henry Giniger reported from Lisbon. The general even said that the country was heading for "new forms of slavery."

Spínola's complaints included: (1) that the government could not impose tight enough economic "discipline"; (2) that handing over power directly to the nationalist movements in the colonies was "undemocratic"; (3) that the Communist party was too strong; (4) that the left had too much influence in the press and mass media; and (5) that the reformist parties were not keeping a tight enough rein on their followers.

"General Spínola said," Giniger reported, "that the armed forces had . . . sought harmony among all political beliefs, but that while political party chiefs spoke the language of common sense, their activists committed 'psychological coercion' by using the press and radio and television to slander all who opposed them."

The alarmist tone of Spínola's speech was echoed in the treatment given the story by the *New York*

Times. The headline said: "Leftists Gain Control in Lisbon." Of the new president, General Francisco da Costa Gomes, Spínola's right-hand man, Giniger wrote: ". . . his ability to control the situation was much in doubt." Along with this, he noted: ". . . conservatives, though defeated for the moment, were considered capable of violent reactions in the future."

Such language in one of the main mouthpieces of U. S. imperialism, a newspaper that is highly sensitive to threats to the capitalist system, is a significant indicator of the explosiveness of the situation in Portugal.

It is not yet clear where the decisive sectors of the Portuguese capitalist class stand in the split in the Lisbon government or how deep the division is. Obviously, even tactical differences in the bourgeoisie can touch off quite violent clashes that in turn can set broad class forces in motion. The April 25 overturn was an indication of that.

"For hours beginning last night the two sides weighed their respective military support," Miguel Acoca said in a September 28 dispatch to the *Washington Post*. He indicated that the two sides were roughly equal and that by shifting to the side of the "progressive" young officers, Costa Gomes had tilted the scales.

The most important question, however, is the extent of the mass mobilization in Lisbon. This is what seems to have forced the government's hand and blocked the scheduled march of Spínola's "silent majority" on the Portuguese capital.

". . . a kind of revolutionary anarchy reigned on the outskirts of the city," Giniger cabled September 29, "as groups of students and workers halted cars and searched them for arms."

The Portuguese bourgeoisie may respond strongly to a new eruption of mass action. It was forced in April to lift the traditional restraints on the masses for a period to carry out an essential strategic shift. To succeed, the opening had to be closed quickly. As soon as it had broken the mo-

mentum of the mass upsurge, thanks to the help of the Communist party, the bourgeoisie moved to "restore order" and clip the wings of the CP itself.

Spínola's latest offensive was a second attempt to clamp down the lid. The initial push came in July, bringing down the first provisional government. Although the Gonçalves cabinet that resulted from that crisis was hailed as a victory for the left, it did not reverse the trend. New concessions were made to the African nationalist movements, but "restoration of order" in Portugal was accelerated.

In the first six weeks of the Gonçalves government, sharp attacks were leveled on the press, on the organizations standing to the left of the CP, and on the labor movement. At the same time, the authorities did nothing about the reactionary right, which was rapidly regaining its confidence. The government moved to defend itself only when it became clear that a coup might be attempted; that is, after Spínola launched his September 10 appeal for a mobilization of the "silent majority." It was only then, too, that the CP leadership shifted from denouncing "ultraleft provocateurs" and called for a mobilization to block the reactionary offensive.

In face of the still existing threat of an ultraright coup, it remains to be seen what defensive measures the government and its reformist backers will take in view of the possibility that these can touch off a chain reaction of enormous proportions among the masses. But it is abundantly clear that the masses cannot depend on the provisional government or any group of officers to defeat a coup.

Thanks to the support the reformists gave Spínola in the first months, the right now has a well-established figure to rally around. Even after Spínola threatened a coup, the "leftist" young officers allowed him to make a demagogic broadcast to the country.

And if the bourgeoisie becomes sufficiently alarmed over the possibility that the process is getting out of hand, only a broad mobilization of the masses led by a revolutionary party aiming at establishing a government of the workers and peasants can prevent a rightist coup and possibly a reactionary terror worse than anything seen in all the forty-eight years of the Salazarist regime. □

Ford Declares Economic War On Oil Countries

By Dick Fidler

The Ford administration has served an ultimatum on the oil-producing countries. If they don't drastically lower prices, they will face economic war organized by the mightiest imperialist power on earth.

Addressing the World Energy Conference in Detroit September 23, Ford stated:

"Sovereign nations cannot allow their policies to be dictated, or their fate decided, by artificial rigging and distortion of world commodity markets.

"... exorbitant prices can only distort the world economy, run the risk of worldwide depression and threaten the breakdown of world order and safety."

"Throughout history," the commander in chief of the U. S. armed forces reminded his listeners, who included representatives of many oil-producing regimes, "nations have gone to war over natural advantages such as water or food, or convenient passages on land or sea."

In the "nuclear age," he added pointedly, "any local conflict may escalate to global catastrophe."

Five days earlier, in a speech to the United Nations General Assembly, Ford had threatened to cut U. S. food exports to oil-producing nations unless they lowered oil prices. "The problems of food and energy," he said, can "be made unmanageable on the basis of confrontation. . . ."

"Let us not delude ourselves. Failure to cooperate on oil and food and inflation could spell disaster for every nation represented in this room."

Secretary of State Kissinger, addressing the UN General Assembly on the same day Ford spoke in Detroit, stressed a similar theme. Claiming that "the present level of prices" in oil was jeopardizing "industrial civilization" itself, Kissinger charged that these prices were "caused by deliberate decisions to restrict production and maintain an artificial price level."

Without specifying what retaliatory measures were being considered, he

proclaimed that the world is "poised on the brink of a return to the unrestrained economic nationalism which accompanied the collapse of economic order in the '30s."

Unless oil-producer nations reach "a new understanding" with "consuming nations" that would insure "the vitality of the world economy," disaster impends, Kissinger said. He suggested to the oil producers that "what has gone up by political decision can be reduced by political decision."

Other nations, imperialist and semicolonial alike, are being told they must "cooperate" with Washington's offensive.

Even Canada, which is not a member of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), has come under fire from Washington. The U. S. ambassador to Ottawa has publicly criticized as "discriminatory" Canada's tax on oil exports to the United States, which makes Canadian oil in Chicago even more costly than oil from the Middle East.

The main target of the White House fulminations was the semicolonial countries grouped together in OPEC. They got the message.

"America warns the Arabs, threatens nuclear war over petroleum," a Beirut newspaper was headlined. "The United States is trying to rally the majority of the world against us," an unnamed Arab official was quoted as saying in the September 20 *New York Times*.

"We are being pictured as the butchers of the world's economy."

Dr. Clovis Maksoud, who recently toured the United States as a special ambassador of the Arab League, accused Washington of setting the stage for military intervention against Arab oil producers, and called for cancellation of Kissinger's scheduled visit to the Middle East.

Venezuela's president responded through a full-page "open letter" to Ford published in the September 25 *New York Times*. (See article elsewhere in this issue.)

The threats against the oil-produc-

ing countries, described in the U. S. press as the Ford administration's "first important foreign-policy initiative," are in part designed to respond to the growing public pressure on Washington to "do something" about inflation and unemployment. U. S. Treasury Secretary William Simon claims that high oil prices are responsible for half the present inflation rate in the United States.

Are Arab Rockefellers to Blame?

The thinking behind the new offensive was outlined in some detail in an editorial in the September 22 *New York Times*, entitled "The Real Economic Threat."

"As a result of a quadrupling of oil prices in the last year," the *Times*'s editors stated, "the accumulation of foreign funds by the Arab states and other members of the international oil cartel will in this year alone amount to some \$75 billion [milliard]."

(By "international oil cartel" the *Times* apparently meant not the giant U. S. oil trusts, which control the capitalist world market in oil, but the oil-producing countries.)

The sudden rise in oil prices "is now a major source of inflation and balance-of-payments instability, as importing nations struggle to meet their foreign oil bills. . . ." the editors continued. "Nations with weak economies and weak international payments positions—such as India and Italy—are being driven into insolvency. Their breakdown could spread to other nations and financial institutions throughout the world."

For the editors of the *New York Times*, mere appeals for lower prices will not solve the problem.

"The time has come to speak plainly. The United States and its allies must take effective economic action against the international oil cartel."

In a section of the editorial carrying the subheading "Program for Survival," the *Times* called for an "austerity program" of "genuine sacrifices" by

"all Americans," aimed at restricting "wasteful use" of oil products, "whether in autos, air-conditioning, heat or industrial use."

In addition, the editors argued, the United States will have to develop other energy sources—adding that "American producers and investors will need the assurance of a profitable long-term supply price if they are to be willing to make the billions of dollars in necessary investment."

Finally, under the heading of "International Cooperation"—the irony was no doubt entirely conscious—the *Times* called for the collaboration of other imperialist countries to bring the "oil-producing states to their senses."

"American leadership could head off a mad and needless world economic catastrophe as fraught with danger to political stability and peace as was the Great Depression. The solution to both domestic and world inflation hinges on the international energy problem, as does the hope of avoiding a world depression and breakdown in trade and payments."

In an article published in the *Times* three days after the editorial, economic analyst Leonard Silk suggested that an effective program "that will really force the price of oil down" might include "counterboycotts of the oil producers, cutting off their supplies of food, capital goods, military equipment or other acts of economic warfare and political pressure."

Silk added: "It looks as though the battle in what could be a long energy war—the first in history—has now been joined."

Would Gunboats Be Enough?

But a program of escalating economic reprisals may be insufficient, other commentators suggested. "... all the proposals to date seem to offer more problems than solutions," the *Wall Street Journal's* Washington correspondent, Robert Keatley, wrote September 26. Some proposals, like higher prices or embargoes on sales to the producer states of food and manufactured goods, including arms, would require a degree of collaboration among rival imperialist states that is ruled out by increasing protectionism and international economic competition. Other projected measures, like seizure of oil exporters' foreign assets, would no doubt provoke a re-

taliatory embargo on much-needed oil supplies, Keatley observed.

As *New York Times* reporter Edward Cowan put it, in a September 24 Washington dispatch, "The task before Washington and the other importers is to make the threat of collective action credible—to show that there is an alternative to continuing to import oil at any price."

Not surprisingly, Keatley ended his list of possible U. S. measures with: "Send in the Marines. Military occupation is suggested as a last resort. And there isn't any doubt that the U. S. has the muscle to knock over a few little sheikdoms or even a big kingdom—like Saudi Arabia."

The *Wall Street Journal* reporter thought this was impractical, however. "... any such little wars might grow into big ones, oil fields would be destroyed and local populations would conduct guerrilla operations against vulnerable pipelines and other installations."

This argument is notably unconvincing. Washington has shown many times in the past that cheap raw materials and profitable markets are well worth the risk of war.

Arab peoples can recall Washington's 1958 invasion of Lebanon with 14,300 marines and soldiers to shore up the regime in the wake of the overthrow of the pro-U. S. monarchy in Iraq.

The Ford administration's declaration of economic war was followed by denials that this signaled a shooting war. The denials themselves, however, constituted trial balloons.

Thus, Secretary of Defense James Schlesinger called a news conference September 25 to declare in behalf of the Pentagon that "we are not contemplating any kind of action of that sort." But Schlesinger carefully noted that "the United States regards the problem of oil prices as detrimental to world economy."

He said, "We expect to have a solution through negotiations, through amicable discussions. It is not anticipated that there is going to be a military conflict."

The *New York Times* reported that these statements meant Schlesinger was "ruling out military intervention." Actually, the war minister was simply repeating the stock refrain about peaceful aims that every government leader makes in preparing public

opinion for belligerent action.

New 'Covert' CIA Actions?

Schlesinger's news conference was followed up the next day by a report in the *New York Times* that Kissinger is "gravely concerned" by the prospect of some West European countries going Communist as a result of being bankrupted by the escalating cost of oil imports. Kissinger was said to have invoked this argument when he met with congressional leaders to defend the activities of the Central Intelligence Agency.

"At that meeting," Washington correspondent Bernard Gwertzman wrote, "he reportedly defended the need for covert activity by asserting that despite criticism of the C. I. A., if Italy went Communist, there would be criticism that the United States had not done enough to save her."

Kissinger's remarks may explain why Ford was so brazen in defending the CIA's clandestine operations against the Allende government in Chile. It was a way of publicly warning the oil regimes that they, too, may become the object of CIA attention.

A *Washington Post* editorial September 22 seems to have been written with this in mind. Whatever the merit or demerit in the CIA's intervention in Chile, the editors argued, such covert actions should not be ruled out altogether.

"Suppose," they said, "just to take one hypothetical example, that the oil policies of Upper Araby, or whatever, had brought the United States to the brink of a disastrous economic collapse. We are not so sure that in a life-and-death matter of this sort American devotion to nonintervention and the diplomatic niceties should be so absolute as to preclude taking extreme and necessarily covert measures to protect vital American interests."

Coming four days after Ford's threat of retaliations against Arab oil producers, the *Post's* example of "Upper Araby" was hardly hypothetical.

Moscow's Reaction

Did Ford pick up the "hot line" and make sure of Brezhnev's reaction before declaring economic war on the oil-producing countries? Apparently so.

Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko devoted an hour-long speech in the UN General Assembly on September 24 to praising the détente. He included a paragraph hailing Ford's expressed wish to reach further Soviet-American disarmament agreements.

Instead of defending the Arab oil countries against the ultimatum issued by Ford and Kissinger, Gromyko held forth in defense of Israel's "existing and developing as an independent sovereign state." The Kremlin spokesman pictured events in the Arab East and elsewhere as evolving in a peaceful direction.

"Not long ago there was bitter fighting in Indochina, in the Middle East and in South Asia. . .," he said. "Now several international conflicts have been channeled to a certain extent toward a political settlement."

The next day Brezhnev utilized a Kremlin banquet to praise Ford for pursuing "good-neighborly relations between our countries." It was the Soviet party chairman's first public comment on the creature appointed by Nixon to be president.

Who Are the Real Villains?

Washington's attempts to portray the Arabs as the villains behind the energy crisis is about as rational as similar attempts to blame the last great world economic crisis on the Jews.

In the first place, Ford and Kissinger and other political agents of the oil monopolies neglect to mention that when the initial oil price hikes were announced a year ago, Washington supported them.

The oil trusts—the bulk of which are U. S. owned—simply used the Arab oil embargo to strengthen still further their monopoly grip on the world's energy resources.

Within the United States, the price increases were used, together with the deliberately contrived oil shortages, to strangle the independent oil companies, who are partially dependent on the major firms for supplies.

The oil-producing countries are not responsible for higher oil prices on the world market. Each increase in taxes and royalties charged by these countries at the wellhead has been passed on by the oil trusts to consumers in the form of equivalent price increases. Yet, as OPEC members point out, the

oil monopolies are quite capable of absorbing these increases out of their already enormous profits.

The oil monopolies are making the highest profits on record as a result of the increased prices. For example, Exxon Corporation, the world's largest oil company, reported in July that its profits climbed 66.7 percent in the second quarter of this year; its 1973 profits were 59 percent above 1972 levels. The profits of Royal Dutch-Shell, the second biggest oil corporation, were up 153 percent in 1973 from a year earlier.

When the oil producing regimes cut back production of crude oil to sustain prices, there were howls of protest from Wall Street. Yet the oil companies themselves have always operated in this way.

When a similar cutback in production was threatened by OPEC recently, the September *Business Week* commented: "While such an announcement could be interpreted as fighting talk, it is in reality nothing more than common practice for the oil companies. They have always increased or reduced production in step with supply and demand; they call it 'operational flexibility.'"

Business Week also noted some ways in which the oil trusts maneuver to restrict supply and maintain high prices. "Most of the recent surplus in production is being soaked up in restoring depleted stocks. 'At the same time, many oil tankers are deliberately slow-steaming,' says one oil company supply chief. 'When the tanks are full, then the oil has to be shut in.'"

"Normally, the oil companies themselves would simply cut production," *Business Week* commented. "But control of output levels has gradually been removed from their hands as host governments have assumed an expanded role in oil production. So now it is the oil countries who are ordering oil production to be reduced."

Moreover, while oil prices have contributed to world inflation, they are by no means its main component. "Most economists," wrote *New York Times* business analyst William D. Smith September 29, "place oil's contribution to worldwide inflation between 1.5 and 3 per cent out of the total [inflation rate] of 17 per cent." All major factors of the current world recessionary crisis were present and operative well before the dramatic es-

calation of oil prices that occurred last fall.

Devaluation of the Dollar

One of the major stimulants to world inflation was the double devaluation of the U. S. dollar.

By drastically increasing the price of imported goods in the U. S. market, the devaluations of 1971 and 1973 acted to boost domestic inflation. At the same time, the flood of cheapened U. S. goods in the world market forced its leading competitors, Japan and the West European countries, to apply inflationary policies to sustain employment. Today, however, all the major capitalist countries are following parallel inflationary policies, with the result that inflation is rapidly "exported" from one country to another. This is one of the sources of the threat of a world depression.

Washington used the real "oil weapon"—that is, a sharp boost in the prices charged by the petroleum trusts—to raise costs for Wall Street's competitors in an area where they are quite vulnerable. The Arab oil embargo was only a pretext for implementing this strategy.

Higher oil prices did indeed provoke disarray among the major rivals of U. S. imperialism. The fourfold increase in the cost of oil imports was a major factor in producing trade- and balance-of-payments deficits in several European countries, Italy being the most notable example. The higher prices also served to bolster the dollar in world trade and finance.

Today, however, Washington is preoccupied not so much by the cost of oil imports as by the state of the world economy. The major capitalist countries are caught in the grip of an uncontrollable inflationary spiral.

The underlying financial instability has led to ominous bank failures in several countries, including the United States.

Washington is now pointing to the Arab "petrodollars" as the prime source of these unwelcome developments. Large accumulations of oil revenues from the OPEC countries, estimated to amount to some \$70 to \$80 thousand million this year, are being released in the world money markets. This money flow has aggravated the volatility of the already unsettled money markets of Western Europe.

But the primary cause of bank failures and financial instability is not the sudden flows of Arab oil money. Rather, it is the uneven rates of inflation between the different capitalist countries. Investment capital, no matter what its source—and U. S. corporations, including the oil trusts, are among the biggest investors—finds its way in massive sums from one country to the next in a scramble for the highest immediate profits.

The biggest beneficiaries, of course, are the more stable countries, in the

Most of the money from oil states goes into short-term deposits, while business executives, facing a growing credit squeeze, want long-term loans. The result is a tremendous strain on the banking system. A sudden exit of funds from a weaker bank leaves it in a shambles.

Scramble for the Petrodollar

It is simply demagoguery for the major imperialist powers to pretend that they don't want the Arabs' money. All

age.

Plans for controlling shifts of capital from oil-producing countries to imperialist countries include a West German government proposal for formation of a "petrodollar bank," "a single official bank for petrodollar purposes backing the whole developed world," as it was described in the September 27 *New York Times*.

"In those circumstances, it is argued, their new wealth would make the Arabs as much hostage to the industrial countries as the oil-consuming nations are hostage to them."

British Chancellor of the Exchequer Denis Healey has carried this idea a step further. According to the *New York Times*, he proposed at a recent meeting of Big Five finance ministers that the International Monetary Fund discuss the creation of a \$25,000 million "oil facility" fund "that would borrow the American surplus as it grows and lend it to developed countries in deficit on commercial terms."

These proposals have not gone beyond the talking stage. International "cooperation" among competing imperialist powers can be achieved only under the domination of the strongest, in this case the United States. That is why some countries, notably France, are balking at such proposals.

But "recycling" of petrodollars is not the primary concern of U. S. imperialism.

"The blunt fact," *Business Week* stated in a September 14 editorial, "is that all talk of 'recycling' the oil funds serves to obscure the real issue: There is no way that the world can keep on paying the Arabs upwards of \$50-billion [milliard] a year for their oil. Trying to do so threatens to destroy the entire international financial system."

The magazine called for oil producing states to "cut prices by 50%."

But even if the major oil-producing countries were to buckle to Washington's blackmail and lower taxes on crude oil at the wellhead, the world inflationary situation would hardly be alleviated. The cost of oil imports is but a small factor in world inflation, and there is no assurance whatever that the oil trusts, which control the capitalist world market in oil, would lower their prices. On the contrary, their long-term tendency is to increase



first place the United States. As financial reporter Robert Kleiman explained in the September 27 *New York Times*, "The Eurodollar markets in London and elsewhere are choking up and Arab oil funds are beginning to flow in large volume into the New York market—at least \$7 billion [milliard] so far—with large American balance-of-payments surpluses predicted."

"The Arab countries have no choice but to invest or lend most of their surplus funds in the oil-consuming industrial nations. But their money is going to the stronger countries, West Germany, Switzerland and, predominantly now, the United States.

"Weaker nations, such as Italy, are reaching the limit of their borrowing ability in the private Eurodollar markets. They are being forced to turn to other governments and international institutions for help, much as they dislike the conditions such lenders impose. Britain, France, Japan and other countries also face deepening deficits."

countries are out to grab as many petrodollars as possible. But they also want, and need, some form of control over the allocation of these investments, so as to minimize their disruptive effect on world capitalist finance.

This is where Washington's policy comes in. The Ford administration is using the issue of OPEC funds to try to force its main rivals to concede greater control of world finance to the United States.

This strategy involves moves to forge a united front among the major imperialist countries—Washington calls it "international cooperation"—to coordinate the allocation of oil supplies and the investment of petrodollars, with the United States playing the role of ultimate guarantor and arbiter.

Thus, Washington has initiated the formation of the twelve-nation Energy Coordinating Group, which has drafted plans to divide up oil supplies in times of international crisis and short-

prices still further.

Another Windfall for Oil Trusts

The oil trusts have their own reasons to support the bellicose stance the Ford administration has taken toward the oil-producing countries. First, any success in lowering the price they have to pay for oil at the well-head is money in their coffers. Second, moves to limit the maneuverability of the semicolonial governments they deal with are always welcome. As the September 7 issue of *Business Week*

explained, referring to the role of Arab countries in adjusting crude oil production levels:

"The real danger in shifting control of production from the oil companies to the host governments, as oilmen see it, is that changes may no longer be made according to shifts in world supply and demand. The OPEC countries are likely to move output up and down to fit their political ends, the oilmen fear."

Actually, real "control of production" remains with the oil trusts, since they control the market. The only way for

the oil-producing countries to win control of their own economies is by breaking from the capitalist world market.

The real alternative to higher oil prices—a solution that would serve the interests of the vast majority of humanity—is nationalization of the entire oil industry and elimination of the profits of the oil trusts.

The only answer the capitalists and their governments propose, however, is nuclear blackmail against the oil-producing nations, and austerity programs for the working class. □

What About Price of Machines Made in U.S.A. ?

President of Venezuela Answers Ford

President Ford's ultimatum to the oil-producing countries to lower their prices or face an economic war mounted by the United States received a swift answer from Venezuela's president, Carlos Andrés Pérez.

In an "Open Letter" published as a full-page advertisement in the September 25 issue of the *New York Times*, Andrés Pérez coolly denounced Ford's threat. "The establishment of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) was a direct consequence of the developed countries' use of a policy of outrageously low prices for our raw materials as a weapon of economic oppression," he said.

"In a sense, this fact demonstrates the truth of your statement to the United Nations that any attempt by a country to use a product for political purposes will inevitably tempt other countries to use their products for their own purposes."

"Before the energy crisis and before petroleum prices reached the levels at which they stand today," he said, "the raw materials produced by our countries were purchased year after year at prices which were never in proportion to or in equilibrium with the prices of the manufactured goods which our countries require for their development and which have been purchased largely in the United States, not only for geographical reasons but also because of the credits tied to the United States economy that have traditionally been made available to us. . . ."

"To cite the particular case of Venezuela, petroleum prices showed a steady decline for many years, while our country was obliged to purchase manufactured goods from the United States at ever-higher prices, which, day after day, restricted even further the possibilities of development and well-being for Venezuelans."

Such factors as the high prices of agricultural machinery supplied by the imperialist countries are partly responsible for the food crisis facing the underdeveloped countries, the Venezuelan president added.

Referring to the OPEC strategy of charging higher prices to the oil monopolies, he said, "We see no other way to confront the economic totalitarianism that has been coming to the fore in business and world trade. . . ."

The argument is substantially correct as far as it goes. Imperialism in its drive for superprofits fosters unequal terms of trade between countries confined to exporting raw materials and countries producing manufactured goods.

As the spread of world famine demonstrates, the disparities between imperialist and semicolonial countries are widening, even though state revenues in a few countries like Venezuela and the Arab oil regimes have risen because of the conjunctural demand for their product.

The fact that Andrés Pérez and other representatives of the semicolonial bourgeoisie "see no other way" to counter this process simply illus-

trates the limitations of "nationalist" and procapitalist solutions to an international problem.

The only way for the semicolonial nations to overcome the exploited position to which the imperialists condemn them is to break out of the capitalist system itself by expropriating private industry and initiating a planned economic development protected by a state monopoly of foreign trade. □

For Sale: Deadly Defoliant

The U. S. Air Force is planning to dump on the world market 2.3 million gallons of Agent Orange, the chemical that was used to defoliate nearly five million acres of South Vietnam. It contains about 50 percent 2,4,5-T, an herbicide that contains the contaminant dioxin, the most toxic substance known after botulinum toxin.

Dioxin causes birth defects in laboratory animals even in concentrations "so low we cannot measure them," according to Dr. Diane Courtney, chief of the Toxic Effects Branch of the Environmental Protection Agency. It has been estimated that a drop of dioxin is sufficient to kill 1,200 people. Last year Harvard University scientists reported that dioxin in significant amounts had entered the food chain in South Vietnam.

The Pentagon's interest in finding a commercial buyer for the poison stems from the fact that it stands to turn a tidy profit. The original cost of the defoliant was \$17 million. The worldwide shortage of herbicides has driven its value up to \$80 million.

More Protests Mark Anniversary of Coup

In addition to the demonstrations around the world marking the first anniversary of the military coup in Chile that were reported in *Intercontinental Press* last week, actions took place in various other countries.

In Stockholm, 5,000 persons turned out September 11. The figures for other places in Sweden were: Göteborg, 700; Uppsala, 500; Malmö, 400; Helsingborg, 350; and Umea, 1,000.

In France the Union of the Left refused to support such demonstrations. Nevertheless, 4,000 persons attended a September 11 protest meeting in Paris and 10,000 marched September 14. The actions were sponsored by the Comité de Soutien à la Lutte Révolutionnaire du Peuple Chilien (Committee to Support the Revolutionary Struggle of the Chilean People). The French Trotskyist weekly *Rouge* reported that actions took place in thirteen other French cities as well.

In Montréal, 1,200 persons demonstrated September 11. The keynotes were solidarity with the Chilean people and condemnation of Canadian government complicity with the military junta. The secretary general of the Québec Federation of Labor, Fernand Daoust, and Michel Chartrand, president of the Montréal Confederation of National Trade Unions, addressed the demonstration, which was the high point of a cross-Canada "week of solidarity with the Chilean workers."

In Ecuador, the Comité de Solidaridad con el Pueblo de Chile (Committee of Solidarity with the Chilean People) announced plans for a day of activities and a rally in Quito. The plans were supported by the Central de Trabajadores del Ecuador (Ecuadorian Workers Federation) and several political organizations.

In Havana, Hernán del Canto, a member of the Political Commission of the Chilean Socialist party, and several members of the Cuban Communist party leadership addressed a rally of several thousand persons.

In Sri Lanka, the Ceylon Mercantile Union held a one-hour work stoppage and demonstration in Colombo in solidarity with the Chilean people.

Rouge reported that this was the first time since 1971 that a Sri Lanka union had organized an explicitly political and antigovernment demonstration.

In Italy, longshoremen refused to

3,000 at Chile Rally in Buenos Aires

Buenos Aires

The only rally in Argentina marking the first anniversary of the military coup in Chile was sponsored by the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers party, an Argentine sympathizing organization of the Fourth International). It was held September 11 at the Boxing Federation Arena in Buenos Aires.

More than 3,000 persons attended to show their solidarity with the Chilean working class and people, who are superexploited and oppressed by the murderous military junta that today rules Chile, and to denounce the thousands of crimes and brutal actions against the Chilean workers.

They demanded the release of political prisoners and voiced their opposition to the coup engineered by imperialism and the oligarchy.

Among those endorsing the rally were Agrupación Revolucionaria de los Trabajadores del Paraguay (Paraguayan Revolutionary Workers Association); Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores del Uruguay (Socialist Workers party of Uruguay); the Argentine delegation of the Chilean Socialist party; Movimiento de Cristianos por el Socialismo (Christians for Socialism Movement); Comando de Resistencia Popular (People's Resistance Commando Group); Agrupación Revolucionaria de Estudiantes Peruanos (Revolutionary Peruvian Students Association); Agrupación Socialista de Estudiantes Bolivianos (Association of Bolivian Socialist Students); a group of Chilean refugees recently arrived in Argentina; the Chilean refugee Marcos; and the neurobiology and learning-theory staff at the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters.

Also, the members of the teachers

handle cargo to or from Chile September 18 and 19 in support of a boycott called by the International Federation of Transport Workers.

About 200 members of the International Longshoremen's Association in New York City halted all work on a Chilean freighter September 18 in response to the call. In addition, steamship lines in the city handling Chilean cargo reported that longshoremen at their piers had done the same. □

provisional executive committee from Florencio Varela and Berazategui; Women's Liberation Movement; the shop stewards committees at Carlo Erba and Calzado Cardón; the plant committee at Ferrum; and other delegates and activists from various factories—among them Propulsora Siderúrgica (an iron and steel works), which just won an important fight that lasted several months.

Also, a sizable number of artists, journalists, and prominent individuals.

Eduardo Soranz of the Juventud Socialista (Socialist Youth, youth group affiliated to the Argentine PST) opened the meeting:

"No one can doubt that the conditions of Chilean workers and youth are still the same as those the first day after the coup. Pinochet and the military junta continue to maintain concentration camps for revolutionary militants and their allies. They continue to repress the working class and its youth, and they continue to capitulate to imperialism.

"In our country today, in a sector as important as that of the universities, we youth face a head-on confrontation with reactionary forces, which are not outside of the government but within it. They are preparing the final blow to return the universities to the situation they faced during the time of the dictatorship."

Nora Ciapponi spoke for the PST. Denouncing the betrayal of reformism, she said:

"The daily paper of the Chilean CP used to say that tiny rightist groups were trying to distract the armed forces and the police from their patriotic duty as protectors of the national wealth and of the workers who

produce it. And they used to say, in regard to the Chilean bourgeoisie and military, that the Christian Democrats had on many occasions expressed their desire to see an end to capitalist society.

"And what was the PST saying one year before the coup, six months before the coup? The armed forces are not neutral or apolitical. The army is the army of the Chilean bourgeoisie. No more illusions in the neutrality of the military. Mobilize the workers! Form workers militias! No confidence in the 'progressive' bosses and military men who are preparing the coup with imperialism! Workers to power to build socialism!

"We defended the Allende government unconditionally against the right-wing coup and imperialism, but we do not place an ounce of confidence in a government that defends the nationalist bourgeoisie. Only the workers and the masses are capable

of installing their own government and achieving socialism."

A member of the provisional committee of Propulsora Siderúrgica also spoke. He brought the rally greetings from his compañeros in struggle:

"We believe that the best homage to the Chilean working class is the gains we won two days ago—a wage increase, the reinstatement of all fired compañeros, and the payment of back wages for the three and a half months of struggle.

"But, compañeros, if struggles like those we won at Propulsora and Villa Constitución [site of March 1974 general strike over union democracy], if struggles like the one we may win at Martín Amato—if all the victorious struggles the Chilean working class gained before the Unidad Popular government came to power had included the advancement of a workers party to help organize them, to lead them to the seizure of power through mass mobilizations, taking all power away from the bosses, it is certain that the Chilean people would not be suffering what they are suffering today.

"And all of us, compañeros, have to be conscious of the necessity to create a workers party in Argentina to avoid another Chile. . . ."

The final speaker was Juan Carlos Coral, a leader of the PST:

"There is a similar game here involving guerrillas and a popular front. The source of the new popular front threat is not only the old hacks of the Communist party. There are also germs of a popular front right now in the guerrilla organizations themselves. The name they use for it doesn't matter. What is important is to take the example of Chile and understand that whatever its form may be, the popular front is one of the worst dead-ends, a swamp in which they again hope to bog down the working class and broad sectors of the exploited who aspire to be free. And if that happens, compañeros, what then?

"There can be only one answer—the answer of a workers party independent of the bourgeois currents and the bourgeois state. That was precisely the answer that was lacking in Chile. That is why, when the military considered the time had come for the coup, neither the parties of the Unidad Popular on the one hand, nor the guerrillas of the MIR [Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria—Move-



ment of the Revolutionary Left] on the other, were capable of challenging the army's power.

"That is why we are building—a as the workers' song goes—a great workers party. And that explains the presence of the new generation of workers and students around this platform and in all the activities of the party.

"We are organizing a great workers party. That means we are organizing self-sacrificing, disciplined militants and cadre who will be the officers of the Argentine socialist revolution."

In closing the meeting, the Executive Committee of the PST presented a resolution that was approved by acclamation. It read as follows:

"All those assembled at the rally called by the PST to denounce the Chilean military coup resolve:

"To propose to all people's parties, workers organizations, student movements, and the Fourth International that every September 11 be made a worldwide day of active solidarity with the Chilean people, a day of protest against the military junta and Yankee imperialism, until the workers and people of Chile mobilize all their massive strength to overthrow the military dictatorship that oppresses them today." □

Perfect Man for the Job

During Senate hearings examining his fitness to serve as vice-president, Nelson Rockefeller revealed that he had paid no federal income taxes whatsoever in 1970. His declared income for that year was \$2,443,703.

Boycott on Chile Goods Urged by Finnish Union

[The following item was published in the September issue of *Lippu*, the monthly journal of the Sosialidemokraattinen Nuorisn Keskusliiton (SNK—League of Social Democratic Youth). The translation from the Finnish is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Since the SAK [Suomen Ammattiyhdistysten Keskusliitto—Confederation of Finnish Trade Unions] has declared its readiness to participate in a front of the Scandinavian labor movements for solidarity with Chile, and since the Paperiliitto [Paper Workers Union] has to do its share in Finnish solidarity work, this union set up a Chile committee in an assembly at the end of August.

The Paperiliitto Chile Committee has come out in support of the boycott of Chilean goods declared by the International Federation of Transport Workers for September 18 and 19. In this connection, the Paper Workers Union Committee considered it advisable to remind Finnish business that as long as the junta is in power it would be wrong to engage in commercial relations with Chilean companies. The committee stressed the importance of the workers movement maintaining vigilance to prevent such business dealings. □

30,000 in Chile Solidarity Rally

About 30,000 persons gathered on September 11 in front of the Athens Polytechnic Institute, the center of the November 1973 mass mobilizations against the Greek junta, to protest against the denial of democratic rights in Chile. Most of the demonstrators, according to the September 14 issue of *Ergatike Pale*, the weekly paper that reflects the views of the Greek Trotskyists, linked support to the Chilean people with support to the Cypriot people against imperialist pressures.

On the same day, demonstrations in support of the Chilean and Cypriot peoples were held in Salonika, in the north of the country; Patras, on the Peloponnesus; and Khania, on the island of Crete.

A number of student and political organizations participated in the rally in Athens, along with the Eniaiometopike Allelengyes gia te Khile (EEAKh—United Front for Solidarity with Chile). There were also contingents from various schools. The participating groups had the right to have their own speakers on the rostrum.

The lead in organizing the demonstration was taken by the Diaskholike Epitrope, the All-Schools Committee, which is made up of elected

representatives from the various educational institutions.

Among the student groups participating were those associated with the two factions of the Greek Communist party—the Regas Feraios, which is influenced by the "interior" faction; and the Antidiktatorike Ethnike Foitetike Enosis tes Ellados (Anti-EFEE—Antidictatorial National Student Union of Greece), which is influenced by the "exterior" faction.

Another well-known student organization that participated was the Antifasistike Anti-imperialistike Spoudastike Parataxe tes Ellados (AASPE—

Antifascist, Anti-Imperialist Student Group of Greece).

Contingents also took part under the banners of specific political organizations such as Andreas Papandreou's Panelleniko Sosialistiko Kinema (PSK—Pan-Hellenic Socialist Movement); the Sosialistike Epanastatike Pale (SEP—Revolutionary Socialist Struggle); and the Eniaio Metopo Epanastatikes Aristeras (EMEA—United Front of the Revolutionary Left). Some Maoist organizations were represented, as well as the group supporting the paper *Makhetes*.

Speakers representing *Ergatike Pale* and the EEAKh called for a united front of all political, labor, student, and humanitarian organizations to press for the release of the political prisoners and the restoration of democratic rights in Chile. □

Junta Decides to Clean Up 'Image'

Thousands in Chile Still Behind Bars

By Judy White

On September 11—timed to coincide with the worldwide outpouring of protest on the first anniversary of the military coup—the Chilean dictatorship launched a public relations campaign to try to remove some of the blood stains from its image.

The key play in the campaign is the promise to release some of the

thousands of political prisoners now rotting in Chile's prisons and concentration camps.

The offer is conditional on the prisoners' leaving the country and it will not apply in "some especially serious cases."

Furthermore, it is linked to a "challenge" to Cuba and the Soviet Union to release an equal number of political prisoners.

While Pinochet's original announcement has been followed by demagogic attacks on Cuba and the Soviet Union for not responding to his challenge, estimates of the number of political prisoners released have ranged from zero (*New York Times*, September 27) to 320 (Associated Press, September 24). There are 6,000 to 10,000 political prisoners in Chile.

A second element in the image-building campaign is Pinochet's promise to reduce the state of "internal war" in Chile to a "state of siege." The change will be purely verbal. The curfew is to continue, along with military tribunals for political dissidents, "for a considerable time to come."

Pinochet's demagoguery has not succeeded in diverting attention from the

Kissinger Slaps Down Diplomat for Deploring Use of Torture in Chile

Unnamed "sources" in the Ford administration have admitted that Kissinger "rebuked" David H. Popper, the United States ambassador to Chile, for discussing "torture and other human rights issues" during a meeting on July 22 with officials of the Pinochet regime. The meeting had been called to discuss shipments of armaments to the junta.

Kissinger blew his top, according to Seymour Hersh, who reported the incident in the September 27 issue of the *New York Times*, because the ambassador linked human rights to such an "unrelated" issue as military aid.

According to the account, when a cablegram was received reporting what Popper had done, Kissinger angrily scrawled across the message, "Tell Popper to cut out the political science lectures."

An official letter of complaint was thereupon sent by the State Department to Popper.

The ambassador and others in the U.S. mission in Santiago reacted angrily in turn; but Popper dutifully reduced the frequency and intensity of his private complaints to the junta about their violations of human rights. □

continuing political repression under his dictatorial rule.

The Buenos Aires daily *La Opinión* (September 12) published the testimony from a professor recently released from the concentration camp in Chacabuco. The testimony read in part

"Almost a year in prison and I still don't know why. . . .

"The National Stadium in Santiago, where I was held from September 25 until November 7, is still very much in my thoughts. I can still see the mutilated and injured bodies of so many compañeros who had never given up. Shattered by beatings, tortured almost to death. Crowded into corridors, damp for days on end, eating hardly anything. The 'soldiers of the homeland' showing an unbelievable hatred for those of us who were held there. I recall the scene of the stadium's 'suicide victims.' Totally disfigured, they were being transported on stretchers between the bleachers, which were packed with prisoners who were forced to look at them."

The September 6 issue of *Chile: Informativo Internacional* catalogs the junta's atrocities against journalists and its suppression of the mass media. Forty-two journalists are still in jail, ten were tortured to death or shot by firing squads, three were banned to different parts of the country, 400 were fired, and 100 were exiled. In addition, 2,000 other workers in the communications industry have lost their jobs.

La Opinión reported September 7 that the junta had rescinded the citizenship of Hernán Uribe Ortega, exiled editor of *Punto Final*, a biweekly reflecting the views of the MIR (Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria—Movement of the Revolutionary Left).

La Opinión cited a junta spokesman as saying, "All Chileans who insult the homeland from abroad are being studied" for similar treatment. Concretely, the junta mentioned that it was looking into the actions of Communist Senator Volodia Teitelboim and of Hortensia Bussi de Allende, widow of the former president.

The International Commission of Jurists has also condemned the junta's practices. According to the September 5 issue of the Mexican daily *Excelsior*, the commission's conclusions included the following:

● The consequences of trial by military tribunal have been "illegal executions, confessions obtained by means of torture, and sentences for nonexistent crimes."

● Not a single member of the investigative agencies nor anyone in the interrogation centers has been punished for ill-treatment of prisoners.

In an article in the September 13 *New York Times*, Jonathan Kandell wrote about repression in education:

"According to a circular sent to schools in the Santiago area on Aug. 12 by the commander of military institutes, officers or noncommissioned officers will eventually serve as liaison to school directors.

"The circular lists activities for which professors or administrative personnel can be denounced to the authori-

ties; commentaries on politics, propagation of ill-intentioned rumors on Government activities or extremist groups, propagation of jokes or stories about the action of the junta or its members, distortion of patriotic concepts and values, failure to comply with schedules or programs of study.

"While the 'cleansing' of the elementary and secondary schools has only begun, that at the university level is almost over. Thousands of professors and students were suspended or expelled after the coup. No figures are available on how many of these expulsions were permanent, but a list recently made available by the University of Chile—the largest and most important academic center—names 1,520 professors and administrators forced out at its various campuses." □

Part of 'Get Rougher' Policy With Allende

'March of Empty Pots' Funded by CIA

Continuing disclosures, apparently originating within the Central Intelligence Agency itself, reveal that the CIA provided the funds used to organize the famous "Marches of the Empty Pots," the series of right-wing demonstrations that rocked Chile in 1971-72, protesting an alleged shortage of food in the well-to-do suburbs.

The demonstrations, which began in December 1971, have now been revealed to have been part of the spy agency's secret "destabilization" program that paved the way for the bloody coup that overthrew the Allende regime in September 1973.

It has also been learned that the "protests" were funded in accordance with secret instructions, given by the White House in October 1971, to "get a little rougher" with Allende.

Seymour M. Hersh reported the details in a September 23 dispatch to the *New York Times*:

"The Nixon Administration . . . officially authorized the Central Intelligence Agency to begin supplying financial and other aid to anti-Allende factions in mid-October, 1971, highly reliable intelligence sources said today.

"The Administration directive, characterized by one insider as an order to 'get a little rougher,' resulted in

direct C. I. A. involvement six weeks later in the first large-scale middle-class demonstrations against the Allende regime."

Another administration official—one with "firsthand knowledge of the events in Chile"—had a somewhat different recollection of the orders sent to the CIA. This source, Hersh reported, "summarized the message sent to Ambassador [Nathaniel M.] Davis as saying, in effect, 'from now on you may aid the opposition by any means possible.' . . .

"Other sources said that the subsequent success of the women's march in December, in a turnout that apparently surprised the unprepared Allende administration, was greeted with great pleasure by C. I. A. operatives in the United States Embassy." (More than 100 persons were injured when the demonstrators clashed with Allende supporters.)

The *Times's* informants declined to state why the White House had chosen October 1971 to step up its efforts to overthrow Allende. One of them, however, mentioned "a series of a lot of little things. Signs that the leftists in the Allende Government were in the ascendancy."

One of the "little things," presumably, was Allende's September 28,

1971, announcement that the Chilean government intended to deduct \$774 million from the amount it had earlier agreed to pay in compensation for the expropriated holdings of the Anaconda Company and the Kennecott Copper Company. The two U. S.-owned companies, Allende said, had stolen that amount in excess profits from their operations in Chile.

A day after the announcement, Hersh reported, "the New York Times quoted United States officials as saying that Dr. Allende's decision, which angered the American business community, would undoubtedly spur 'get-tough' moves by the Nixon Administration.

"It was reported that senior American policy-makers were concerned that if the United States continued to appear 'soft' toward underdeveloped countries that expropriated private American assets, a rush of similar actions would be precipitated in Africa, where American firms had private investments valued at the time at \$3-billion [milliard]."

On October 12, two weeks after Allende's announcement, the U. S. ambassador was replaced by a more experienced colleague, Nathaniel Davis.

"All the C. I. A.'s activities in Chile were conducted under the direct authority and supervision of Ambassador Davis, The Times's sources said. 'The Ambassador is in charge of these operations,' a well-informed source said, noting that Mr. Davis had previously served as a United States representative to Bulgaria and as Ambassador to Guatemala.

"Another source," Hersh continued, "confirmed Ambassador Davis's direct involvement in the C. I. A. activities. 'Ambassadors have to get their hands a little dirty,' the source said."

The Times's informants declined to specify who had signed the instructions forwarded to the U. S. Embassy in Chile. It could, however, have been only one person: Henry Kissinger.

"... in previous interviews," Hersh wrote, "high-ranking intelligence sources have said that all clandestine C. I. A. activities in Chile were authorized by the 40 Committee, a high-level intelligence review panel headed by Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, then President Nixon's adviser on national security."

The U. S. Congress, for its part,



John Twohey/Washington Post

has taken prompt action on the CIA revelations. On September 25, a House Armed services subcommittee began proceedings that could lead to disciplinary charges against Michael

J. Harrington, the congressman who is thought to be responsible for initially leaking secret CIA testimony about the agency's clandestine operations in Chile. □

Colleagues Reject Yugoslav Regime's Charges

Dissident Professors Win Broad Support

Eight dissident professors in the philosophy faculty of the University of Belgrade are still under attack by the Tito regime, but the drive to have them dismissed from their posts appears to have been dropped, at least for the moment.

Legislation on the political and ideological "fitness" of teaching personnel, adopted early this year by the Yugoslav government, states that professors must agree with the program of the League of Yugoslav Communists, the ruling party.

Following its adoption, six professors and two teaching assistants were accused of engaging in "anti-self-management" and "antisocialist" activities, and threatened with being fired from their posts.

They are professors Mihailo Markovic (logic and scientific method), Svetozar Givotic (history of modern philosophy), Zaga Pechic-Golubovic (social anthropology), Ljubomir Tadic (political sociology and philosophy of law), and Dragoljub Micunovic (history of social theory); and teaching assistants Neboisa Popov (general sociology) and Trivo Indjic (political and juridical sociology).

All of them have been known as dissidents since 1968, when they supported students who occupied the University of Belgrade to back a series of economic and political demands—including the demand for establishment of genuine workers self-management of state enterprises.

(The students' central slogan was "Socialism, Freedom, Democracy," and they renamed the university the "Red University of Karl Marx.")

The professors have successfully resisted previous attacks by the regime, thanks to the support of students, other professors, and their colleagues abroad.

The faculty of philosophy responded to the effort to use the new law against the eight by forming eight commissions, composed of eminent professors in various Yugoslav cities, to study the case of each of the accused. These commissions found unanimously that the accused were fit to hold their jobs.

A similar verdict was reached unanimously, with one abstention, by the council of the faculty of philosophy. In addition, the governing council of the University of Belgrade, which includes representatives of the government as well as teaching staff, approved the results of the inquiry by a large majority.

The government now appears to have retreated somewhat. Two of the professors have been informed they will be able to obtain passports to go abroad, in response to invitations they have received. Others have been invited to negotiate with government authorities.

The professors say they will go abroad only if they are promised they can return and resume their teaching posts. □

In Reply to the Soft Soap of the Greek Press

By S. Kofteros



Student demonstration in Athens. A 'naive outburst of patriotic feeling'?

[The attitude of the "democratic" bourgeoisie in Greece toward the radicalizing student movement in their country has been a particularly contradictory one. The problem for this wing of the bourgeoisie has been that while the student movement took a clearer and clearer anticapitalist direction, they had to rely on it to a certain extent as a means of pressure against the junta.

[Although the main bourgeois parties in Greece prepared the way for the colonels' take-over in 1967, the kind of dictatorship that emerged was not precisely the solution they wanted. In the first place, the more adventurous younger officers stole a march on their superiors more directly linked to the monarchy and the big bourgeoisie, who were also preparing a coup. Secondly, the totalitarian-minded colonels were unwilling to share power with the old rightist politicians who were looking for a restoration of the reactionary, limited parliamentary rule that was imposed after the defeat of the left in the civil war of the late 1940s.

[After being excluded from the government—rather roughly in some cases—for several years, the old bourgeois liberal and even rightist politicians were prepared to give a certain verbal support to militant student protests against the dictatorship. Since they themselves were unable or unwilling to bring any direct pressure against the junta, these politicians had to hope that the courageous struggles of the radicalized students and their allies would force the regime to make some concessions that could open up the way for a return to parliamentary rule. The students' struggles did force the junta to retreat, but not the way the "democratic" bourgeoisie hoped.

[The student protests in November 1973 took on a revolutionary momentum, set the most advanced strata of the workers in motion, and threatened to start a process of socialist revolution. The frightened junta cracked down hard and took back even the limited bourgeois-democratic concessions it had made. But at the same time it was clear that the November demonstrations had political-

ly destroyed the regime.

[When the Cyprus crisis threatened to suddenly topple the whole rotten shell of the dictatorship, the military had to turn over the government to the parliamentary politicians in a hurry. With the appointment of Caramanlis as prime minister, the "democratic" bourgeoisie got what it had wanted. But by this time its triumph was gravely compromised. The credit for bringing down the universally hated dictatorship had fallen to the radicalized youth.

[The prestige of the radicalized youth movement presented serious problems for the new regime, which wanted to maintain the repressive system through parliamentary forms. It tried to deal with this problem in essentially two ways. First, Caramanlis claimed that the military had withdrawn from the government out of "patriotism," and therefore it would be "unpatriotic," as well as imprudent, to demand a rapid dismantling of the repression. Secondly, the "democratic" bourgeoisie have tried to portray the student rebellion as a naive outburst of liberal and patriotic feeling. According to this premise, the restoration of civilian government and of the 1952 constitution has satisfied the aspirations of these youth, who should now leave politics to the experts.

[Of the two arguments, the first is undoubtedly the most plausible—if the military can be claimed to be "patriotic." The military has put Greece in a "plaster cast" several times before when democracy "got out of hand." The second argument is more obviously hypocritical and perhaps even more demeaning. This is the argument that is taken up in the following article which appeared in the August 31 issue of the Greek Trotskyist paper *Ergatike Pale*. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Athenaiki would like very much to think that the militant students and

Intercontinental Press

workers at the Polytechnic [the center of the demonstrations in November] were just kids! Kids are expected to do foolish things, and they are also expected to have their ears boxed. Because children get excited easily and need to be protected against themselves. *Athenaïke* would like to think of them as children, without the proper kind of father, who got mixed up with bad company.

Unfortunately, however, for *Athenaïke* and the gentlemen whose interests it reflects, the fighters at the Polytechnic were not kids. Fortunately, for the sake of the truth, there were many thousands of witnesses. It would be hard to claim that a child's age is something flexible that can be stretched indefinitely. Unless they wanted to maintain that the age of childhood may pass while the mind remains childish. But then the matter would be different—all Greeks from the age of twenty on would have to be taken as mentally retarded. None of the fighters of November will accept such a patronizing insult, which amounts to a backhanded defense of the actions of the junta and the class that gave it birth.

Since *Athenaïke* has been the first to try to demean the struggles of the vanguard, the fighters of November will reserve the top position in the garbage can for it.

But let us show up *Athenaïke's* maneuver through its own words. In its issue of Friday, August 2, it said: "In dark days for our country, a mechanism for suppressing free thought forced the uniformed children of Greece to carry out harsh orders and assault their brothers."

First, under Papandreou, there were the "obscure forces." Then after the coup, these forces were more palpable; it was the junta that was to blame. Now it is a "mechanism for suppressing free thought."

Certain questions, however, arise. Did this mechanism appear out of the blue, or was it the product and the support of a system rotten to the core? Whose orders was this mechanism following when it "suppressed free thought"? How, for instance, did it suppress Onassis and Andreades? Who was suppressed? Who was assaulted, and why? Why was the country experiencing "dark days"? What was the reason? Were the workers and the peasants responsible for this, perhaps? No. Then why did the

uniformed children of the nation slaughter their brothers? Perhaps they were specially trained children of the mechanism; but who trained them? The deceitfulness of this phrase "mechanism for suppressing free thought" can be envied by all professional liars.

Athenaïke continued: "The same mechanism created blind instruments for its most unjust actions and planted them—dressed as students—in demonstrations in order to spread slogans and promote actions that could later be used to slander the just struggle of the real students. No, the real students who were in the Polytechnic area during the events of November 1973 were not professional anarchists. They longed for a better future for a proud, happy, democratic Greece."

The article said that "the mechanism created blind instruments" and so on. Did it create them for that moment, or did it always have them ready for such work? And what did they do, if they got into the Polytechnic? The very fact that there were general assemblies, representatives elected subject to immediate recall, and a popular mobilization shows what these "cowardly adventurers" could do. This is precisely what frightened the bourgeoisie and its mechanism. But the distinction made in the above quotation between students and nonstudents and the reference to the slander of the former (and they would have been slandered anyway by those who were really threatened by the character and extent of the movement) had only one purpose—to set the stage for the claim that "the real students who were in the Polytechnic area during the events of November 1973 were not professional anarchists. . . ."

But let's take this as it was written.

Historically there is no example of the bourgeoisie in particular and the capitalist system in general being threatened by professional anarchists. They have, however, been gravely threatened, continue to be threatened, and will ultimately be defeated by revolutionary communists advocating a socialist revolution. *Athenaïke* knows very well that the slogans "Workers-Peasants-Students"; "Americans Out"; "People's Power"; "General Strike," and many others that found their broadest echo among the workers reflected a deep aspiration for change of a socialist type. But no matter how you try to hide the truth, the kind of pompous language *Athenaïke* uses can't

fill the vacuum.

The article continued: "Recently we questioned two of these kids separately—a boy and a girl who are studying in the law school. We got the following answers: The law student T. Angeles, who was in the Polytechnic on the tragic day when the bloody events occurred, told us: 'The kids in the Polytechnic believed that the student problems could not be solved without freedom of expression in society as a whole. Suspicious persons had gone into the Polytechnic to divert the aims and objectives of the students. I found innocent enthusiasm and reverence for the school, the national dignity, their studies, and freedom. The provocateurs from outside and their ill will spread hatred for the persons who held the students back. The kids had a lot of enthusiasm, and it was *spontaneous*. They had decided to stay inside until their problems were solved. They realized that it was now or never, and said so.'"

This shameful and vague "kids" theory went on: This student talked in the third person about the struggle of his comrades. "They had decided to stay inside," "the persons who held them back," "to solve their problems." For him all this was nothing. So what was he doing there? This tourist was on a five-hour excursion trip looking things over during the prolonged struggle.

It is out of the question that any student with the faintest notion of what was happening could speak so dryly, so contemptuously, and so submissively.

"The kids had a lot of enthusiasm and it was *spontaneous*"—just think of what such a remark reveals about the level of the person who said it.

"The enthusiasm . . . was spontaneous"—ugh!

By choosing this kind of informant, *Athenaïke* shows that it voices the opinion of those far from the struggles of the people and that it is opposed to these struggles. With this kind of rubbish, it is trying to build up the myth of the "kids."

The female student's answers were cast in the same mold. She was referred to by her initials E. M. because they feared the reaction to her revelations! Note her temperament.

"In the Polytechnic that day we all united spontaneously. It was all started by purely student problems

such as the third exam period, early handing out of the papers, removal of the governing board, free student elections, and so forth. The whole student world had a tendency to speak out, to express their views more freely, to say what they wanted to say. The dean wouldn't accept any discussions, wouldn't allow us to hold any general meetings. They closed the law school. All of that had heated up feelings. The events in Thailand were still fresh.

"Things were heated up more by the fact that many persons with short hair who did not look like students were flocking into the Polytechnic. My colleagues asked for student identification cards at the gate, but these people had been provided with them. Who had given these suspicious persons false identification cards and why? I stayed four hours in the Polytechnic. I saw that the students were well organized. They had guts and self-confidence. They believed they were going to win; they were certain of it. I didn't find them preparing to cause damage in the Polytechnic; they did not want to destroy anything. They regarded the premises where they were as a shrine. And they were proudest of what they tried to repair."

I hope our readers will forgive me for the trial I have put them through. This account of the Polytechnic movement (which aroused not just Greece but all of humanity) is a sniveling complaint, a nauseating fabrication, and not the voice of a student at the law school.

"The whole student world"—what is that really? "People were aroused because of Thailand." "Things were heated up more by the fact that many persons with short hair. . . ." "I stayed for four hours," is that such a long time? Why did she give up her date? "They did not want to destroy anything." That's true. Bravo, thanks a lot!

"The students were well organized." Bravo, how observant! And she saw all that in four hours! They aren't going to be able to convince anybody that a law school student said this. But such is the yarn out of which *Athenaike* is trying to weave its mythology.

Let's go on. Here is what *Athenaike* was leading up to (the conclusion of the theory of the "kids"). "No. . . . The real students in the Polytechnic were not enemies of the law, of order, or of society, as the government's

hacks presented them at the time. They were innocent Greek kids overflowing with national feelings. They sought nothing more than respect for academic rights and—more generally—their dignity as free men. What followed was one more episode of pride, of youthful valor for which they only deserve a laurel wreath."

Startled by the force and the extent of the movement in November, the junta, the faithful watchdog of native and foreign capital, bit deep. *Athenaike* represents bosses with the same interests but with a gentler temperament. It tried to scold the dog in more or less this way: "You shouldn't bite the kids like that. Why are you afraid? They are just kids." Both the junta and the bosses knew they weren't kids. But there was a little disagreement. The boss wants the dog to bite when he gives the order. Otherwise his dog might bite his friends by mistake and make them angry. The junta, which was very upset, gave a crude but accurate answer. It was not facing kids but an upsurge of the student and worker vanguard along with the other oppressed strata of society who were mobilizing to achieve a fundamental socialist transformation.

The students and workers were and are enemies of the junta's law, the law that for seven years served, supported, and justified military dictators and the native and foreign capitalist thieves. The students and workers were and are enemies of the law and order of the jackboot, the graveyard, the gag, and the concentration camp.

They were and are enemies of the society that spawns juntas having nothing new to contribute save spreading corruption, exploitation, deceit, hypocrisy, and reaction in all spheres.

As for these claims about "innocent kids" who "sought nothing more than academic rights and their dignity," we can say the following. The same type of stupidities could have been written by a royalist in France on the eve of the French revolution.

History has shown that in times of popular mobilizations, when the new world begins to shine through the blood and smoke, the scribblers of reaction scatter such pearls. Historically, this is the punishment the old order has suffered; it has revealed its emptiness so starkly that it has become ridiculous.

As to whether the slaughter that fol-

lowed the occupation of the Polytechnic was an "episode of pride and youthful valor," my answer would be the following: No one in the whole history of humanity has been mowed down by tanks because he or she was young, proud, and valorous. This pearl is another expression of decadence!

As for the "laurel wreath," I have just a few words to say:

We will continue the struggle with the same purity of motives, the same courage, and the same intransigence until the final victory. November was the prologue to this victory. And out of this constant and unceasing struggle will arise a society that does not spawn juntas, a society that is not made up of exploited and exploiters. In this march we are going to bestow some very thorny laurel wreaths (or wreaths made of other things) on those who try to misuse the people's struggles.

We might note the ages of the French revolutionists guillotined in 1794. Robespierre was thirty-six; Danton was thirty-five; Desmoulins was thirty-three; Saint-Just was twenty-five; and Robespierre the younger was twenty-nine.

When the revolution began their ages ranged from twenty to thirty.

They were pretty formidable "kids," don't you think, *Athenaike*? □

Correction

In the statement "In Defense of the PST and the Truth," which appeared in our issue of September 9, a correction should be made in the following sentence on page 1149, column 2: "For instance, in relation to our posing the danger represented by the violent actions of the budding semifascist currents, we said:"

The sentence should read: "And in one of the supposed editorials, in relation to our posing the danger represented by the violent actions of the budding semifascist currents, we said:" □

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What Our Goals Should Be as Students

By Aughi Rodite

[The following article was published in the August 31 issue of *Ergatike Pale*, the weekly paper that reflects the viewpoint of the Greek Trotskyists. The translation from the Greek is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

One of the clearest reflections of class rule is in education. The way it is now organized guarantees the conditions for exploitation and for safeguarding and perpetuating the ruling class.

No matter from what standpoint we look at education in Greece, the picture is a miserable one. The buildings are bad. There is a shortage of teachers. There is a lack of means of supervision. And above all there is the reactionary character of what is actually taught, which reached its most abysmal level in the last seven years when the Ministry of Education became the private preserve of low and irresponsible individuals.

The boundaries of learning have expanded at a breathtaking pace. The progress of the exact sciences has been steady and inexorable. Not only students but even the scientists themselves are anxious to stay abreast of every new advance in knowledge. How can young people assimilate and apply this rapidly increasing scientific knowledge in a creative way without instruments, with limited hours of instruction, and when their teachers have no degree of scientific specialization?

Since the state pays teachers miserable wages, the number of graduates in physics and mathematics willing to teach in the schools has been dropping dangerously for many years. Most of these graduates go into industry or into private schools that prepare their students for universities and other institutions of higher learning. This is one aspect of the reactionary character of education in Greece; in the last analysis, it does not further the productive forces of society.

But where the pall of reaction falls heaviest is in the philosophical sci-

ences. Here they deal in empty verbiage about the fatherland, love, the "Hellenic ideal," "human and civil rights," and above all, in paeans to the "chosen people" who are forever working wonders.

But all attempts to cover up the contradictory ideology of the bourgeoisie with fine phrases only make it ridiculous. Young children by their experience can judge the basis of this ideology—falsehood, hypocrisy, and cynicism. They don't feel any warmth or any enthusiasm for its "shrines and saints," for its institutions, its morality, its teachings.

They ridicule all the bourgeoisie's values and turn their backs on them. The youth know that the bourgeoisie today does not have any substantive values or beliefs; they know that any protest, any demand for the restoration of human values and freedom, will lead to a confrontation. They learned in practice in November how these "sacred institutions" can be quickly transformed into the cruelest and bloodiest atrocities, into tanks, tear gas, clubs, and systematic outrage.

Every day they experience "free education," with its miserable fabrications, its plethora of inaccuracies, lies, errors, and falsifications. In order to escape the mental crippling and mutilation that the ruling-class machinery tries to inflict on them, they have to buy other books with the help of their teachers' recommendations.

This year, 65,000 high-school seniors are going to take the hallowed university entrance exams. Of these, 45,000 will be excluded from entering universities. Every year 25,000 young people set out for other countries, putting a heavy economic burden on their families. And this is aside from the fact that in addition to their being faced with a series of obstacles, their lives are made intolerable by the systematic persecution of the secret police, who have spread their webs everywhere.

Those who neither pass the exams or emigrate will try their luck again.

Back to the preparatory schools, back to unrelievedly sterile study. The preparatory schools try to make up for the enormous deficiencies of secondary education. But since this is impossible in a limited period, they offer formulas, teaching their students "tricks" so that—if they are lucky—they can get through the obstacle course of the exams.

Even in teaching composition, which is one of the freest of intellectual disciplines, the "educators" have worked out introductions, conclusions, stereotyped phrases to suit every occasion, devices that will protect students from saying anything that might offend the public order and get them in trouble.

The price for all this "knowledge" is 2,000 drachmas a month [approximately US\$72] for preparatory schools with small classes and 1,000 for schools with classes of more than forty students. In addition, those who can afford it go to special tutors for help in getting through the exams. And if we take into consideration that these preparatory schools operate in Athens and Salonika and that young people from the provinces have to pay room and board as well as buy books for one, two, and three years, anyone can see what a myth "free education" is, even if the children of ordinary families could afford such luxuries.

Today the Caramanlis government promises to clean up the mess in education. But it is obvious that for all his high-flown "democratic" pretenses, he cannot make very many substantial changes. Many "progressive" bourgeois, however, have realized that life in our country faces changes far outstripping the old forces and routines. Day by day a new kind of life is developing that makes education the chief factor in economic and technical achievement and in the effectiveness of social organization.

So, these "progressive" capitalists are going to try now to change the medieval and barbarous forms of education without really permitting the unhindered and creative development of the abilities and talents of students, without transforming education from irrational constraint to creative work. Because such a qualitative change would require abolishing the existing system of class society, dismantling its institutions, discarding its life-styles, abolishing the division of society into

"the elect" who make the decisions and determine the fate of other human beings and the majority who carry out these decisions. It would require rebuilding society from its foundations. The only way forward to genuinely democratic education is a socialist perspective.

Progressive youth must take advantage of this demand for change, no matter how ill-defined it may be. On the one hand, they should avoid a negative or nihilistic attitude that can easily lead to serving the interests of the most rancid reaction. On the other, they should avoid revolutionary play-acting, sensational actions, frenzied gestures, strident declarations. We have seen how organized society has succeeded in turning this kind of "rebellion" into a profitable business, exploiting it in the record industry, in the sale of artificially aged clothing, and in the news media. Most importantly, bourgeois society tries to co-opt these confused and vague forms of rebellion and channel them into the more innocuous kinds of expression.

Attacking the essence of capitalist society requires another kind of struggle as well as a sense of responsibility. It requires turning the rebellion of youth away from illusory expressions of protest toward concrete and positive outlets.

The youth must demand a fundamental transformation of the senseless educational programs that exist now, making quality their basic criterion. They must drive the deadening forms of instruction completely out of the schools to make way for the teaching of the more profound and essential things that can awaken people's creative abilities and give meaning, a goal, and content to human life.

They should struggle for genuinely free education, equal for all and open to all from the lowest to the highest levels. They should fight for the establishment of the nine years of compulsory education that was planned before the dictatorship. They should get rid of the language torture [a form of Greek made artificially archaic is imposed in the schools]. They should fight for the construction of more schools and the hiring of more teachers, for serious technical education to meet the needs of the country. They will have to demand that the two universities of Patros and Ioannina be completed and that others be planned.

To create the conditions for real

student self-government, the students must propose programs for solving their problems and take part themselves in the administration of these programs through watchdog committees.

The struggles of the high-school and university students for these immediate demands (and others they themselves will determine) are not cut off by some impenetrable wall from other

social struggles. Quite the contrary: these struggles are closely linked to the broader struggles of the oppressed and exploited masses for democratic rights. Furthermore, they are linked to the struggle for overthrowing the rule of capital and building a socialist society where the workers will rule their own lives and the human personality will be able to develop freely. □

Judge Cites Nixon Pardon, Phony FBI 'Evidence'

Defendants Win in Wounded Knee Trial

By Lee Gearhart

[On February 27, 1973, some 300 Indian activists seized the community of Wounded Knee, South Dakota, to dramatize their protest against abysmal conditions on U.S. Indian reservations. The seizure lasted seventy-one days.

[Wounded Knee was chosen as the site for the protest because of its special significance in Indian history. At Wounded Knee in 1890, federal troops massacred 300 unarmed Indian men, women, and children — after they had surrendered.

[More than 100 activists were eventually arrested on charges stemming from the seizure. Two of the main leaders, Dennis Banks and Russell Means, were singled out for particular attention and subjected to a trial that lasted eight and a half months in St. Paul, Minnesota.

[The following article from the September 27 *Militant*, a revolutionary-socialist newsweekly published in New York, reports how the trial ended.]

* * *

St. Paul, Minnesota

It was a victory that came so suddenly that when U. S. District Judge Fred Nichol announced his decision some courtroom spectators gasped and others began applauding spontaneously.

Judge Nichol told the packed courtroom here Sept. 16 that he was dismissing all charges against Dennis Banks and Russell Means, leaders of last year's 71-day seizure of Wounded Knee, S. D.

Nichol attacked the prosecution, the

Justice Department, and the FBI, citing "government misconduct" as the reason for the dismissal.

Chief prosecutor R. D. Hurd sat at the U. S. Attorney's table, his face in his hands, as Nichol delivered his rambling one-hour statement.

Nichol alluded to Watergate and his disillusionment with the Ford administration. The judge cited the Nixon pardon and talked of his own opposition to the Vietnam war.

It was a sick juror, however, who triggered the judge's decision to drop the charges.

The government balked at allowing the case to continue with 11 jurors. Prosecutor Hurd told the press he preferred a mistrial for fear that the 11 remaining jurors would vote to acquit Banks and Means.

Nichol cited the government's opposition to allowing the 11 jurors to proceed as another example of "government misconduct."

Outside the courtroom, after the judge's decision, jubilant supporters of the defendants gathered, many of them Indians.

"I think today was a blow for freedom for everyone," said William Kunstler, a defense attorney.

Banks and Means each faced 40 years in prison on five felony counts for protesting the injustices of broken treaties, inhumane reservation conditions, and the corrupt Bureau of Indian Affairs.

For eight long months the trial had continued, pitting the giant apparatus of the U. S. government against the meager resources of the Wounded

Knee Legal Defense/Offense Committee.

But sympathy and support for the American Indian Movement leaders was too strong, and opposition to the government's treachery ran too deep for the judge to ignore.

More than 400 persons turned out for a victory party. Two jurors and two alternate jurors joined the celebrants.

Dennis Banks climbed onto a table at one end of the room, introduced the jurors, and told the cheering crowd: "I want to recognize the real jury in this case—everyone here."

"It's a joyous moment for Indian people all over the country," Banks told *The Militant*. "I think it's a victory for the entire Indian movement."

The sudden and spectacular finish to the frame-up came as the jury began deliberating Sept. 12. One of the jurors, Therese Cherrier, a postal clerk, suffered a stroke.

Paralyzed in the left arm and leg, Cherrier was hospitalized and jury deliberations were halted Friday morning, Sept. 13. By Sunday, a doctor found that her condition was so severe that there was virtually no chance of her rejoining the jury.

The defense favored proceeding with an 11-member jury. So did Judge Nichol.

But chief prosecutor Hurd told reporters over the weekend that he would oppose an 11-member jury since Cherrier seemed the most likely juror to favor a conviction, and her presence on the jury might be the key to convincing other members of the jury to vote for a conviction.

The defense filed a motion for acquittal Sept. 14, citing new details of government misconduct regarding a government witness, Louis Moves Camp. The acquittal motion also cited illegal military action at Wounded Knee and other examples of government misconduct.

Monday, Sept. 16, came, and the tension mounted.

Inside the judge's chambers, the defense, the prosecution, and the judge were told by Cherrier's doctor that she would definitely be unable to return to the jury. The next move was the government's.

One hour passed, then two.

The government's official answer—one undoubtedly made in consultation with high administration officials—came at 2 p.m. The government said

it would not accept an 11-member jury, but would only take a mistrial.

Suddenly the buck had been passed back to Fred Nichol, the South Dakota federal judge who had spent much of the trial chastising the defense team, at times before the jury.

At 3 p.m. the jurors filed back into their chairs and spectators swarmed into the gallery section.

U. S. marshals locked the doors. Judge Nichol entered the courtroom.

Nichol began by announcing that Cherrier would not be able to serve.

"It seems to me almost incredible," Nichol told the jury, "that it could not be agreed that we proceed to a verdict."

He added: "I guess the only good thing you could say about the Department of Justice is that it made its decision in less than two weeks."

Then Nichol began to tear into the prosecution.

He said the government had a higher responsibility than playing a mere adversary role, and that its primary responsibility was "not to win a case" and get a conviction, but to see that "justice is done."

Nichol said that in his opinion the government should have sought "justice" by allowing the 11 jurors to reach a verdict.

The judge then reviewed a decision he had made last April when he rejected a defense motion to dismiss the charges on the grounds of government misconduct. In that decision, Nichol had admitted that the FBI had illegally instituted a wiretap during the Wounded Knee seizure, that FBI agents had lied, and that the government had been negligent in not turning over documents to the defense. But he still refused to drop the charges at that juncture.

This time Nichol's response was different:

"You recall at that time I said I was on the brink of dismissing the charges. I now think it's fair to say that I am over the brink."

Nichol asked out loud that if Banks and Means could not get a fair trial, "is it fair" that others who were not leaders in the Wounded Knee occupation should be tried. Nichol said that perhaps there was an analogy in Nixon receiving a "full pardon" while 40 or 50 others face trial in the Watergate affair. He termed the Louis Moves Camp development "the most serious

misconduct on the part of the government."

Moves Camp, a member of AIM who turned against the group, was a last-minute government witness. He linked Banks and Means to all the charges, but his allegations, including assertions that deals for guns were made between the defendants and Communist countries were utterly incredible. No one, including the judge, seemed to believe him.

Nichol blasted the FBI, which he said "deteriorated" as the trial progressed. He said that FBI statements could not be believed. He said that Hurd had deceived him when he told the judge that Moves Camp had been arrested on an intoxication charge in Wisconsin. In fact, Moves Camp had been picked up for rape, but charges weren't pressed, according to the defense, in return for his testimony at the trial.

Nichol said Hurd was "guilty of misconduct" when he put Moves Camp on the stand. "I didn't realize the FBI had stooped so low," Nichol said.

Nichol said that Moves Camp was paid double by the government for several days while waiting to testify, and in the end received \$2,074.50 for testifying.

"Is this what we expect from the FBI and from the representatives of the government?" Nichol asked.

Nichol said the government was also guilty of misconduct for using the military at Wounded Knee without a presidential order, as prescribed by law.

"I don't have any great quarrel with the military, except that it was involved in Vietnam," Nichol said. He added, "We don't want the military running civilian affairs."

Nichol said it was a "bad year for justice." "I thought we were going to have a new chapter written when we had a new president," Nichol said.

He said he was not just referring to the pardon of Nixon. Nichol said he had served in the armed forces and was once proud to serve. After "what's happened in the last year," Nichol said, he was not sure "I'd be so proud."

Nichol said he was dismissing the charges, rather than acquitting Banks and Means as the defense had asked. He said this would give the government an opportunity to appeal his decision.

Hurd said later that he predicted

an appeal would be made. "The government didn't get a fair trial," the U.S. Attorney whined to reporters. But the government had eight months to make its case, and during that time it showed that its only wea-

pons were racism, smears, and lies, with a big stick to back them up. The government got its trial and the government was found guilty. Banks and Means are free, finally. Justice has been served.

Not only in northwestern Ontario. The Kenora occupation was inspiration for the developing native movement across the country. This was reflected in the solidarity statements and actions by native groups across the country.

On August 15, twenty-five Indians occupied the Regina offices of the Department of Indian Affairs in a one-day action in solidarity with the occupation of Anicinabe Park.

The same day, Indians occupied the Indian Affairs Department offices in Winnipeg, in support of the Kenora struggle.

Mounting Protest Actions of Natives in Canada

Ojibways Dramatize Claim to Stolen Land

By Ned Dmytryshyn

[The following article appeared in the September 9 issue of *Labor Challenge*, a revolutionary-socialist fortnightly published in Toronto.]

* * *

Winnipeg

The thirty-nine-day armed occupation of Anicinabe Park near Kenora [Ontario] by members of the Ojibway Warriors Society ended August 29.

By the agreement between the Indian militants and town authorities, the fourteen-acre park has been declared "free land" until the Indian ownership claim has been officially settled. According to the agreement, as reported by the *Winnipeg Free Press*, ownership of the park must be decided by May 1975. In the interim, Indians have won free access to the park.

A number of native militants were arrested during the course of the Kenora action. At press time, the effect of the agreement on criminal charges is still unresolved.

Ownership of the park was a central issue in the occupation. According to the Indians, the park belongs to them, and was illegally sold to Kenora by the federal government in 1959.

Other demands raised by the occupation included measures to combat native unemployment, control by Indians of appointment of Indian Affairs Department officials, for an end to police brutality against native people, and a number of other similar points.

The occupation of Anicinabe Park focused attention across the country on the appalling and oppressive conditions native people in the Kenora area live under.

White "civilization" has destroyed the

traditional way of life of native people in the Kenora area. As Louis Cameron of the Ojibway Warriors Society, a leader of the occupation, explained in one interview:

"There are two communities, White-dog Reserve and Grassy Narrows Reserve. I'm from Whitedog. We cannot fish anymore because the fish is dangerous to eat with mercury pollution. It's fatal. We cannot drink the water from there, because if you drink the water over a period of five years you'd lose your eyesight. . . . and you'd start to die because of the water. And our people are not even allowed to take this to court," to sue the companies responsible for mercury pollution.

"Our people have nothing now," says Cameron. "You know we have no jobs—95 percent of our people—of the 7,000 Indian people in Northwestern Ontario—have no jobs. . . . There is no base of economy."

According to a report entitled "While People Sleep," published by the Treaty Three chiefs council, nearly 200 Indians died violent deaths in the Kenora area between 1970 and 1973. People under forty accounted for more than two-thirds of the deaths. Alcohol was a known factor in 70 percent of the deaths.

"We want our kids to live longer," says Cameron, "we want our old people to live longer. We have a death rate of thirty-five years old—that's how far the majority of our people go."

Indian chiefs in northwestern Ontario will be more forceful in protecting Indian rights because of the Ojibway Warriors Society occupation, Cameron predicted after the settlement had been reached. "This is one of our victories," he told the *Canadian Press*.

Armed Indians blocking Highway 12 north of Cache Creek, British Columbia, August 11, protesting housing conditions on the Bonaparte reserve, declared their solidarity with the Kenora occupation. They blocked the road again August 31, demanding that Dennis Banks, a leader of the Wounded Knee occupation in South Dakota in 1973, and Louis Cameron act as mediators in their negotiations with the government.

"As a group we are 100 percent behind our brothers in Kenora," was the comment of one Cache Creek militant, according to the August 16 *Winnipeg Tribune*.

In occupying Anicinabe Park, the Ojibway Warriors Society declared their support for all Indians fighting to recover lands stolen from them by their white oppressors.

"We look again at James Bay, the Nelson River project, the Fraser River. Our people are fighting up in the Northwest Territories," says Cameron. "They are fighting for land claims; in Alberta they are trying to get their oil rights so that they can go back to their people. . . . If life is to continue for Indian people, life must depend on free land."

The Anicinabe Park occupation dramatized the struggle of Indian people across Canada for the return of stolen lands. A recent *Financial Post* article reports that eighty-nine claims for land stolen from them by the white men have been registered with the Department of Indian Affairs. "Ottawa," the paper says, "expects to receive as many as 400 claims."

The Big Cove band in New Brunswick is claiming 3,000 acres of land, stolen by the government in 1879 with forged documents. The Tobique band, also in New Brunswick, claims 12,600

acres of land, stolen from them in 1893.

On August 25, a spokesman for the Haida Indians in British Columbia announced that they are preparing to claim the Queen Charlotte Islands as independent territory.

Enoch's band, near Edmonton, claims seventeen square miles of treaty land that was stolen from them through the use of forged documents in 1902 and 1908. The territory takes in a number of oil wells, a large shopping center, and strips of Canadian Pacific railway.

It is only through their own independent actions that native people can win back their stolen lands.

"You know the court will never decide on behalf of the Indian people," says Cameron. ". . . their decision is predetermined by their set of laws and they cannot understand our position when we speak of sovereignty and independence. . . ."

"You cannot go into the white man's courts and fight for your rights. There you're standing with the foreigners—you're playing into their kind of game where they control everything."

The concrete gains won by the Kenora occupation are modest. The Indians have still to win control of Anicinabe Park. The problems of unemployment and police repression remain. But the struggle of the Ojibway Warriors at Kenora is a sign of the growing militancy among native people.

For the labor movement, and the NDP [New Democratic party, Canada's labor party], the task is clear. They must give full support to the continuing Indian struggle to regain Anicinabe Park. They must protest any attempt to victimize participants in the Kenora occupation. And solidarize with the struggles of native people against their oppression across the country. □

Ethiopian Unions Call General Strike to Protest Arrest of Leaders

Ethiopia's 140,000-member Confederation of Labor Unions called a general strike for September 25 to protest the arrest of three of its leaders the previous day by the country's military rulers. The strike was called off after six hours because of the limited response. A spokesman for the confederation said that one day had not been long enough to inform union leaders around the country of the action, and that a new date would be set.

Jailed for Reading 'Communist Literature'

Demonstrations in Australia, New Zealand Protest Arrest of Malaysian Student

Demonstrations were held in Sydney and Wellington August 31 and in Melbourne and Canberra September 12, to protest the imprisonment of Khoo Ee Liam by the Abdul Razak regime. Khoo, who had studied in both Australia and New Zealand, was arrested in February and is still being held in prison in Kuala Lumpur. Under the Internal Security Act, he could remain there for two years before being tried.

The regime has jailed Khoo for "offenses" he allegedly committed while in Australia and New Zealand. It is charged that as a high-school student in Australia, Khoo "studied a great variety of Communist literature" and enhanced "his knowledge and belief in the Communist ideology."

While in New Zealand, he "actively participated in the activities of the pro-Peking New Zealand/China Friendship Society" and associated with members of the New Zealand Communist party, according to the accusation. It is also claimed that he "attempted to join the Malayan National Liberation Army."

New Zealand's associate minister of foreign affairs, Joe Walding, protested the arrest of Khoo.

"If it is correct that some of the charges refer to Mr Khoo's association with alleged Communists in New Zealand, then clearly issues of liberty are at stake here," he said.

"There are no laws in New Zealand against Communists—nor against associating with them. I would be failing in my duty if I didn't uphold this."

Walding pointed out that at the time the Khoo affair became public a group headed by the Malaysian prime minister, Tun Abdul Razak, was in Peking "talking to known Communists. Are they going to be prosecuted when they get home?" he asked.

New Zealand and Malaysian students picketed the Malaysian National Day celebrations in Wellington August 31. They called for the release of Khoo and other political prisoners in Malaysia. They also demanded an end to the surveillance of Malaysian

students in New Zealand and an end to the restrictions placed on them by the Malaysian government. Malaysian students on the picket line had to wear masks to avoid identification.

The action completed two days of protest activities organized by the New Zealand University Students Association that included a march through Wellington to the Malaysian High Commission and a teach-in.

In Sydney, a rally and march were attended by 150 persons, about thirty-five of whom were Malaysian students. As in New Zealand, the Malaysians wore masks to avoid identification and reprisal by Malaysian government agents. Speakers at the rally included Neil McLean, president of the Australian Union of Students, and Rod Webb, editor of *Arena*, the student paper of Macquarie University. The demonstrators then marched to the Town Hall chanting such slogans as "Free Khoo Ee Liam" and "Khoo's the first—How many more?"

It has already been reported that in May the Kuala Lumpur regime jailed another Malaysian who had formerly studied in New Zealand, Wong Siong Seng.

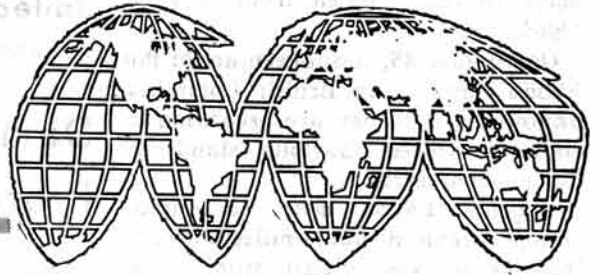
In Canberra September 12, sixty students staged a rally outside the Malaysian High Commission, while in Melbourne more than 120 Malaysian students demonstrated in the City Square.

The Australian Union of Students at its August council meeting allocated A\$1,000 (about US\$1,490) to continue the struggle in defense of Malaysian students. □

France Continues A-Bomb Tests

On September 15 France exploded her forty-third nuclear device in the Pacific, the eighth in the current three-month series of atmospheric tests. Australian Foreign Minister Donald Willesee said his government would lodge a diplomatic protest expressing "strong concern" at the widespread radioactive fallout resulting from the tests.

AROUND THE WORLD



Iraqi Forces Seize Most Kurdish Towns

Iraqi forces are reported to have captured almost every important city and town in the northern Kurdish region and to have begun pushing the Kurdish rebels further into the mountains. Kurdish leaders say that in recent weeks about 12,000 guerrillas have been fighting 60,000 heavily armed Iraqi troops on two main fronts around the cities of Rania and Ruwandiz. The rebels report that the Iraqis have bombed 499 Kurdish villages, killing nearly 700 civilians.

The Iraqi forces have been pushing northward to cut the only major Kurdish supply route, a paved road to the Iranian border town of Piranshah. General Mustafa al-Barzani, leader of the Kurdish forces, said September 22 that in the next few weeks Baghdad may gain control of more Kurdish territory than it had at any time during the last thirteen years of sporadic war.

Coalition Government Takes Office in Mozambique

A provisional coalition government was installed in Mozambique September 20. Joaquim A. Chissano, a leader of Frelimo (Frente de Libertacao de Mocambique—Mozambique Liberation Front), was appointed premier.

Frelimo also appointed the ministers of internal administration, information, justice, education, economic coordination, and labor. The Portuguese colonialists took the ministries of health, transport and communications, and public works. There were no cabinet posts for defense or foreign affairs, both of which are to remain under Lisbon's control.

A joint military commission, which is to oversee the cease-fire, was also set up.

Following the installation of the new administration, Chissano asked Portuguese settlers to remain and told those who had already left that they could return if they had nothing to hide. Up to 25,000 settlers are estimated to have fled Mozambique since the abortive rightist coup failed in early September. Frelimo's appointment of a Portuguese lawyer, Rui Baltassar dos Santos Alves, as its minister of justice was seen as a measure to assure the settler population.

At the ceremonies inaugurating the new regime, a message by Frelimo President

Samora Machel was read: "In this situation and phase in the life of our country, strikes have no place. Our main task should be to rebuild the economy."

The order now," the message said, "is work and sacrifice."

Danish Union Loosens Ties With Social Democrats

The biggest trade union in Denmark has decided to end its policy of channeling all funds for political action exclusively to the Social Democratic party.

At its thirty-seventh congress, held September 12-19, the Danish Unskilled and Semiskilled Workers Union (DASF—Dansk Arbejdsmands og Specialarbejder Forbund) voted that from now on its financial support will be divided among the various left-wing parties in proportion to their parliamentary representation.

This means that the union will now contribute funds to the Communist party and the People's Socialist party (Socialistisk Folkeparti) as well as to the Social Democrats.

The union, which also voted to change its name to Danish Semiskilled Workers Union, includes 260,000 of the 950,000 organized workers in Denmark.

Chilean Junta Tries to Bribe MIR

The Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria (Movement of the Revolutionary Left) has denounced an attempt by the Chilean military junta to bribe their organization. In late August, the MIR reported September 11, government representatives suggested the following "agreement":

In exchange for the MIR's giving up its weapons and its political work in the armed forces, the junta would release all MIR prisoners, speed the exit of any MIR member from the country, and consider allowing the MIR to "continue to function in Chile, under the condition that during the next two or three years, no active political opposition against the junta would be carried out."

East Germany Drops Goal of National Reunification

The East German regime removed all references to eventual reunification of the two Germanys from its constitution Sept. 27. Article 8 of the constitution was

dropped. It had stated that the East German regime was "striving to overcome the split of the German nation enforced by imperialism and to bring about a step-by-step rapprochement of the two German states and their eventual unification on the basis of democracy and Socialism."

One of the new articles added to the constitution proclaimed that East Germany is "linked irrevocably and forever" with the Soviet Union.

Imperialist Investors Flocking to Chile

Foreign companies have proposed investments totaling \$1,000 million to open new copper mines in Chile, according to Ricardo Claro, economic adviser to the Pinochet junta. Recent legislation guarantees imperialist investors against expropriation and high taxes.

U.S. Experts Admit China's Farming Achievements

China's achievements in increasing food production were reported by a group of ten U.S. plant scientists who returned to Hong Kong September 23 after a four-week tour of research institutions and communes.

"You had to look hard to find a bad field," said Dr. Norman E. Borlaug, the plant breeder who won a Nobel Prize in 1970.

"The rice crop was really first-rate," said Dr. Sterling Wortman, a vice-president of the Rockefeller Foundation and leader of the delegation. "There was just field after field that was as good as anything you can see." He noted a sharp contrast between the level of Chinese agricultural production and that prevailing in even the most successful farming areas of India and Southeast Asia.

South African Police Break Up Demonstrations in Support of Frelimo

South African police using dogs dispersed a crowd of 700 Blacks and some white students who had gathered in Durban September 25 to attend an illegal rally. The demonstration had been called in support of the Mozambique Liberation Front (Frelimo). An official statement claimed that the crowd had thrown stones at the police.

A similar rally at a Black university in northern Transvaal was broken up by

a large force of police who used tear gas and fired over the heads of the students.

The Durban rally was organized by two Black groups, the South African Students Organization and the Black Peoples Convention. The police raided the Durban headquarters of the student organization and made twenty-six arrests there and at the rally.

10,000 Attend Moscow Modern Art Show

Moscow authorities backed down and allowed a group of nonconformist artists to hold their outdoor exhibition on Sunday, September 29, rather than the preceding Saturday when most Soviet citizens would have been at work.

More than 10,000 persons attended the exhibit, which was reportedly the biggest officially sanctioned show of avant-garde art since the 1920s. Works on display included contributions by four members of the official Union of Artists who ignored Kremlin warnings not to participate.

Organizers of the exhibition said they would now press for an indoor show as well as additional outside exhibitions.

Silvio Frondizi Assassinated in Buenos Aires

Silvio Frondizi, a well-known civil liberties lawyer and brother of former Argentine President Arturo Frondizi, was murdered by right-wing terrorists September 27. A group of about twenty men entered his Buenos Aires apartment and dragged him by the hair down the stairs and into a car. His body was found later that day near the international airport. Luis Mendiburu, Frondizi's son-in-law, was killed when he tried to prevent the kidnapping. The AAA (Alianza Anticomunista Argentina—Argentine Anticommunist Alliance) has claimed responsibility for the murders.

Wave of Arrests in Police Witch-Hunt of Spanish Basques

As part of a continuing campaign against the movement for Basque self-determination, Spanish police have arrested about twenty Basque nationalist militants since the middle of September. Those arrested include two priests alleged to have "links with the ETA" (Euzkadi ta Azkatasuna—Basque Nation and Freedom) organization in the province of Biscay. It is not reported what wing of ETA is supposed to have been involved.

The arrests were made on the pretext of looking for those responsible for the September 13 bomb blast in a Madrid cafe frequented by members of the national police. Eleven persons were killed and seventy-one were wounded in the explosion.

Police first claimed that ETA-V was responsible for the bombing but lately have

maintained complete silence on the question.

Two days before the Madrid bombing, five alleged members of ETA were arrested in Bilbao during a police raid on a restaurant. A shoot-out took place in which one soldier was killed and a policeman was seriously wounded.

Spain has also unilaterally revoked a special arrangement it has had with France since 1966, under which French citizens could enter and leave Spain without passports. The Franco government claims that France harbors Basque terrorists.

Charge CIA Funded Opposition to Labor in Australian Election

An Australian journalist has charged that the CIA may have contributed between \$2 million and \$5 million to opposition parties in an unsuccessful attempt to defeat the Australian Labor government in the May 18 election. The charges were made in a recently published book on the main opposition party. Entitled *Looking at the Liberals*, it was written by Ray Aitchison, former Canberra bureau chief of the Australian Broadcasting Commission.

Aitchison said that while in Washington shortly before the election he was told that as much money as was needed to defeat Labor was available through the CIA, and that it could be channeled through any of the big American companies in Australia.

Court Overturns Calley Verdict

The conviction of Lieutenant William Calley Jr., the only person found guilty in the My Lai massacre in South Vietnam in 1968, was overturned September 25 by U. S. District Judge J. Robert Elliott. He claimed that Calley had not received a fair trial because of "adverse" publicity given to the mass murder of a large number of Vietnamese civilians. Although Elliott ordered Calley freed "forthwith," the Department of the Army announced that it would move to appeal the reversal and that Calley would remain in prison until the Justice Department decided whether to appeal.

Caramanlis Legalizes Greek CP

The Greek Communist party, outlawed since 1936, was legalized by Premier Constantine Caramanlis September 23. The decree abolished a ban enacted in 1947, which reaffirmed an earlier one imposed under dictator Ioannis Metaxas. "According to the latest decree," Reuters news agency reported, "all political parties must make statements to the prosecutor of the supreme court that their principles are against any act aimed at seizing power by force or overthrowing the free democratic government."

Thai Students Support Hotel Strike

Several thousand students and workers demonstrated September 13 in front of the Dusit Thani Hotel, one of the largest in Bangkok, in support of striking hotel workers. Police stations throughout the city were put on full alert after the Interior Ministry issued a command to "prevent disorders."

The workers first walked off their jobs August 30 to press for higher pay and a larger percentage of the hotel's service fees. On September 10, leaders of Thailand's two largest student organizations, the National Student Center of Thailand and the Federation of Independent Students of Thailand, met with the strike leaders to offer their support.

Rumania to Make Part Payment on Bonds Issued by Monarchy

The Rumanian regime has agreed to pay an initial 2.5 percent of the amount owed to U. S. holders of \$7.5 million in bonds issued in 1929 by the Kingdom of Rumania. Further negotiations are scheduled to determine the amount of a final settlement, according to George Woods, president of the Foreign Bondholders Protective Council.

Confucius Loses Out At UN

The United Nations joined Peking's current anti-Confucius campaign by removing a green marble plaque bearing a saying by the Chinese philosopher from the wall outside the General Assembly chamber. The plaque had been donated by Taiwan in 1968, three years before Peking replaced it at the United Nations. It was removed at the request of the Chinese ambassador, who has promised to donate a tapestry in replacement.

Aerosol Gases Threaten Ozone Layer

According to two scientists from Harvard University, enough gases released in aerosol sprays have accumulated in the atmosphere to begin depleting the ozone layer that protects life from lethal ultraviolet radiation. The gases, known under the trade name Freon, are considered chemically inert. But it has now been discovered that they are six times more effective in breaking down ozone molecules than the nitric oxides released by supersonic transport planes and nuclear explosions.

It was estimated that, as of 1971, two million tons of Freon were being released into the atmosphere each year. The scientists, Dr. Michael McElroy and Dr. Steven Wofsy, found that even if the dispersal of the gases were soon halted, depletion of the ozone layer could still reach 5 percent by 1990.

The scientists said that continued ozone depletion could cause widespread skin cancer and significant climate changes.

What the Reformist Left Saw in Spínola

By Gerry Foley

[First of two articles.]

If the Portuguese Communist and Socialist parties were worried on July 11 when General Spínola dismissed the first provisional government, they apparently recovered their confidence two days later when he appointed Colonel Vasco dos Santos Gonçalves to head the new cabinet.

Not even the loss of two key ministries seemed to disconcert the reformist parties very much. One of the ministers, Raul Rêgo of the Socialist party, commented philosophically on his ouster in the July 18 issue of the Lisbon daily *República*, to which he contributes a regular column. His observations were entitled "A Duty Fulfilled."

The former minister of communications explained that his task had not been "an agreeable one," although he did not mention explicitly that he had had to sanction a heavy fine against *República*. (He is the publisher of the paper.) The daily had reported an item the junta thought should have been left out of the news (a demonstration against the imprisonment of two officers who had refused to act as strikebreakers).

Nonetheless, Rêgo was convinced that his stewardship of the Ministry of Information had not been "unfruitful," since: "The dark clouds have dissipated and the climate now in mid-July is no longer what it was on May 15 when we were called into the government."

Despite the fact that a harsh censorship decree was issued during his time in the government, a decree that among other things banned "ideological aggressions that obstruct the application of the Program of the Armed Forces Movement," Rêgo was certain that no one could have "made more of an effort to avoid coercive measures, convinced as we are that force only encourages force. . . ."

In an earlier issue of *República* (July 15), before the announcement of the new cabinet, the old liberal publisher explained that he had an excellent impression of the premier who had just been appointed by Spínola:

". . . I had the pleasure of meeting Colonel Vasco Gonçalves in the palace of Cova da Moura, in a meeting between the Comissão Coordenadora of the Armed Forces Movement and representatives of the political parties. Together with my comrades Salgado Zenha, Sottomayor Cardia, and Pedro Coelho, I was representing the Socialist party. . . .

"This meeting, which made a profound impression on me, was presided over by Colonel Vasco Gonçalves. It was he who opened the session, gave the initial explanations, and answered most of the questions.

"He did everything with firmness, 'savoir faire,' and explained things with a simplicity that demonstrated a completely clear understanding of, and perfect familiarity with, the problems of the national political situa-

tion. He gave me the clear impression of being a man fully abreast of the situation, a reflective person, full of good sense, a man able to conduct a political meeting with resolution, with firmness, but without trying to impose anything. . . .

"I noticed that all his comrades, the members of the Comissão Coordenadora of the Armed Forces Movement, offered him a respect that had no hint of subservience, a respect that came rather from seeing in him a man endowed with intelligence, political culture, good sense, a spirit of conciliation—which does not mean resignation—a special tact for knowing how to lead without giving the impression that he is imposing his leadership by constraint. Now, a person who combines all these qualities, along with a total absence of vanity or tone of superiority, showing rather that humility that is not false modesty or a form of disguised vanity but rather an attribute of persons who know that they are above the weakness of making a cult of their own personality, a man who does not have to stand on his tiptoes to be noticed, such a person obviously meets all the requirements for being a good prime minister.

"But, and this is much more important, his selection at this stage represents a guarantee that the program of the Armed Forces Movement, which was clarified and completed by the decisions of the last Council of State, will not be derailed but will be carried out to the letter in the purity of its principles."

The following are some of the principles set forth in the program of the Armed Forces Movement: "Abolition of the censorship and prior-approval systems." This measure was qualified only by "the need to prevent the disturbance of public opinion, caused by ideological acts of aggression mounted by the more reactionary circles. . . .

"Freedom of meeting and association. In the application of this principle the formation of 'political associations' will be permitted, as the possible embryos of future political parties, and trade-union freedom will be guaranteed in accordance with a special law to regulate its exercise. Freedom of expression and thought in any form. . . .

"Creation of the conditions necessary for a frank, open debate at the national level on the overseas [colonial] problem."

So, it is clear that Rêgo expected the new government to defend the basic liberties that the Portuguese people obtained in the wake of the April 25 coup.

CP Joins in Beating the Drum

The Communist party leadership expressed a similar confidence. In a communiqué published in the July 18 issue of *República*, the Central Committee of the Portu-

guese CP declared:

"The new government is in a better position than the previous one to put into practice the program of the Armed Forces Movement, to confront the maneuvers and conspiracies of reaction, to carry forward the democratization, to put an end to the colonial war, to lead the country to free elections for the Constituent Assembly.

"The PCP [Partido Comunista Português—Portuguese Communist party] salutes the new Provisional Government and solemnly declares that it will make every effort to contribute to the success of its work."

The Central Committee statement continued: "The PCP, of course, defends the right of citizens to disagree with the government's measures and to criticize its actions. But it stresses that in the present situation in Portugal, the defense and consolidation of the freedoms won, the success of the struggle against reaction, the advancement of the policy of democratization, demand that the democratic forces and the popular masses give active, constant, and creative support to the new Provisional Government and the Movement of the Armed Forces."

In its July 20 issue, *República* carried a joint call by the Communist and Socialist parties, as well as the Movimento Democrático Português (MDP—Portuguese Democratic Movement, a popular-front formation dominated by the CP), for a mass rally to "support the Armed Forces Movement and the new Provisional Government" and to "celebrate the victory over the recent reactionary maneuver [the resignation of the leading bourgeois figures in the previous cabinet], which was designed to block the process of democratization."

The rally on July 25, held in the same stadium as the one that concluded the mass march of May 1, was like a repeat of the Lisbon May Day. The crowd was estimated at 100,000 persons and the mood was euphoric. One of the most optimistic speakers was the general secretary of the Communist party, Alvaro Cunhal, who kept his position of minister without portfolio in the new government.

The Communist party chief described the fall of the first provisional government as "an attempt by conservative forces to block and compromise the road to peace and democracy." The outcome of the governmental crisis had shown, he said, that "in the present conditions such attempts are doomed to failure. It showed that the Armed Forces Movement is a great and positive reality in the national life, a force guaranteeing the process of democratization. It demonstrated the decisive character of the unity between the people and the armed forces, which we must safeguard as an invaluable acquisition. . . . It showed that the essential conditions exist for us to say with confidence that despite the difficulties and dangers, the democratic course initiated by the historic victory of April 25 will continue until the program of the Armed Forces Movement is fully implemented. This is the course that has been ratified by the broadest popular masses, beginning with the glorious plebiscite of May 1. The establishment of this new government has shown that the reactionary forces were fooling themselves. History does not go backward."

In this atmosphere, whipped up by the bourgeoisie and the mass workers parties, the warnings of the Portuguese Trotskyists and others were drowned out.

Concessions to Liberation Movements

The euphoria of the reformist left reached new heights on July 27 when General Spínola made a speech recognizing the formal right of the colonial peoples to independence. He blamed the Salazarist regime for diverting Portugal from the preceding governments' "constant practice of Lusitanian humanism."

It was this detour, he said, that was responsible for creating a climate of "irreconcilable conflict" in Africa. And in this situation there was no alternative but to "accelerate the start of the formal process of decolonization."

Spínola continued: "We must recognize that in such a situation a more orthodox and formally correct position would be considered a paternalistic attitude. . . ."

So, the general said, "in perfect accordance with the line of action of my government in Guinea [where he was the supreme commander for a period and distinguished himself by creating an African mercenary force and fostering divisions between Guineans and Cape Verdeans], the time has come for the president of the republic to solemnly restate our recognition of the right of the peoples of the overseas Portuguese territories to self-determination, including immediate recognition of their right to independence."

This statement was followed by real concessions. The Portuguese authorities began handing over military bases to the nationalists in Guinea in preparation for recognizing the independence of the country. And most recently a "transitional government" has been set up in Mozambique including representatives of the nationalist guerrillas.

However, none of these concessions, the most recent or those that followed immediately after Spínola's speech, have gone beyond what most observers assumed the Portuguese imperialists were prepared to give up in the wake of the April 25 coup.

Guinea was the most dispensable possession. Most of its inhospitable territory was already in the hands of the nationalist guerrillas; it had little economic value to the Portuguese. Mozambique was more desirable, but the nationalist movement was in a strong position and Portugal had more lucrative possessions elsewhere—in Angola. The latter, with its vast mineral wealth, was the vital core of the Portuguese empire and quite enough for the weak Portuguese bourgeoisie to aspire to retain. In subsequent statements Spínola ruled out any rapid withdrawal from Angola. In the July 27 statement itself he specifically excluded the strategic Cape Verde Islands from the perspective of "decolonization" he outlined.

Nonetheless, the second provisional government's concessions were sufficient to win it the uncritical acclaim of the entire reformist left, not just in Portugal but internationally. One well-known correspondent was particularly qualified to symbolize this unanimity.

Burchett's Stamp of Approval

Wilfred Burchett is one of the very few Stalinist apologists who has been able to straddle the Sino-Soviet split. Moreover, his work as a propagandist for Hanoi associated him with the struggle of the Vietnamese people

against U.S. imperialism, winning him considerable popularity among the radicalized youth both inside and outside the immediate orbit of the Stalinist parties. He is a regular contributor to the New York weekly *Guardian*, whose stated policy is to build a new Communist party from the various ultraleft and sectarian Mao-Stalinist groups gathered around it. This paper has been the main pole of regroupment for the ultraleft currents that developed during the radical youth upsurge of the late 1960s in the United States.

Burchett was given the VIP treatment in the August 5 issue of *Diário de Lisboa*, the Lisbon daily that reflects the strongest Communist party influence: "The well-known Australian journalist Wilfred Burchett, who has come to our country several times since April 25 and whose contributions have appeared in our columns, is once again among us. This time he will remain in Portugal until September, preparing a book on the historic events in progress in our country."

Burchett told the *Diário de Lisboa* that he had come to Portugal "to analyze the situation in greater depth. I like to be in places where history is being made—and at this moment Portugal is undoubtedly one of those places. . . . My readers, who are scattered throughout several countries across the globe, still show a great curiosity about the reasons for the coup in Portugal and why the captains carried it out. Therefore, I am going to continue to seek the underlying answers to these two questions. Obviously, this is leading me step by step to a study of the economic and social conditions in Portugal, a study that I am going to carry out. This is not a matter of statistics—although these are important—but of talking to people, studying their lives."

The "well-known Australian journalist" showed a considerable interest in the personalities of the rulers. Asked for his opinion of General Spínola's statement on the colonies, he said:

"First, I must state that this declaration deserves the support of the peoples and progressive movements of the entire world. Second, I must say that it revealed a considerable flexibility in the attitude of the president himself. His name will go down in history if only for this. His own ideas about a solution—I am referring to those he expressed in his book *Portugal e o Futuro*—were completely different from those he outlined on July 27. It cannot have been easy for a military officer of his rank to accept ideas coming from the corps of much lower-ranking officers. The stature of the president will grow in the eyes of many, thanks to this demonstration of his capacity to adapt when the higher interests of the nation are at stake. . . . This flexibility testifies eloquently to the unity that has been forged in the Armed Forces Movement and also to the character of the president."

Burchett gave an unqualified endorsement to the new provisional government. His "main impression" of the situation in Portugal on his return, he said, was the following:

"The 'captains' are men of their word, and the generals that they have chosen are also trying to do what they promised to do. I arrived here for my fourth visit in the afternoon of July 8, on the eve of the start of the crisis that ended with the naming of Colonel Vasco Gonçalves as premier (on July 13), and the naming

of Brigadier Saraiva de Carvahlo as military governor of Lisbon, as well as the creation of the COPCON [Comando Operacional do Continente—Continental Operational Command]. Two weeks later we had the historic statement of President Spínola announcing that Portugal was ready to accept the transfer of powers to the peoples of Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, and Angola. This revealed that the second provisional government has a dynamism that the first lacked. This dynamism, it seems to me, is owing primarily to the 'captains,' who insist on doing what they decided to do when they set down their program and prepared the coup d'etat.

"The creation of the COPCON, the appointment of former Major Saraiva de Carvalho, and the more extensive part in the government being taken by the 'captains' (although some are majors and colonels) are obviously intended to bar all the doors to a counter-coup from the right."

Pressure From Junior Officers

There are indications that the new government represented a compromise, and that the pressure from the junior officers in the Armed Forces Movement was one of the major factors in blocking a harder shift to the right. The biggest obstacle to such a shift was probably the colonial question.

A commentator writing on the governmental crisis in the July 12 *República* stressed the opposition of the former premier, Palma Carlos, to withdrawing from the colonies:

"I am getting out now so that I won't have to do it later, drenched with blood and mud"—these are the grandiloquent words that Professor Palma Carlos is supposed to have used to explain his resignation to his friends. According to the interpretation that is made of these statements by the former law professor, the blood in question referred to a return to fascism, while the mud symbolized what the right customarily calls 'abandoning the overseas provinces.'"

In the explanations he gave to the press for his resignation, the former premier stressed the political and economic "anarchy" in Portugal itself. But the younger officers, exasperated by a long war they had no hope of winning, could be expected to pay most attention to the implications of Palma Carlos's ultimatum for disengagement from the "blood and mud" in which they found themselves mired in the colonies.

In any case, while the installation of the new government was followed by further concessions to the nationalist movements in the colonies, its policy in Portugal itself seemed designed to end the "anarchy" Palma Carlos complained about—and in short order.

New Gags Placed on Press

On August 2, most of the major afternoon papers failed to appear. Their absence was particularly noticeable because in Portugal, unlike some other countries, the afternoon papers are the most important and the most numerous. The three most respected dailies in the Portuguese capital, *República*, *A Capital*, and *Diário de Lisboa*, had been suspended for reporting a Maoist

demonstration. Most of the rest of the Lisbon press and media expressed active solidarity with them.

In its editorial August 5, *A Capital* indicated the extent of the protests against the government's action. "We express our solidarity with our esteemed colleagues of *República* and *Diário de Lisboa* for what has also happened to them, and our profound gratitude for the solidarity *República* so spontaneously showed in not publishing its August 2 issue, when the suspension order against it was only for the following day.

"Moreover, we express our gratitude for the clear demonstrations of solidarity from our esteemed colleagues of *Expresso*, *O Século*, *Diário de Notícias*, *Sempre Fixe*, *A Bola*, and *Record*, which decided not to publish their issues the day before yesterday. . . ."

(Since the cult of sports fostered by the dictatorship is still much in evidence, the absence of the soccer daily *A Bola* would probably have been particularly noticed; it did not actually have time to suspend its edition.)

"We also express our gratitude for the strong movement of solidarity that developed in the other media such as Radiotevisão Portuguesa, a Emissora Nacional [the national radio station], o Rádio Clube Português, Rádio Renascença, and Emissoras Associados."

The protest had been so broad, the editorial said, that it "proved, among other things, that suspending any organ of information in the present circumstances can mean depriving the country of all forms of information."

The attitude of the bourgeois papers and the working press did show considerable potential for strong resistance to government intimidation, a potential that the new cabinet no doubt had to take into account.

However, the same issue of *A Capital* reported the banning of the organ of the largest Maoist group. The paper was *Luta Popular* of the MRPP (Movimento Reorganizativo do Partido do Proletariado—Movement to Reorganize the Proletarian party). Its editor José Luis Saldanha Sanchez was arrested early in June for printing a statement that was interpreted as a call for insubordination in the armed forces. He is still in prison. However, the government's action against *Luta Popular* in August had a far wider scope.

There were two communiqués, one apparently explaining the reason for the action and the other announcing the decree itself. The first said: "All those who act criminally in concrete ideological aggression against the Armed Forces or against the principles proclaimed by their Movement, either in writing or in public meetings and demonstrations, will be rigorously punished."

The text of the second communiqué was as follows:

"Considering that the journal *Luta Popular* has on repeated occasions attacked the Armed Forces and the Program of their Movement, denying the sincerity of the determination of the Junta de Salvação Nacional and the Government to carry out decolonization;

"Considering that these attacks and insults constitute in fact an ideological aggression against the spirit of the Armed Forces Program;

"Publication of the journal *Luta Popular* is suspended indefinitely."

Whereas in the Armed Forces program, the term "ideological aggression" referred to possible resistance from supporters of the Salazarist regime, it was now being applied to opposition to the government from the left.

On August 5, two persons were arrested near the Mercado de Bulhão in O Porto for selling *Luta Popular*.

On August 7, the MRPP tried to hold a rally in Rossio, the central square of Lisbon, to protest against these attacks by the government. This is the way the August 8 *República* described what happened:

Troops Break Up Maoist Rally

"At about 6:00 p.m. yesterday a strong military force, composed of parachutists, commandos, infantrymen, and PSP [Policia de Segurança Pública—Public Security Police], along with eleven Chaimite armored cars, arrived in Rossio. Within fifteen minutes the entire vast square, including all the streets leading into it, was occupied. Automobile traffic was stopped and, in several places, pedestrians too."

It was a very ambitious operation. In the hotel overlooking Rossio where I was staying, police had barged in earlier to make sure they had all points covered. The cops had been very discreet when I was in Portugal during the first month after the coup. Their attitude now was quite different.

The entire area was ringed with troops carrying automatic rifles. The square itself was empty except for several armored cars parked in the middle near the statue of Dom Pedro IV, a couple of jeeps, and large flocks of pigeons. A crowd of tens of thousands, interrupted on their way home from work or attracted by the massive array of military force, filled the streets leading into Rossio. They were held back firmly.

I saw only two persons break through the military cordon. Two barefoot little boys made a dash from one entrance way to another down the side of Rossio bordering the Praça Figueira. They got a big cheer.

The MRPP activists in the crowd got a different kind of reception. Squads of police stationed behind the cordon moved in to grab anyone who showed up with MRPP literature. They operated very much like the British Army "Snatch Squads" in Northern Ireland, charging through the crowd with their clubs poised.

Each time they moved, they started a stampede. Onlookers had to dive for the doorways to avoid being trampled. But in confrontations in Northern Ireland, the crowd protects the activists. Here it pointed them out to the police and applauded as they were dragged away. Twenty-one persons were reported arrested.

Rossio is a gathering place for reactionary petty-bourgeois and lumpen elements, but at that time of day the crowd was probably not unrepresentative of the population in general. Obviously, the Maoists, the best-known group to the left of the Communist party, had become thoroughly unpopular. However, the show in Rossio was clearly not intended for the Maoists alone.

Part of a Broader Crackdown

The fact that the new provisional government could carry out an act of intimidation on such a scale against any political group was an indication of the progress it had made toward driving all unauthorized political activity off the streets.

The April 25 coup had suddenly crippled the whole apparatus of bourgeois repression and ideological con-

trol, opening the way for political ferment and mass initiative that could not be reconciled with capitalist "order." The Armed Forces Movement was faced with a fundamental choice. It had either to base itself on this mass initiative and move ahead to liquidate capitalism or it had to begin to restore capitalist "order."

In a similar situation in 1959-60, the Cuban Rebel Army took the side of the masses. But there was never any doubt about which side the Portuguese military was going to take.

By the end of May, the restoration of "order" went into full swing with the police attack on the anticolonialist demonstration in the Largo de Estrela and a reactionary, demagogic speech by General Galvão de Melo, one of the members of the Junta de Salvação Nacional.

The crackdown continued with the arrest of Saldanha Sanchez, and by the time the governmental crisis erupted July 9, the momentum of the mass upsurge had been broken, and the bourgeoisie was preparing a "return to normalcy."

In its restoration of "order," the junta had received the full backing of the reformist parties, in particular the Communist party, and no political force had been able to organize any effective resistance.

Failure of the Maoists

Most of the organizations to the left of the traditional reformist parties are Maoist. In the period after April 25 the street hawkers began to sell from half a dozen to a dozen different Maoist papers. The gamut ran from populist to workerist, from neoreformist to the most extreme ultraleft. But all were more or less abstract and fanatical. Although most of them favored "exemplary struggles" that challenged the junta's bourgeois perspectives, none were able to respond to the general concerns of the masses. None were able to make an effective political critique of the new regime or offer a general political alternative to the reformist parties.

The failure of the MRPP was the most conspicuous. It is the largest and best established of the groups to the left of the Communist and Socialist parties, and in the eyes of the masses it has come to represent the whole spectrum of left opposition to the government. Of all the groups opposing the government from the left, its demonstrations and rallies have been the largest.

On July 18, more than 10,000 persons attended the MRPP rally in Lisbon's Pavilhão de Deportos, by far the largest crowd attracted by any group or combination of groups to the left of the reformist parties. The meeting was not qualitatively smaller than some of the central rallies of the Communist and Socialist parties.

The MRPP is an extremely sectarian grouping. Its meetings and demonstrations are distinguished by the most frenzied "revolutionary" play-acting. For example, the featured speaker at its first rally in Rossio in defense of the jailed editor of *Luta Popular* was a woman wearing a kerchief (you don't see very many working-class women wearing kerchiefs in Lisbon in the summer). The exhortations were punctuated with the shout of "comrades!" and the clenched-fist salute.

The ranks stood in almost military formation under a heavy foliage of red flags bearing golden stars and a long list of initials. Some banners bore stylized repre-

sentations of rifles.

While the participants in the rally were enthusiastic and well-disciplined, they were all too busy shouting slogans (often just the name of the organization) to be able to talk to the crowd gathered in the area. Nor did the people in the crowd seem inclined to ask any questions. The MRPP was too self-sufficient. Needless to say, it refused to accept any support from "revisionist," "Trotskyite," or "social fascist" groups.

MRPP slogans have been painted everywhere in the city. But they are generally rather vague ("Bread, Peace, Land, National Independence") and often of rather narrow appeal ("Open Fire on Revisionism").

However, the romantic extremism of the Maoists represents a rather widespread mood among important sectors of the youth, a fact that is recognized in particular by the Socialist party, which is trying to appeal to these strata. Furthermore, the Socialist party and *República*, to their credit, recognized that the repression of this group would set a dangerous precedent.

Even the main bourgeois party, the PPD (Partido Popular Democrático—People's Democratic party), protested against the banning of *Luta Popular* (giving a good example of support to bourgeois-democratic principles, which, however, one of the most vociferous proponents of a "bourgeois-democratic stage," the Communist party, did not follow). So the MRPP was not without defenders.

Paralyzed by Stalinist Dogmas

What seems to have been decisive in bringing about the isolation of the MRPP that was so dramatically shown during the military occupation of Rossio was the failure of the Maoists to relate to the democratic hopes of the masses. They refused to recognize that an important change had occurred in the relationship between the masses and the government, and they continued to denounce the new regime in the same terms as the old.

The demonstrations in support of Saldanha Sanchez chanted, "Down With the New PIDE [Policia Internacional e de Defesa do Estado—International and State Security Police, the secret police of Salazar]."

The June 6 issue of *Luta Popular* carried the headline "Revisionism in Power Means Social Fascism in Power." The same issue carried a speech by an MRPP militant, Carlos Santos, to a court trying him on a minor charge. The speech ended with the following slogans: "Open Fire on the Fascist Repression! Death to the Traitors! The People Will Win! Peace, Bread, Land, Liberty, Democracy, and National Independence! Power to the Workers and Peasants! People's Power! People's Democratic Dictatorship! People's Democratic Republic! Long Live Marxism-Leninism-Maoism! Long Live Socialism! Long Live Communism! Long Live the Movimento Reorganizativo do Partido do Proletariado!"

Since the April 25 coup had, at least temporarily, brought a qualitative weakening of the repression against the masses, the MRPP's denunciations of the government as "fascist" could only seem demented. It was relatively easy for the spokesmen of the regime to convince the people, therefore, that such an aberrant group was an actual danger to the liberties they had won.

It was surprising, in a way, that the Maoists so totally misjudged the importance to the masses of the new dem-

ocratic leeway, since the MRPP had the same general position as the PCP on the need for a "democratic stage."

They called all the louder for "democracy" at the same time as they ignored the unusual measure of bourgeois democracy that already existed. One factor in this was probably the abstract nature of the Maoist slogans, which were not linked to the needs of any specific struggles. Another was that chanting the Stalinist dogmas had an effect of its own, like the incantations of a cult, obscuring the plain significance of the bourgeois-democratic slogans and giving them a superrevolutionary sound to the ears of the Maoists.

In general, however, the MRPP seemed to reflect, in the most extreme way perhaps, the dilemma of the groupings that have emerged from the student radicalization in Portugal. These tendencies have been motivated by a profound discontent with capitalist society. They recognized that the April coup left essentially the same interests in control of the country. They realized that the

democratic illusions being spread by the government, with the aid of the Communist and Socialist parties, were an obstacle to any real change.

However, these groups in general could find no method for countering such illusions but abstract propaganda and the exaltation of "pure revolt" (extremism in language and conspiratorial postures in practice). They were not able to appeal to the democratic hopes of the masses, develop the contradiction between the logic of these hopes and the limited concessions the bourgeoisie was willing to give, and mobilize the decisive sections of the population to struggle for a government of their own.

As a result, in a situation where the bourgeoisie's democratic maneuver got in the way of repressing the left, the MRPP refused virtuously to take advantage of this and allowed the government to suppress it with a minimum of damage to the democratic reputation of the junta and its allies. □

Meteoric Rise of a 'Political General'

Who Is Alexander Haig?

General Alexander Haig Jr. was appointed by President Ford on September 16 to become the supreme commander of NATO and of all U. S. forces stationed in Europe. The editors of the *New York Times* and some members of Congress criticized Ford's choice, citing Haig's role in the Watergate scandal and calling him a "political general."

Haig first joined the Nixon staff in 1969—he was a colonel at the time—when he became a deputy to Henry Kissinger and served on the National Security Council. In that position he helped Nixon in continuing the war in Vietnam. In 1972 he was promoted to the rank of four-star general over 240 other senior officers and was appointed by Nixon to be the army vice chief of staff.

With the Watergate scandal and the growing exposure of corruption in the White House, Nixon asked Haig in August 1973 to take over as chief of the White House staff, replacing H. R. Haldeman. In that position Haig played a key role in Nixon's effort to sweep Watergate under the rug.

An article in the September 10 *Wall Street Journal* by staff writer Dennis Farney reports some of the achievements that led Ford to award Haig with command of NATO: ". . . what is for sure is that Gen. Haig is the man who ordered William D. Ruckel-

haus to follow an order from 'your commander in chief' to fire Archibald Cox as Watergate prosecutor. . . . It was he who suggested to Judge John J. Sirica that 'some sinister force' had erased a crucial Watergate tape. It was Gen. Haig, almost to the very end, who stood at the heart of the attempt to prove Mr. Nixon innocent."

Haig reportedly played an even more important role in the White House than simply managing Nixon's staff and aiding the Watergate cover-up. In his September 18 column Jack Anderson stated: "Our own White House sources have confirmed former press secretary Jerry terHorst's report that President Ford and his staff, when they moved into the White House, found Gen. Alexander Haig functioning as the 'acting president.'"

"This characterization of Haig has been given by sources totally familiar with the White House operations during Mr. Nixon's final months. The harassed former President had become so obsessed with his Watergate woes, they say, that he left Haig in charge of running the country.

"To his credit, the able, articulate Haig held the government together as the Watergate nightmare slowly stifled the oval office. The only exception: He left foreign affairs in the hands of Secretary of State Henry

Kissinger."

In the transition from Nixon to Ford, Haig played an equally important role. According to Farney, it was Haig who "gently" told Nixon the jig was up and who "deftly" steered Nixon into resigning.

Following Nixon's resignation, Haig stayed on briefly as chief of the White House staff. According to a report by Everett R. Holles in the September 17 *New York Times*, Haig used his position to do one last favor for his former "commander in chief." Holles cited a "longtime friend of Mr. Nixon" and a former member of Nixon's staff, who said that Haig was the person "primarily responsible" for Ford's pardon of Nixon on September 8. Haig, however, denied any role in the Nixon pardon.

Some bourgeois commentators have decried Haig's involvement in "partisan politics" and his supposed deviation from the military's normal posture of political "neutrality." An editorial in the September 18 *New York Times* said, "What raises such serious questions about the appointment is the fact that it will further blur the vital dividing line between political and military authority."

Senator William Proxmire said in the Senate September 4, "Returning Al-

exander Haig to active-duty status would send a clear signal throughout the military officer corps that politics pays off—and in a big way." On September 10 Proxmire asked, presumably with a straight face, "Do we want to politicize the command structure so that military decisions are clouded by political considerations?"

These critics conveniently forget that the active involvement of high-ranking military officers in U. S. politics is nothing new. Before becoming president, Dwight Eisenhower was the supreme commander of the Allied forces in Europe. Haig's predecessor as head of NATO, General Andrew Goodpast-

er, entered the White House under Eisenhower as a colonel and came out as a general. General Maxwell Taylor served in the Kennedy administration and then left to become chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

The "vital dividing line" between the military and politics referred to by the editors of the *New York Times* applies only to the rank and file of the armed forces. It is a myth cooked up to justify stripping the foot soldier—the cannon fodder of imperialist war—of his constitutional right to take part in political activity. It has never applied to generals and was never intended to apply in the first place. □

British Army's 'Snatch Squad' Fabricates Charges

Belfast Trotskyists Dragged Into Court

[The following article appeared in Vol. 2, No. 11 of *The Plough*, the newspaper of the Revolutionary Marxist Group, the Irish section of the Fourth International.]

* * *

The haste of the British Army to step up the pressure of repression against anti-imperialist militants in the North of Ireland was clearly exposed on Monday, August 20, when the Belfast Magistrates' Court refused to accept the evidence of British troops who had arrested two RMG militants following the month's most successful anti-internment march.

This had followed the prosecution's attempts to turn the cases into political showpieces in earlier opposing bail for the militants.

Four members of the RMG, one sympathiser, and a member of People's Democracy, who had acted as stewards at the August 11 march organised by the Political Hostages Release Committee (a joint action committee of which the RMG is a member), had been faced with trumped-up charges of riotous behaviour.

It was an obvious attempt to harass organisers of mass protest in the North and followed a number of provocations during the course of the march itself.

Over 2,000—dwarfing the NICRA [Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association] and Sinn Féin (Provo) demonstrations of the previous week—marched from Andersonstown and forced the British Army to close the main motorway route out of Belfast when they passed through back gardens and onto the M1 [highway] in an attempt to march to Long Kesh [concentration camp].

The march carried on for several miles despite regular stoning from Loyalist elements on overlooking hill-sides, elements which were largely ignored by the strong British Army presence until stopped by an RUC [Royal Ulster Constabulary] road-block backed by troops in riot gear.

After a meeting in which speakers from the RMG stressed the need for unity in fighting repression, the march turned back. But as it reached Andersonstown the British Army launched a series of provocations.

The slip road from the motorway into the estate was blocked by a line of troops in full riot gear. This confronted the head of the march, attempting to leave the motorway by the only route possible. Rubber bullets were fired and a small riot resulted during which snatch squads arrested two stewards attempting to restore order, one a member of People's Democracy.

The main body of the march was forced to climb a fence and re-form

at a neighbouring street, but at the head of the road it was again confronted by soldiers of the Black Watch [Regiment] waving batons. The British Army allowed the march to pass, then stopped it again, then lined the roadside and observed marchers as they were allowed to pass.

An hour after the dispersal of the march, four RMG members were arrested by a mobile patrol of the Black Watch and taken in two armoured cars to the British Army Fort Monagh in Andersonstown, where they were kept and questioned for five hours before being transferred to the RUC and taken into custody.

The following day one RMG member appeared in court and was sentenced on the word of a member of the Black Watch to six months "reluctantly" suspended by the magistrate.

The five others were remanded in custody.

It was in the bail applications that the political implications were introduced.

The prosecuting barrister explained that the defendants were all linked by their "Marxist and Leninist views." He said that they were not stewards but were the march organisers. One RMG member, an Englishman, was singled out as a "foreign agitator." The remarks were fully reported in the bourgeois press, although the prosecution were not able to introduce these factors in the ensuing trials themselves. The basis of the arrests was made clear—repression against the vanguard.

In the Magistrates' Court the evidence of several of the British soldiers was so transparently a fabrication that the cases against two militants were dismissed, charges against a third were dropped, while two others were given two-month sentences suspended for twelve months, again because the magistrate chose to believe a British soldier would not deliberately lie in order to achieve a conviction.

The incident underlined the need for unity among the anti-imperialist groups in defence of militants and of the whole anti-unionist population. The tempo of repression will increase with developing accommodation to Loyalist elements and can be expected to become generalised against the whole anti-Unionist working class as this appeasement goes on. □

Thieu Faces a New Opposition

By Peter Green

Protesting the corruption of the Thieu regime, several thousand Catholics marched through the northern city of Hue on Sunday, September 8. It was the first Catholic antigovernment demonstration to be held in the former imperial capital. Police attacked the demonstrators with tear gas and clubs, confiscating anticorruption banners and dispersing the march. Hundreds of demonstrators later regrouped in a Catholic church, where a document denouncing Thieu was read.

The document, "Bill of Indictment Number One," was released in Saigon the following morning at a news conference in the lower house of parliament called by two Buddhist opposition deputies. They said police in Hue had fired 100 tear-gas grenades and clubbed demonstrators.

The September 10 *Washington Post* reported that the indictment charged Thieu with six specific acts of corruption:

"These include building houses and acquiring land with government money, halting an investigation of a fertilizer company run by his brother-in-law, profiting from the distribution of scarce rice in the northern part of the country and aiding drug smugglers."

The author of the document was Father Tran Huu Thanh, chairman of the People's Anticorruption Movement to Save the Country and Restore Peace. The movement came to public attention June 18, when 301 priests released a document denouncing corruption and injustice. Thieu prevented it from being widely reported by the press, but it was circulated to all Catholic parishes.

Another rally was organized in Hue September 15. Five thousand persons gathered in the square outside the city's main Catholic church to protest government corruption and the action of the police in breaking up the rally the previous Sunday. This time the police stayed away from the meeting.

The movement also spread to Da-

nang, South Vietnam's second largest city. Tran Huu Thanh spoke to about 200 Catholics there September 17. They sent a letter to Thieu saying he would be reelected next year if he eliminated corruption, but if he did not, "the people would arise and launch a revolution."

The campaign launched by the Catholics triggered protests from other sectors. Some Saigon newspapers, including a few never before noted for their criticism of the government, began reporting the anticorruption campaign. Thieu reacted quickly.

On September 20, he ordered the confiscation of three dailies that had just printed the full text of Thanh's six-count indictment. Several hundred demonstrators immediately spilled into the streets. According to the September 21 *New York Times*, this was the first large-scale antigovernment eruption in Saigon since the signing of the Paris cease-fire agreements twenty months ago.

Defying the police who delivered the confiscation orders, printers and journalists, priests, Buddhist monks, newsboys, and onlookers grabbed the papers and tried to distribute them. Rather than have them confiscated, they used them for a bonfire in the street.

Demonstrators marched from the printing shops of the newspapers *Dai Dan Toc* and *Dien Tin* to the offices of the third banned paper, *Song Than*.

"There, on the blocked-off main thoroughfare of Hong Thap Tu," the *New York Times* reported, "opposition deputies shouted anti-Thieu slogans without the benefit of bullhorns as they stood under banners demanding 'Down with newspaper confiscation!'"

The campaign against Thieu has also been supported by South Vietnam's main veterans organization, James M. Markham reported in a September 14 dispatch to the *New York Times*:

"The Association of Disabled Veterans, which vigorously opposed Mr.

Thieu's one-man presidential race in 1971, declared its 'strong support' for 'the common struggle for freedom of thought, freedom of the press and free democratic rights so that a just and durable peace can soon be restored in this country.'"

The important An Quang Buddhist faction has taken a step toward entering the antigovernment campaign as well. At a ceremony September 14 at the An Quang Pagoda—a focus of opposition to the Saigon regime in the mid-1960s—Senator Vu Van Mau announced the formation of an opposition grouping called the National Reconciliation Force (NRF).

The National Reconciliation Force was initially inspired by Catholic church leaders, and Buddhist backing for it had been cautious and slow, the September 20 *Far Eastern Economic Review* reported. On September 6, however, Thich Tri Thu, head of the Institute for Secular Affairs of the An Quang Buddhist church, threw the weight of the church behind the new organization. He sent letters to all provincial chapters, ordering the clergy and church followers to support the NRF.

The current wave of protests against the Thieu regime includes a broad range of opposition groups. Some leaders of the movement are probably reactionary, wanting a government able to "fight the Communists" more effectively.

In the past, most Catholic leaders have been anti-Communists and fervent supporters of Thieu. In fact, the main leader of the anticorruption movement, Tran Huu Thanh, spent many years teaching psychological warfare to South Vietnamese military officers.

The *Far Eastern Economic Review* reported that the Catholic leaders have noted the "increasing unwillingness of the US Congress to give aid, and fear that if corruption is not eradicated, aid will further decline. Catholic leaders think that it is in America's interest to support the new movement and even suggest that they are in fact being watched with interest by the US."

The September 17 *Le Monde* reported that a telegram protesting the police repression was sent to the U. S. ambassador by a representative of the Catholic archbishop of Hue. "The opposition," *Le Monde* wrote, "thus

showed what its real target was: it sees Mr. Thieu as being backed by the United States ambassador, Mr. Martin, who favors strong methods, and Mr. Kissinger, who has never condemned the pressures that his representative in South Vietnam has continually brought to bear on Congress in favor of President Thieu."

The Provisional Revolutionary Government and North Vietnam have both commented on this aspect of the anti-Thieu campaign. At his weekly news conference September 14 in Saigon, PRG spokesman Colonel Vo Dong Giang spoke about the opposition at length and charged that Washington was getting ready for "horse-changing if necessary," the September 15 *New York Times* reported.

"It is widely known that Mr. Thieu is getting more and more isolated right in his own ranks," the colonel said.

U. S. Ambassador Martin ridiculed any suggestion that Washington might be backing the opposition movement and could be thinking about dropping Thieu. He called it an "excellent example of Communist propaganda."

Radio Saigon predictably called the opposition campaign "a Communist maneuver to encourage the people to rise up and overthrow the government," and said the Communists would like "to open a new political front."

To drive this home, Thieu organized special political lectures for 1.5 million civil servants, soldiers, and members of other specialized groups, the September 18 *Washington Post* reported.

At the same time, Thieu has attempted to defuse the protests by initiating a "dialogue" between a delegation from the press and Information Minister Hoang Duc Nha, a cousin of Thieu's in charge of the censorship and, if need be, the confiscation of South Vietnam's newspapers.

Thieu has also ousted six of his forty-four province chiefs, including the commander of Hue, and has dismissed two generals and fourteen other officers for corruption.

Leaders of the current protests may only be aiming at some concessions. But the actions in favor of democratic rights and the breadth of the opposition to Thieu can have a deeper impact. As one Vietnamese Catholic quoted by the September 10 *Christian*

Science Monitor put it: "If the left-wing priests talk about corruption, Thieu can always say that their criti-

cism is exaggerated. But what does he say when the right-wing priests start talking about it?" □

Denuncian Regimen Sanguinario de la Junta Chilena

Protestas en Todo el Mundo

Por Judy White

[Esta es una traducción del inglés del artículo "Protests Around the World" publicado en *Intercontinental Press* el 30 de septiembre].

* * *

El mes de septiembre, decenas de miles de personas en todo el mundo salieron a las calles a denunciar el régimen sanguinario de la junta militar que gobierna Chile.

Las movilizaciones se realizaron con motivo del primer aniversario del golpe que el 11 de septiembre de 1973 derribara al régimen de Allende.

Se protestó a través de marchas, paros, concentraciones y conferencias de prensa.

Una de las movilizaciones más grandes se realizó en Frankfurt, Alemania, el 14 de septiembre. Al respecto, un corresponsal de *Intercontinental Press* informó lo siguiente:

"Aunque los artículos periodísticos que estoy enviando del *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* y de *Die Welt* dicen que los manifestantes fueron 20,000, el cálculo oficial de la policía fue de 33,000.

"Esta es la movilización de apoyo a Chile más grande que jamás se haya realizado hasta ahora en Alemania Occidental. Es probablemente también la más grande de todas las manifestaciones realizadas en los últimos seis años en Alemania Occidental, y la más grande de Frankfurt desde el final de la II Guerra Mundial".

La manifestación de Frankfurt fue parte de la semana nacional de actividades convocada varios meses antes en Alemania Occidental por veintisiete comités locales de apoyo a Chile y por la Federación de Estudiantes Latinoamericanos. Fue respaldada por varias organizaciones políticas, incluyendo al GIM (Gruppe Internationale Marxisten—Grupo Marxista Internacional, sección alemana de la Cuar-

ta Internacional), pero no contó con el apoyo de los socialdemócratas alemanes o del partido comunista prosoviético.

En Australia, las movilizaciones tuvieron lugar el 11 de septiembre en cinco ciudades. Uno de los participantes de la manifestación de Sydney que congregó a 500 personas, escribió:

"La movilización de Sydney no sólo fue la más grande sino quizás la más importante; entre otras cosas porque muchos exilados y refugiados, miembros de la comunidad latinoamericana de Sydney tomaron parte en ella.

"Los manifestantes se dirigieron en marcha hacia el consulado norteamericano y de allí a una concentración convocada en la Plaza Martín. . . Fue una de las marchas más entusiastas que se han visto en Sydney en los últimos años.

"La concentración de la Plaza Martín estaba dirigida por Dave Holmes de la Liga de Trabajadores Socialistas, organizador del Comité de Movilización por Chile. Entre los oradores estuvo un miembro del grupo de exilados latinoamericanos Antorcha, quien se dirigió a los asistentes en castellano.

"El punto máximo de la concentración fue el discurso de Ernest Mandel, un bien conocido economista marxista y dirigente de la Cuarta Internacional, quien había llegado horas antes para iniciar una gira de conferencias por Australia. Su corto discurso fue recibido con gran entusiasmo."

En los Estados Unidos se realizaron manifestaciones en la gran mayoría de ciudades, del 11 al 14 de septiembre. Según representantes del Comité Estadounidense por la Justicia a los Prisioneros Políticos Latinoamericanos (USLA), uno de los principales organizadores de las protestas, algunas de las movilizaciones más

importantes tuvieron lugar en Boston (500 personas), San Francisco (300), Washington D. C. (300), Minneapolis (250) y Nueva York (800).

Una reunión del 7 de septiembre realizada en el Lisbon Sports Palace tuvo como oradores a Alvaro Cunhal, ministro del gabinete portugués y secretario general del partido comunista; y a Edgardo Rojas, vicepresidente de la CUT (Central Unica de Trabajadores) chilena.

En Colombia, se inició una semana

de solidaridad con una marcha de ocho días de Ibagué a Bogotá que culminó con una concentración en la capital.

En el Perú y en España, las autoridades gubernamentales prohibieron las acciones de protesta que estaban programadas.

En Venezuela, la United Press International informó que el 18 de septiembre las federaciones sindicales más grandes llamaron a un paro de 15 minutos en todo el país. □

Los Militares de Etiopía Echan a Selassie a la Calle

Del Palacio a la Choza de Barro

Por Dick Fidler

[Esta es una traducción del inglés del artículo "Ethiopia's Military Shows Selassie the Door" publicado en *Intercontinental Press* el 23 de septiembre].

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"A partir de hoy, 12 de septiembre, su Majestad Imperial Haile Selassie ha sido depuesto de su cargo". Con este decreto, el Comité Coordinador de las Fuerzas Armadas rebeldes, tomó el control completo de Etiopía, terminando con los cincuenta y ocho años de gobierno de este emperador.

Mientras una multitud de jóvenes le gritaba, "ladrón, ladrón"; Selassie, de ochenta y dos años de edad, era retirado en un Volkswagen azul de la policía. Más tarde le informaron que lo confinarían en una choza de barro de tres habitaciones, en los cuarteles de la cuarta división del ejército en Addis Abeba. Unos ciento sesenta miembros de la familia real, la corte, los principales funcionarios y la aristocracia ligada al viejo régimen, también fueron recluidos en los cuarteles.

Sin embargo, el Comité de las Fuerzas Armadas no abolió la monarquía. Pidieron que el único hijo del emperador de cincuenta y siete años, el Príncipe de la Corona Asfa Wossen, regresara de Ginebra, para coronarlo rey, como figura decorativa, sin poderes. El príncipe que tuvo un ataque de apoplejía hace dos años, padece de una parálisis parcial.

El Comité declaró ilegales todas las huelgas y no autorizó manifestaciones. Disolvió el parlamento y anunció que un gobierno militar provisional va a gobernar Etiopía hasta que haya elecciones. El Teniente General Aman Michael Andom, jefe del Estado Mayor de las Fuerzas Armadas y ministro de defensa durante el anterior gobierno civil, fue nombrado para dirigir el gabinete y el Comité de las Fuerzas Armadas además de conservar los cargos que ya tenía en el gobierno anterior.

El nuevo gobierno incluye también al ex-premier, Michael Imru, como ministro de información.

"En general, el Comité pidió a otros ministros y funcionarios que continúen en sus cargos, hasta lograr la conformación final del nuevo gobierno provisional", anunció la agencia de noticias Reuters, desde la capital de Etiopía, el 12 de septiembre.

"Un pueblo amistoso se hizo presente para saludar con algarabía, el derrocamiento del emperador", dijo Reuters.

"Cinco mil personas realizaron una breve manifestación con aplausos, fuera del palacio, pero luego obedecieron a los requerimientos de los oficiales y se retiraron a sus casas".

El *Times* de Londres informaba el 13 de septiembre desde Addis Abeba, que la Asociación de Maestros Etiopes había exigido que el anterior emperador fuera juzgado por un tribunal

militar. "Pero no hubo más pronunciamientos por una acción en contra del emperador"—agregó—"a pesar de que la prensa criticó al hombre que comenzó su gobierno de Etiopía como regente en 1916 y ascendió al trono en 1930".

Los últimos días del gobierno del emperador se caracterizaron por un aumento de los ataques públicos contra él y su séquito.

El 1 de septiembre aparecieron por primera vez en las calles de Addis Abeba, carteles atacando directamente a Selassie. Mostraban al emperador alimentando a sus perros en los terrenos del palacio; mientras en una foto anexa, se veía a un habitante de la misera provincia de Wollo, muriendo de hambre.

Al día siguiente los estudiantes manifestaron frente al parlamento, exigiendo la destitución del emperador. La Agencia France-Presse informó que algunos estudiantes pedían que Selassie fuera linchado, porque había "corrido a refugiarse en Londres" durante la ocupación italiana de Etiopía en 1930. La manifestación fue disuelta por la policía, y luego de esto el Comité Militar prohibió cualquier otra movilización a menos que fuera autorizada por el ejército.

No obstante, la organización estudiantil de la Universidad de Addis Abeba había ya declarado el 31 de agosto su "apoyo total al Comité de las Fuerzas Armadas como punta de lanza del movimiento popular". El Comité respondió el 3 de septiembre anunciando sus planes de enviar estudiantes y profesores al campo para que enseñen lectura, escritura, y técnicas agrícolas a los campesinos, con el fin de ayudar a las masas a comprender "el espíritu de la revolución".

Mientras tanto, continuaron las detenciones de los anteriores colaboradores del emperador. El 4 de septiembre, seis personas más, incluyendo el secretario privado de Selassie, fueron detenidas.

Un índice del aislamiento del emperador se dió en la víspera de su derrocamiento, el 11 de septiembre, cuando el patriarca de la iglesia copita etíope, apoyó decididamente el movimiento de las Fuerzas Armadas.

"Hoy en el mensaje del día de Año Nuevo, el primer día del año 1967, de acuerdo al calendario juliano que se utiliza en Etiopía, el patriarca por

primera vez no hizo ninguna mención del emperador", informó la Agencia France-Presse. "En lugar de eso, pidió la bendición de Dios para el movimiento revolucionario dirigido por las Fuerzas Armadas, con el apoyo del pueblo etíope".

La jerarquía de la iglesia copta, cuya cabeza nominal es el emperador, sólo tres semanas antes, había emitido una protesta contra el intento de los militares de separar la iglesia del estado.

También el 11 de septiembre, los militares enviaron tropas a ocupar el palacio de la hija de Selassie, y transmitieron una denuncia contra el emperador, repitiendo cargos anteriores contra él: que había ocultado enormes sumas de dinero en bancos extranjeros y también inversiones y se había negado a transferirlos a Etiopía. Los militares dijeron que los bienes del emperador en el extranjero aparentemente totalizaban miles de millones de dólares etíopes, que tienen casi la mitad del valor de los dólares norteamericanos.

La televisión estatal aquella tarde mostró películas de niños hambrientos en zonas del país castigadas por la sequía, contrastando esas escenas con las de películas que mostraban el modo de vida opulento de la familia real.

Al día siguiente el emperador fue depuesto.

El derrocamiento de Selassie fue la culminación de un proceso que comenzó en el pasado mes de enero. Una serie de sublevaciones de suboficiales y reclutas de las fuerzas armadas etíopes (de 50,000 hombres) dió lugar a la formación en junio, del comité militar que actualmente gobierna el país.

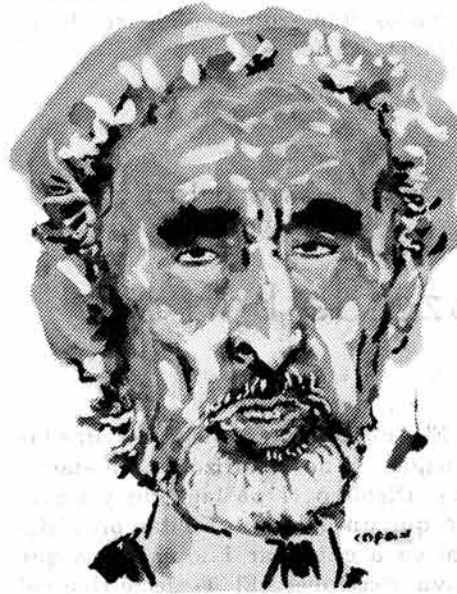
Lo que había detrás de la revuelta militar era una profunda crisis política y social, acentuada por la indiferencia del régimen hacia la desastrosa sequía y el hambre, que costó la vida de 100,000 campesinos como mínimo, y el evidente fracaso al tratar de aislar y derrotar la creciente lucha de liberación nacional, en la provincia más septentrional de Eritrea.

Una de las pocas descripciones del nuevo grupo gobernante que ha aparecido en la prensa occidental es la del corresponsal del *Washington Post* en Addis Abeba, David B. Ottaway.

"El nombre oficial del grupo"—in-

formó Ottaway el 8 de septiembre—"es 'Comité Coordinador de las Fuerzas Armadas, Policía y Ejército Territorial Etiopes', nombre que revela quizás el rol clave que cumple al tratar de unificar las distintas ramas militares".

De acuerdo a lo que dice Ottaway, el Comité ha cambiado su tamaño



SELASSIE

y composición varias veces desde que apareció por primera vez en junio." Tenía antes cerca de 120 miembros y se cree que ahora tiene 88".

"Los miembros de más alto grado son mayores, los de más bajo grado son soldados rasos. Muchos han sido entrenados en Norte América, pero se cree que la mayoría de los miembros claves, se han graduado en las academias militares de Etiopía. Muchos son abogados".

El Comité incluye delegaciones de cada una de las cuatro divisiones del ejército y de todas las otras ramas de las fuerzas armadas, además comprende a la policía, el ejército territorial y las academias militares.

A la cabeza, dice Ottaway, "hay una especie de comité superior de siete a doce oficiales y un jefe que ha sido identificado como Mayor Mengeste Hailemariam, graduado de la Academia Militar Holeta en las afueras de Addis Abeba y jefe de la compañía de artillería de la Tercera División con asiento en Harar al este de Etiopía".

La otra figura militar de más alto rango es el Teniente General Aman Michael Andom, el hombre que está al frente del nuevo régimen militar.

Una de las primeras acciones realizadas por Aman—luego de ser nombrado ministro de defensa en agosto—fue una gira "de inspección" por Eritrea para intentar convencer a la población local de que el Comité Militar en Addis Abeba gobernaría en sus intereses. Aman es de nacionalidad eritrea.

El 28 de agosto, el general se dirigió a unos 20,000 eritreos concentrados en un estadio de Asmara, capital de la provincia. Jean de la Guérevière telegrafió este informe a *Le Monde*:

"Tieso en su uniforme, el General Michael Aman Andom... habló consecutivamente en Tigrinya (la lengua de la población ortodoxa de Tigre y Eritrea), en árabe (la lengua de los musulmanes que constituyen la mitad de la población de Eritrea) y en amhárico, para traer 'un mensaje de paz', para denunciar los 'errores del pasado', y para afirmar el deseo del 'gobierno del pueblo' de terminar con la 'segregación' que los eritreos han sufrido. No hizo alusión al emperador o al Frente de Liberación".

Para el corresponsal de *Le Monde*, "el discurso deliberadamente ambiguo del ministro hacía recordar la expresión: 'Os he comprendido' de de Gaulle, o las primeras declaraciones del General Spínola sobre el futuro de los territorios portugueses en el extranjero.

"El General Aman da la impresión de navegar a la deriva, enredado entre el deseo de mantener la unidad del reino, si todavía es posible, y el deseo de deshacerse de un problema que él ha dicho no puede ser resuelto por la fuerza".

Difícilmente se puede considerar a la cantidad de asistentes a la concentración del 28 de agosto, una prueba decisiva del control del gobierno central sobre Eritrea. Se había ordenado cerrar a las industrias para que los trabajadores pudieran asistir; y el mismo Frente de Liberación Eritreo no había llamado a no participar. Más aún destacó *Le Monde*, "la región de Asmara, que está situada en una meseta más alta, no debe confundirse con el resto de la provincia, que especialmente en el norte está con-

trolada por el Frente de Liberación".

Un despacho de Jean de la Guévière publicado el 6 de septiembre en *Le Monde* indicaba la extensión del control de las fuerzas de liberación de Eritrea. "El gobierno", informaba él desde Asmara, "controla las regiones de Massawa, Asmara y el camino que une a esas ciudades con Keren y Agordat, con ramales en Sudán. Al sur de ese punto de unión, especialmente a lo largo de la costa, se han infiltrado los rebeldes, aunque el FLE no controla la región. Pero el Norte pertenece a los rebeldes. Sus cuarteles están establecidos a poca distancia de Kerora, cerca de la frontera sudanesa, y tienen dos 'bases de avanzada' en el interior, cerca de Kafka y Biskia".

El FLE permite el paso de carga en las áreas que controla siempre y cuando los comerciantes paguen regularmente los "impuestos". Los cuarenta y tantos italianos propietarios de plantaciones donde son cultivados fruta y vegetales, entre Keren y Agordat pagaban regularmente al FLE impuestos equivalentes a los que aún pagan a Addis Abeba.

El FLE afirma que puede movilizar hasta 15,000 hombres, número equivalente al de las fuerzas etíopes dedicadas a operaciones en la provincia en este momento.

En lugar de haberle quitado explosividad a la lucha de los eritreos por la independencia, los sucesivos giros del gobierno de Addis Abeba parecen haber fortalecido al movimiento de liberación. Aún los viejos colaboradores del régimen de Selassie en Eritrea se han visto obligados a tomar una posición pro-independentista. *Le Monde* entrevistó a uno de los veintitrés diputados eritreos del parlamento etíope que renunciaron el 16 de agosto, para protestar por la brutal represión gubernamental desatada en la provincia del norte.

"Nunca reconsideraré mi renuncia", dijo. "En lo que a mí respecta, quiero la independencia total, pero no puedo declararlo públicamente, ya que sería arrestado de inmediato. No confío en los militares que han tomado el poder. Lo más que pueden proponer es una federación. Los eritreos nunca estarán satisfechos con eso, porque en el pasado han sufrido demasiado a causa de la dominación etíope".

Otra gran preocupación de los oficiales del Comité de las Fuerzas Armadas es la vulnerabilidad de la re-

gión desértica de Ogaden, que limita con Somalia. La región es étnicamente somalí y, al igual que Eritrea, tiene una numerosa población musulmana. Más aún, se rumorea que posee importantes reservas de petróleo. Los nuevos gobernantes militares de Etiopía han utilizado los reclamos de la región como un punto central para la unidad nacional.

La pendiente reapertura del Canal de Suez a la navegación internacional acrecienta la importancia estratégica de Eritrea y Somalia, situadas a lo largo de la costa del Mar Rojo y el Golfo de Adén. Los oficiales etíopes han invocado una supuesta amenaza de ayuda militar soviética a Somalia para presionar a Washington a incrementar la ayuda a sus fuerzas armadas.

Washington ha respondido favorablemente. El 9 de septiembre el *Christian Science Monitor* informó que "los Estados Unidos, que desde 1952 han proporcionado a Etiopía ayuda militar por un valor de 10 a 15 millones de dólares al año, en el año fiscal 1974 enviaron cerca de 22 millones de dólares en suministros militares, subvenciones y créditos a los etíopes y para 1975 han fijado un presupuesto de 16 millones de dólares".

No obstante, mientras los Estados Unidos y otras potencias imperialistas obviamente esperan que los nuevos gobernantes militares sean capaces de contener el proceso etíope, manteniendo el respeto debido a la propiedad privada y particularmente a las inversiones extranjeras, los últimos eventos no pueden ser explicados sólo como una conspiración de EE.UU.

El factor clave que hizo estallar el fermento social fue el hambre. ". . . es probable", informaba Ottaway el 8 de septiembre, "que haya muerto de hambre más gente en Etiopía que en los seis países juntos del África Occidental atacados por la sequía". Las devastadoras hambrunas indicaron no sólo la bancarrota política del régimen de Selassie, sino también la urgente necesidad de terminar con las condiciones semif feudales de la región campesina de Etiopía.

Entre los primeros en rebelarse abiertamente estuvieron sectores del ejército, en especial los oficiales jóvenes educados en la agitación ant imperialista y antifeudal del movi-

miento estudiantil. Ellos han contado por lo general con el apoyo del grueso del ejército, que proviene de las masas campesinas.

Durante los ocho meses de existencia del movimiento militar, Etiopía ha vivido una serie de protestas provenientes de amplios sectores de la población civil; desde estudiantes y sacerdotes hasta prostitutas y taxistas. En febrero la primera huelga general del país paralizó la economía. Tanto estas movilizaciones como la revuelta militar fueron las que originaron el reemplazo de dos gobiernos civiles sucesivos este año.

La profundización de la lucha de clases puso en claro que si los oficiales jóvenes no hubieran actuado decididamente para poner freno a los poderes del emperador, y sacarlo del gobierno, otras fuerzas políticas se habrían puesto al frente—fuerzas que no se contentarían con un mero cambio en el régimen.

Por el hecho de que el Comité de las Fuerzas Armadas representaba una alternativa de confianza frente al desacreditado Selassie, es probable que Washington y otros gobiernos imperialistas lo "respaldaran" y hasta lo alentaran. Estos mismos gobiernos extranjeros, que no hicieron nada por combatir el hambre internacional, ahora cínicamente apoyan los esfuerzos de los militares por pintar a Selassie como el único responsables de las muertes por hambre.

Los nuevos gobernantes militares ya han mostrado una marcada aversión a responder a las demandas y las necesidades más importantes de las masas. Parecen intranquilizarse por el alcance que las movilizaciones estudiantiles puedan tener, a pesar del compromiso de obediencia de los estudiantes.

Analizando la caída de Selassie, Paul Hofmann escribió en el *New York Times* del 13 de septiembre, que "en general se predecía grandes problemas para el lunes siguiente [16 de septiembre] fecha en que la universidad y las otras escuelas, cerradas desde el invierno pasado, reabrirían sus puertas. Es loable que el comité militar gobernante decidiera proclamar ayer el fin del largo reinado del emperador para neutralizar de antemano las manifestaciones dirigidas por los estudiantes que parecían inminentes o inevitables".

Los nuevos gobernantes militares

no han mostrado ninguna inclinación a efectuar declaraciones ideológicas. La "revolución" en Etiopía está "buscando una ideología", escribía Ottaway en el *Washington Post* del 8 de septiembre. "Sus dirigentes se han puesto en contacto ya con varios intelectuales etíopes para escribir una", añadía.

"Hasta la fecha, sus demagógicos comunicados han destacado la necesidad de la unidad nacional y de un desarrollo económico acelerado poniendo de manifiesto un populismo casero, atacando la riqueza y la corrupción del régimen monárquico".

Sin embargo, los militares han establecido claramente que no tienen intención de nacionalizar los intereses imperialistas que operan en Etiopía. El 5 de septiembre, el Comité de las Fuerzas Armadas emitió una declaración denunciando rumores sobre nacionalizaciones pendientes de compañías extranjeras calificándolos de "maliciosos" y de trabajo de los "enemigos de la revolución". Dijeron que los inversionistas extranjeros no tenían nada que temer y los alentaron a continuar con sus negocios.

A esta declaración le siguió un compromiso similar publicado al día siguiente en el diario *Ethiopian Herald* en idioma inglés, controlado por el gobierno.

El 7 de septiembre el *Washington Post* estimaba la inversión privada extranjera en cerca de 300 millones de dólares.

El Comité de las Fuerzas Armadas ha explicado que su actual acción nacionalizadora está dirigida solamente a las compañías de propiedad de la familia real o de la nobleza. Ottaway informó el 8 de septiembre: "Al investigar la fortuna privada del Emperador, el Comité encontró que en la mayoría de los directorios de las compañías nacionales más importantes, figuraban los intereses de la familia real.

"Donde han considerado que la monarquía ha utilizado el tesoro público para obtener ganancias privadas, los militares han nacionalizado (o renacionalizado) esas compañías.

"La National Resources Combine, propietaria de una enorme cantidad de inmuebles y compañías subsidiarias por todo el país, la General Ethiopian Transport Co. y la St. George Brewery han sido tomadas por el estado y se espera que serán nacionali-

zadas muchas otras."

Sobre otra cuestión clave, la reforma agraria, los militares han sido muy vagos. En una declaración emitida el 12 de septiembre, el día de la caída de Selassie, el Comité de las Fuerzas Armadas prometió dar prioridad a la reforma de la tierra, añadiendo que el slogan de su programa interno sería "La tierra para el pueblo". Sin embargo, no proporcionó detalles. En el manifiesto de trece puntos que emitió el comité el 9 de ju-

lio no menciona siquiera la reforma agraria.

En un país donde más del 95 por ciento de la población es campesina, y donde el sistema social íntegro está basado en las relaciones semi-feudales de producción, lo que va a determinar el futuro del régimen es su respuesta a la cuestión agraria. Y en este sentido, los primeros pasos que han dado los nuevos gobernantes han dejado poca esperanza para la enorme masa del pueblo etíope. □

Cómo Ven los Trotskistas Argentinos la Situación

Después de la Muerte de Perón

[El 1 de septiembre un integrante del equipo de *Intercontinental Press* entrevistó a un miembro del Buró Político del Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores, una organización simpatizante de la Cuarta Internacional en Argentina, sobre la situación política actual de su país. Esta es la transcripción de esa entrevista].

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Pregunta. ¿Qué va a pasar en la Argentina después de la muerte de Perón? ¿Es posible que los militares tomen el poder inmediatamente?

Respuesta. Bueno, ésa es una cuestión que muchos compañeros se plantean; es decir si los militares una vez muerto Perón van a tomar el poder de inmediato. Nosotros no creemos que esa situación esté planteada ya, depende en gran medida de lo que pase con el movimiento obrero. Pero además creemos que los militares prefieren en este momento lograr que la burguesía lleve adelante la situación a través del Pacto Social.

O sea que las Fuerzas Armadas no están tomando el gobierno, sino que están por apoyar el proceso de la burguesía.

Es cierto que con la muerte de Perón la burguesía ha perdido el árbitro, queda un gran vacío y alguien lo va a tener que cubrir, pero no van a ser solamente las Fuerzas Armadas. En la Argentina las FF.AA. son parte de un proceso burgués, que ya hizo una experiencia que derivó en el Cor-

dobazo, y que no van a volver a repetir inmediatamente.

En ese sentido podemos decir que son más peligrosas que si tomaran el poder directamente, porque aparecen apuntalando todo un proceso de fortalecimiento de la burguesía, en lugar de estar enfrentadas a este proceso y al movimiento obrero.

Plantean que hay que "peronizar" el gobierno, que deben ser los viejos peronistas quienes tomen las carteras, porque son los que pueden solucionar problemas. Dan el ejemplo del Ministro de Defensa, que es un viejo peronista que según dicen ellos hizo una gran tarea de gobierno con las FF.AA.

P. ¿Los últimos cambios en el Gabinete reflejarían esta situación?

R. Efectivamente, el hecho de que al Ministerio del Interior venga un viejo peronista con habilidad política indica eso. El diario *La Nación* decía que Llambí era un buen Ministro del Interior para Perón, porque se necesitaba que no hiciera ninguna declaración y que ejecutara lo que Perón decía, pero desaparecido Perón se necesita un Ministro del Interior que intente el diálogo y piense políticamente, por eso lo cambiaron. La esencia de estos cambios son: viejos sectores del peronismo, que no destruyen el equilibrio del Gabinete, que *Avanzada Socialista* viene caracterizando como de enfrentamiento entre Gelbard y López Rega. Estos cambios no han determinado la preeminencia de nin-

gundo de ellos. Se restituye el equilibrio y se lo intenta hacer por el lado del peronismo más tradicional; ellos lo llaman el "Peronismo Histórico". Y las Fuerzas Armadas en este momento están a favor de lograr esta estabilidad.

P. ¿Cuál es la situación de la burguesía?

R. La burguesía sigue basando toda su estrategia en el Pacto Social. Inclusive para poder llevarlo adelante, el propio Gelbard que es el teórico del Pacto Social lo hace más flexible, es decir trata de llegar a un acuerdo con todos los sectores. Para dar un ejemplo: el sector terrateniente y ganadero había llevado una ofensiva contra el Pacto Social por los precios del ganado, sobre todo porque Gelbard les había aplicado un impuesto a la tierra. Para lograr mantener el acuerdo global con la burguesía, Gelbard les rebaja el precio del impuesto a la tierra, y les aumenta el precio del ganado.

Esto no nos sorprende, nosotros desde el principio dijimos que el Pacto era una cuestión de acuerdos que estaba condicionada por la situación del movimiento obrero.

A nosotros nos parece que la burguesía intenta por todos los medios, seguir con las reglas actuales del juego hasta las próximas elecciones. En ese sentido creemos que el principal opositor al gobierno, que es Balbín, está haciendo lo posible para no comprometerse con los desaciertos del mismo, tratando de mantener el proceso de "institucionalización" hasta 1975.

Resumiendo, mientras continúe la expectativa del movimiento obrero la burguesía va a poder seguir manteniendo el Pacto Social. Eso no significa que sus contradicciones internas, sus roces y su enfrentamiento con el movimiento obrero no se agudicen cuando venga un gran ascenso. Para nosotros ese ascenso está latente y viene en cualquier momento.

P. ¿Es decir que esos roces entre la burguesía no llegarían por el momento a provocar un cambio en el equipo económico?

R. Es cierto que hay muchos sectores que atacan a Gelbard: uno es el terrateniente ganadero, otro es el desarrollista de Frondizi. Pero nosotros tenemos la siguiente interpretación: es

imposible sustituir, por lo menos por el momento, al actual equipo económico porque la oposición no es homogénea. Es decir el equipo de Gelbard es un equipo homogéneo, que lleva adelante el Pacto Social; por el otro lado existe sí una oposición a Gelbard, pero al no estar unificada creemos que le va a permitir a Gelbard capear el temporal, no sabemos hasta cuando.

Por otro lado en cuanto a la situa-



GELBARD

ción económica, a pesar del gran déficit que significa el cierre del Mercado Común Europeo, el resultado final no es una catástrofe. Es más, comparando la situación con los gobiernos anteriores podemos decir que es buena en términos de desarrollo capitalista, aunque no tanto como se había previsto.

P. ¿Qué otras fuerzas políticas se mueven en este momento en la Argentina?

R. Voy a tratar de señalar cuales son las perspectivas de esas fuerzas. El peronismo, por ejemplo, está en crisis, los propios peronistas creemos que saben que les va a resultar muy difícil ganar las próximas elecciones solos. Entonces, se están estructurando alrededor del peronismo dos sectores, uno de apoyo y otro de oposición. El de apoyo, está liderado por el Partido Comunista que sostiene que hay que formar un frente entre los sectores progresistas, ya que el peronismo es un partido que lucha contra el

imperialismo. Dicen que las exportaciones a Europa del Este y Cuba significan una segunda declaración de la independencia.

Por el otro lado está la oposición que parte del propio movimiento peronista, aunque no precisamente desde adentro, porque los sectores más radicalizados de la Juventud, Montoneros, no podemos decir que estén adentro. Estos sectores hablan de un frente de liberación nacional con la hegemonía de la clase obrera. Para nosotros tiene que ser "dirección de la clase obrera" y no creemos que esos sectores estén en eso, sino que están por que la clase obrera integre el frente como una parte. Ese frente estaría formado por Montoneros, Partido Comunista Revolucionario, los maoístas y el FAS [Frente Antimperialista por el Socialismo], y por lo tanto el ERP [Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo].

Este sería el frente popular de la izquierda. Es decir que el movimiento obrero ante la crisis del peronismo enfrenta ya dos peligros, uno el del frente popular y otro el del fascismo.

En cuanto a esto último debemos decir que si bien no existen los rasgos fundamentales del fascismo, sí existen las bandas y los elementos que pueden dar lugar al fascismo. Hay un gran sector de la pequeña burguesía totalmente desengañado después de haberlo votado a Perón. Si no se logra que aparezca un partido revolucionario que le dé confianza a esa pequeña burguesía, de que ése es el partido de la revolución, puede ser un elemento factible de pasarse el ejército fascista. Por eso nuestro partido está haciendo una gran propaganda en torno a los dos peligros que mencionábamos, planteando la independencia política del movimiento obrero y la autodefensa obrera contra las bandas fascistas.

P. ¿Es decir que en estos momentos la necesidad del partido revolucionario pasa a primer plano?

R. Así es, y creemos que en este panorama político somos la única alternativa clara, aunque somos conscientes de que aún somos una alternativa para un sector del movimiento obrero y no para el conjunto. Somos conocidos en todo el país por nuestra actuación en las luchas y nuestros centros cumplen una función de nucleamiento de obreros y

estudiantes, que cuando inician un conflicto van a discutir con nosotros los pasos a seguir. Pero debemos prepararnos aún más para ser esa alternativa revolucionaria frente a las masas.

P. ¿Cuál es la situación de la clase obrera argentina en este momento y cuál es la política del PST frente a esa situación?

R. Yo hablaba antes de una situación de expectativa en el movimiento obrero, podríamos decir de impasse, a partir de la muerte de Perón. Esto no quiere decir que no haya luchas; en este momento hay conflictos en Villa Constitución y Propulsora Siderúrgica. Nuestra opinión es que éste es un impasse momentáneo, pero que a corto plazo se va a reiniciar el alza.

Lo nuevo que surge de todos los conflictos, es que en casi todos ellos se plantea el problema de la dirección no sólo ya en términos de la democracia sindical, sino en términos políticos. Hoy nuestra clase obrera tiene planteados problemas tales como: ¿por qué ninguna dirección peronista, al estar comprometida con el gobierno y el Pacto Social, va a poder llevar al triunfo a ningún conflicto? ¿Qué significa el socialismo? Por eso nuestro partido no interviene ya sólo para solucionar pequeños problemas de una u otra sección de la fábrica sino que en toda esta etapa le damos una importancia decisiva no ya a las agrupaciones sindicales, sino a la aparición del partido como tal, en los conflictos. En las últimas luchas de Bagley y Propulsora nuestra aparición ha sido como partido y no como agrupación sindical, aunque la agrupación existe. Directamente nos individualizamos como socialistas.

Esto es decisivo para postularnos como alternativa política frente al peronismo. La crisis del peronismo que ya empezaba a manifestarse cuando vivía Perón, (de ahí el llamado del 12 de junio a respaldar su conducción), con su muerte se profundiza.

A pesar de que las oleadas de conflictos anteriores hayan sido mayores, lo nuevo es que ahora los conflictos se empiezan a transformar en políticos. La vanguardia que surge de todos ellos es política y busca otra alternativa distinta del peronismo.

Voy a dar algunos ejemplos de por

qué digo que los conflictos son políticos. En el caso de SMATA [Sindicato de Mecánicos y Afines del Transporte Automotor] salen contra el Pacto, pero luego retroceden. Tosco llega a plantear que no hay que estar contra el Pacto sino que hay que modificarlo, es decir hay que lograr uno en mejores términos. Esto quiere decir que ellos evitan el enfrentamiento político, no le dan una alternativa política a la clase obrera porque si lo hicieran tendrían que plantearle la independencia política y ofrecerle un partido. Hablan de democracia sindical contra la burocracia pero se quedan a mitad del camino en el problema fundamental que es el político. Es correcto que los obreros del automotor quieran pelear contra el Pacto Social, pero eso le hubiera significado a Tosco y Salamanca ponerse al frente de una movilización contra el gobierno, y no están dispuestos a eso. Por eso llevaron al desgaste a una movilización de cerca de 10,000 mecánicos, y los enfrentan a la posibilidad de una derrota, al no ofrecerle una alternativa política clara.

Queremos aclarar que a pesar de las diferencias con Tosco y Salamanca estamos por impulsar con todo la lucha en Córdoba. Todo esto lo decimos para mostrar cómo en este momento de la situación de la Argentina todo el panorama sindical adquiere un profundo contenido político.

En esta situación creemos que la única corriente política que levanta posiciones claras frente al gobierno es el PST, como decíamos antes. Por eso nuestra campaña en el movimiento obrero es de neto contenido político, así como nuestros plenarios y reuniones. De allí la importancia de nuestra campaña de suscripciones al periódico; hay fábricas como Del Carlo, Matarazzo, Acindar (Villa Constitución) y Propulsora donde ya hay más de setenta suscriptores en cada fábrica, esto es un índice del peso político que va adquiriendo el partido en el movimiento obrero.

P. ¿Qué puede decirnos, compañero, acerca de los atentados que día a día se suceden en la Argentina, tanto por parte de la ultraderecha como de la ultraizquierda?

R. Hace poco se conoció a nivel mundial el asesinato de Ortega Peña y Kraiselburd, este último director de un diario de provincia. El primero

fue ejecutado por las bandas de derecha, las mismas, o por lo menos del mismo tronco de las que asesinaron a nuestros compañeros de Pacheco. Son bandas muy entrenadas, muy eficaces, que se plantean liquidar a todos los sectores que más luchan por las reivindicaciones democráticas del movimiento obrero. En el caso de Ortega Peña, él tenía una actuación parlamentaria importante y fue defensor de presos políticos.

Otro caso es el del asesinato de dos militantes de la Juventud Peronista de Quilmes en la provincia de Buenos Aires, que fueron detenidos junto con otro que sobrevivió, por dos personas que exhibían credenciales de la policía. Como el diario *Noticias* le hace un reportaje al sobreviviente, y le da mucha importancia al asunto, el gobierno lo clausura. Evidentemente estas bandas de derecha están apoyadas por el gobierno, también por la burocracia sindical, por la policía y por un sector de las Fuerzas Armadas.

El asesinato de Mor Roig se inscribe en el otro extremo, se lo adjudicaron los Montoneros y fue evidentemente con el objetivo de crearle problemas al gobierno. El de Kraiselburd, si bien es cierto que los Montoneros no han dicho que fueran ellos, los militantes que son apresados cuando se descubre el refugio eran montoneros. En este caso es dable suponer que el objetivo no fue político sino financiero.

En relación a estos hechos se crea una confusión peligrosa sobre todo en la pequeña burguesía, que está tanto en contra de los asesinatos de la derecha, como los de la izquierda y el partido debe diferenciarlos en cuanto al contenido. Aunque aclaramos que estamos en contra del método de los asesinatos, no queremos englobar a los Montoneros con las bandas de derecha porque son dos cosas distintas.

P. ¿Cómo plantea el PST la lucha contra las bandas de derecha?

R. Nosotros decimos que debemos prepararnos para enfrentar estos ataques. En primer lugar planteamos la unidad de acción y llamamos a todas las corrientes a la unidad de acción, contra los ataques de la derecha. Con este método logramos convertir el entierro de nuestros compañeros asesinados en una manifes-

tación de más de 5,000 personas. No fue así el caso de Ortega Peña, donde la dirección no tuvo esta concepción y sólo logró una pobre manifestación de 1,000 personas, cuando Ortega Peña era diputado y podía haberse logrado una gran movilización. El sectarismo impidió lograr un gran impacto sobre el movimiento obrero y popular.

También sobre todo luego de lo de Pacheco, nos planteamos la necesidad de la autodefensa. Esto por supuesto no se comprende de la mañana a la noche, pero es un problema que empieza a plantearse a nivel de la base del movimiento obrero, y es un problema muy importante dado que ya hubo conflictos obreros que han sido atacados. Por ejemplo, en Propulsora,

fueron baleados compañeros que estaban en la puerta de la fábrica. Otro ejemplo, es la destrucción del local de la Lista Marrón de Villa Constitución. Todo esto hace que nuestro planteo de brigadas de defensa empiece a ser una necesidad concreta, pero hay que ganar a grandes sectores de la vanguardia para esta concepción. □

DOCUMENTS

Trotsky, Cannon Discuss Preparatory Work for Founding Congress of Fourth International

[As part of the preparations for the founding congress of the Fourth International, held in September 1938, the Socialist Workers Party sent a delegation to Coyoacán, Mexico, to consult with Leon Trotsky in March 1938. The delegation consisted of James P. Cannon, Rose Karsner, Vincent R. Dunne, and Max Shachtman.

[During the series of meetings, shorthand notes were taken of the conversations. The notes were incomplete and the stenograms remained uncorrected by the participants.

[Some of the stenograms have been published. However, the following one of a meeting held on March 20, 1938, never happened to be included among them as a whole. (An extract was included in the recently issued second edition of *The Transitional Program for Socialist Revolution* by Leon Trotsky published by Pathfinder Press.) It is printed by permission of Pathfinder Press from the forthcoming *1937-38 Writings of Leon Trotsky*, second edition, 1975. (Copyright 1975 by Pathfinder Press, Inc.) We have taken the liberty of correcting obvious typographical errors, and have made some changes in punctuation.

[Of particular interest in this stenogram are Trotsky's estimates of some of the European leaders of the Fourth International and figures close to the movement. Trotsky wanted Cannon, upon whom he relied to take charge of carrying through the preparatory work in launching the Fourth International, to know what judgments he had reached on the individuals who had to be taken into account in particular ways.

[Besides the conversations that were partially recorded, like this one, Trotsky held private conversations with Cannon in which he undoubtedly went into these and related questions in more detail.]

* * *

Leon Trotsky. All the sections have had discussions about the events in Spain, the Sino-Japanese war, the class character of the USSR—and some sections have

even had their splits, like the German section. Your theses¹ are known by all the sections and the same holds true of the French theses.² The question now is only a matter of putting the texts in order.

James P. Cannon. There remains the question of preparing the text for the conference.

Trotsky. We have here prepared the draft of the program—it's possible to get it ready within two to three weeks, then to translate it into English and French. Can your declaration of principles be used for the international conference?

Max Shachtman. No, it's more the declaration of a national section.

Trotsky. Adolphe³ has sent out his draft of the statutes. The German section has prepared the thesis on the character of the Fourth International. It was sent to every section three months ago and it is now published in *Unser Wort* [Our Word].

1. The founding convention of the Socialist Workers Party, held in Chicago December 31, 1937-January 3, 1938, adopted a declaration of principles, a constitution, and a series of resolutions ("theses") on contemporary political problems, many of which were subsequently printed in the weekly *Socialist Appeal*.

2. The second congress of the Parti Ouvrier Internationaliste (POI—Internationalist Workers Party), held in Paris October 30-November 1, 1937, adopted a number of resolutions on the important issues facing the Fourth Internationalist movement and its French section.

3. Adolphe was the pseudonym of a young German revolutionist, Rudolf Klement, who had served as Trotsky's secretary in Turkey and France, and who was now in charge of preparations for the founding congress of the Fourth International. In July 1938 he was kidnapped by agents of Stalin's secret police; his headless body was later found in the Seine.

Shachtman. We haven't received *Unser Wort* for some months.

Trotsky. Perhaps because in your sojourn in the Socialist Party you lost your international connections and you haven't yet been able fully to reestablish them.⁴

You've also had the thesis of Diego Rivera.⁵ The only objection to be made against it is that it is too long for the conference. I read your suggestion that I write on the war question in the light of the latest events. I accept this suggestion with readiness—to supplement and concretize our thesis in the light of recent events. We have something of importance to do. It can be done in the next few days. We have here a draft but not enough persons who can translate from the Russian.

But what is missing is a program of transitional demands and slogans. It is necessary to make a summary of concrete, precise demands, such as workers control of industry as opposed to technocracy. From time to time it is mentioned in the paper but only in passing. But I believe it is one of the slogans that is very important for the U. S.

Lundberg writes a book about the 60 families.⁶ *The Annalist* says that his statistics are exaggerated. We must ask for the abolition of commercial secrets—that the workers have the right to look into the bookkeeping—as a premise for workers control of industry. A series of transitional measures which correspond to the stage of monopolistic capitalism and the dictatorship of the proletariat, with a section corresponding to colonial and semicolonial countries.

We have prepared such a document. It corresponds to that part of the *Communist Manifesto* of Marx and Engels which they themselves declared outdated.⁷ It's only

4. The American Trotskyists entered the Socialist Party in 1936 to link up with a left wing that had developed there. The ironic thrust in Trotsky's remark to Shachtman is explained by the fact that a few members of the Trotskyist nucleus found the left-centrist atmosphere congenial and began to adapt to it. Both Trotsky and Cannon were alert to the danger and moved toward bringing the tactic to an end. Shachtman, however, favored extending the "entry." The problem was solved in the summer of 1937 when the right wing of the SP engineered the expulsion of the Trotskyists. They left, with their numbers considerably augmented, and proceeded to found the SWP at the end of the year.

5. Diego Rivera (1886-1957), the renowned Mexican muralist and painter who had helped secure political asylum in Mexico for Trotsky in 1937, was a member of the Fourth International until 1939, when he left after developing serious political differences. His draft thesis on problems of development in Latin America was later printed in the first issue (October 1938) of *Clave*, a theoretical magazine supported by the Mexican section of the Fourth International.

6. *America's 60 Families* by Ferdinand Lundberg (Vanguard Press, 1937) documented the existence of an economic oligarchy in the United States headed by sixty families of immense wealth. The book, a sensation at the time, became a best seller. The author brought the work up to date in 1968 under the title *The Rich and the Super-Rich* (Bantam Books, Inc.).

7. In 1937 Trotsky wrote an article celebrating the ninetieth anniversary of the publication of the *Communist Manifesto*. This illuminating analysis of the famous pamphlet by Marx

partially outdated. Partially it is very good, and is to be replaced by our conference.

Then I also have a draft of a thesis concerning democracy. The gist of it is that democracy is the most aristocratic form of rule. Only those countries are able to conserve democracy that have slaves in the world, like Great Britain, whose every citizen has nine slaves; France, whose every citizen has one and a half slaves; and the U. S.—I can't reckon the slaves, but it's almost the whole world, beginning with Latin America. The poorer countries, like Italy, gave up their democracy.

It's an analysis of democracy in the light of new events. What is fascization of democracy? The petty-bourgeois democrats become bankrupt. Only the big ones, the greatest robbers, the richest slaveholders, etc., remain democrats.

Such a posing of the question is especially useful for the U. S. Naturally it is not to be written in favor of fascism but in favor of proletarian democracy. Even for the richest country, like the U. S., democracy is becoming less and less workable.

I believe these are almost all we have as propositions for the international conference. The other important questions, the burning questions of the class character of the Soviet Union, the Sino-Japanese war, the question of Spain, have already been discussed by all the sections. We are well prepared for the conference.

I will prepare then 1) transitional demands; 2) the question of democracy; 3) war; 4) manifesto on the world situation; either separately or in the form of one fundamental pamphlet.

Cannon. What about a programmatic manifesto? I wonder whether we should not have such a document?

Trotsky. Yes, it would be very good to have one. It can be done from Europe or it can be done from here. It could be adopted by the international conference itself, or it could be issued by the International Secretariat in the name of the conference itself.

Cannon. On the organizational side of the question—shall we consider this conference as a provisional gathering or as the actual founding of the Fourth International? The prevailing opinion among us is that we would actually form the Fourth International at this conference. We think that the main elements of the Fourth International are by now crystallized. We should make a period to our negotiations and maneuvers with the centrists and henceforth deal with them as separate and alien groupings.

Trotsky. I agree absolutely with what Comrade Cannon said. I believe you will meet some opposition from Belgium, particularly from Vereecken.⁸ For him life

and Engels, weighing what was outmoded in it and what had withstood the test of events, is included as a preface to the Pathfinder Press edition of the pioneer document.

8. Georges Vereecken represented a sectarian tendency in the Belgian Trotskyist movement from which he split in 1935 because of his objections to its entering the Social Democracy in search of recruits. Later he rejoined, only to split again

consists of discussions. As soon as a decision is arrived at, it is a catastrophe for him. You will also find in the conference some element of opposition from the French comrades. I don't know about the opinion held by the various British comrades, but I agree entirely that it is absolutely naïve to postpone.

Naturally we are a weak international, but we are an international. This international will become strong by our own action, not by maneuvers with other groups. Naturally we can attract other intermediary groups but that would be an accident. The general line is our own development. We had a test in Spain for all these intermediary organizations. The POUM⁹ was the most important part of the London Bureau¹⁰ and the same POUM proved to be most disastrous for the Spanish revolution. I believe that our American section should proclaim its position with energy. We have no reason to boast that we are strong, but we are what we are.

Cannon. I think on this point we have to have some explanation for some of the comrades—perhaps in the form of articles or discussions. Some comrades have taken the tactic of maneuvering and making concessions to the centrists as a permanent policy, whereas we think that all our maneuvers with the centrists have been exhausted by now. We were justified two, three, or four years ago in delaying organizational actions in order to complete the maneuvers and experiments with those people, but not now. We noticed in our discussions that there are some comrades who want to carry over the tactic indefinitely—some kind of maneuvers which are doomed in advance to defeat. And for this reason I believe we have to explain this matter to the comrades.

Trotsky. The London Bureau is for us not an arena of action or maneuvers. It's only an obstacle, a petrified centrism without masses. What is of interest to us in the political field is the CP, but there it is not a question of maneuvers but of a resolute struggle.

Shachtman. Have you heard any further news about any developments in the POUM in regard to the emergence of a left wing?

Trotsky. The leaders are now the rights—the worst

in the summer of 1938 before the founding congress of the Fourth International.

9. The Partido Obrero de Unificación Marxista (POUM—Workers Party of Marxist Unification) was founded in Spain in 1935 by a merger of former Trotskyists and other centrists. Its role was analyzed by Trotsky in *The Spanish Revolution (1931-39)* (Pathfinder Press, 1973).

10. The London Bureau was one of the names of a loose international committee of centrist groups in Europe that was founded in 1932 and that expired during World War II. It was strongly opposed to the Fourth International. In addition to the Spanish POUM, it included the German Sozialistische Arbeiter Partei (SAP—Socialist Workers Party), the French Parti Socialiste Ouvrier et Paysan (PSOP—Socialist Workers and Peasants Party), the Dutch Revolutionair Socialistische Arbeiders Partij (RSAP—Revolutionary Socialist Workers Party), and the British Independent Labour Party.

elements of the Maurin¹¹ group; and they have accused those of the Nin¹² wing of being responsible for the catastrophe in Spain by their too revolutionary policy.

Shachtman. And in Holland?

Trotsky. That is the black spot on our political map. It is a classic example of transformation of a sectarian policy into an opportunistic policy, accompanied by a series of defeats.

You know that these left trade unions have existed for the past thirty to forty years. They are not an improvisation of "third period" Stalinism;¹³ they are the result of syndicalist prejudices.¹⁴ Sneevliet¹⁵ became secretary of this organization. It had 25,000 workers and state

11. Joaquin Maurin (1897-1973) was one of the founders of the POUM and a deputy in the Spanish parliament when the civil war broke out in 1936. Arrested and imprisoned by Franco's troops, he was released and emigrated to the United States, where he withdrew from political activity.

12. Andres Nin (1892-1937), a founder of the Spanish Communist Party and secretary of the Red International of Labor Unions, was a Left Oppositionist from 1927 to 1935, when he split away to found the POUM with Maurin. In 1936 he was briefly minister of justice in the Catalan government. Later he was arrested by the Stalinists and murdered.

13. In 1928, to help cover up the opportunistic policies followed by Stalin that had led to the defeat of the Chinese revolution of 1925-27 and to costly setbacks in the West, the Stalinists invented three periods, starting from the Russian revolution. The "first period" was 1917-24, a time of capitalist crisis and revolutionary upheaval. The "second period" was 1925-28, a time of capitalist stabilization. The "third period" was now opening; it marked the final days of capitalism. To match the "third period," Stalin adopted an ultraleft, adventurist policy. Stalin's "third period" line, which included sectarian opposition to united fronts against fascism, helped pave the way for Hitler's triumph in Germany. In 1934 Stalin swerved away from ultraleftism, only to replace it a year later with "popular frontism," a line of open class collaboration with capitalist parties. This line, featured by appeals to the imperialist powers for "peaceful coexistence," has been followed by Moscow to this day save for the brief period during the Hitler-Stalin pact when the Communist parties in the "democratic" capitalist countries followed ultraleft policies.

14. A narrow trade-union, or at best "revolutionary syndicalist" outlook—the view that socialism can be gained by organizing revolutionary trade unions. Trotsky favored revolutionary trade unions but held that even if they appeared here or there that did not at all eliminate the need to construct a revolutionary party on the Leninist model.

15. Henricus Sneevliet (1883-1942) was a founder of the Communist parties of Holland and of Indonesia and a representative of the Communist International in China. He left the CP in 1927 and later formed a small party of his own, which affiliated with the Left Opposition in 1933. In 1935 his party merged with another group to form the RSAP (see note No. 10). Sneevliet was elected to the Dutch parliament in 1933, and he served as president of the Nationaal Arbeids Sekretariat (NAS—National Labor Organization), a radical union grouping that had been formed in 1893. Under Sneevliet's leadership, the RSAP withdrew from the Trotskyist movement early in 1938. He and seven comrades were arrested and executed by the Nazis during their occupation of Holland.

functionaries—half and half—at its height. But the functions of the state are realized through the trade unions. They are subsidized by the state. In this way the bureaucracy of the trade unions became dependent upon the state. Sneevliet and his friends had an apparatus which didn't and doesn't correspond to the strength of the trade unions and the party, but which has as its base the financial support of the state.

Cannon. A direct subsidy?

Trotsky. Yes. It gives the trade unions the possibility to sustain their apparatus. If the state minister withdraws this financial support from these trade unions—and he threatened it—then it's a complete catastrophe immediately. Colijn¹⁶ merely showed a threatening finger to the left-wing trade unions. Immediately all the functionaries left it for other trade unions; and now Sneevliet no longer has 25,000 but a maximum of 11,000 to 12,000.

It is his former radical position, especially on the colonial question, that gave him authority among the workers. He was arrested and when he came out of prison he became a parliamentary deputy.

At that time, in France, we discussed with him and argued that it was impossible for him to remain a secretary of a trade union—a semifunctionary of the state—and a member of a revolutionary party. He told me that he agreed, but he wished to remain as secretary only in order to gain some 2,000 members from the trade unions to the revolutionary party. I said, "Fine, we shall see."

But the evolution was a contrary one. When he entered parliament we waited for a genuine revolutionary speech—it was the first time the Fourth International had acquired a parliamentary deputy. But every speech was equivocal. With his prime minister, Colijn, he was very gentlemanly—absolutely nonrevolutionary.

He will tell you a thousand reasons for his attitude, but he will hide the real reason—his obsequiousness to the government in order to retain financial support for his trade union. Very humiliating, but true.

In this situation, he cannot tolerate any criticism. When a member asks him, "Why, in your parliamentary speech, didn't you say this and that?" he can't answer. He excludes every criticism. In order to fight against us—the Fourth International—he turns for revolutionary camouflage to Spain, and he declares of the POUM, "That's my party." He went to Spain with 500 gulden to give to the POUM—everything was photographed in the papers—he went there and supported the POUM against us.

The POUM had 40,000 members. That's nothing. If you have only 10,000 members—but members who are connected with the masses in rebellion—then you can win a revolution. But 40,000 members separated from the masses—that's nothing.

But Sneevliet, Vereecken, Serge¹⁷ turned out to be strikebreakers. In the true sense of the word, strikebreak-

ers. They were in full solidarity with the POUM against us in this situation and the POUM declared: "If such important figures are against the official position of the Fourth International, then it is possible that we are right." That strengthened the opportunistic tendencies of the POUM in the most critical situation.

Our American friends have a duty—to accuse them energetically; because Spain was a great historical lesson and the result of the policy of Sneevliet is that from 25,000 members in the trade unions, he has now 11,000; and in the new election he lost his mandate. He no longer had 50,000 votes but less than 30,000. His diplomatic speeches had no interest for the workers.

Now he runs to the London Bureau. We can make no concessions to Sneevliet. We have been patient. It has not been a question of two or three weeks; it's a question of at least six years—and we were all very patient, too patient. Now we must draw a balance, because in the most critical period of the Spanish revolution he proved to be a strikebreaker. We cannot pardon him.

Remember how he acted during the last international conference.¹⁸ He came, but as a tourist. He participated in one session; then he telegraphed to Schmidt,¹⁹ who approved and later left the workers movement completely and within a few months went over to the bourgeoisie.

Cannon. Do we have a group in Holland?

Trotsky. Yes, we have a group expelled by Sneevliet, and we have sympathizers in Sneevliet's party. We believe that the attitude of the conference will be decisive for the Dutch party. They must be made to understand that it is not a detail.

As for Vereecken, at the time Sneevliet expelled our comrades, Vereecken approved; because, he said, they had developed a factional attitude inside the Sneevliet party. The Belgian section also has a Dutch-speaking section; and the comrades there endorsed our policy, whereupon Vereecken threatened them with expulsion. They are an international clique; they constantly fight against the line of the IS [International Secretariat]. In a certain sense, Vereecken is a valuable worker, very devoted to the movement, and very energetic, but this worker has all the bad qualities of an intellectual.

his youth. After the Bolshevik revolution he moved to the Soviet Union and worked for the Comintern. He was twice arrested as a Left Oppositionist before being released and allowed to leave the USSR in 1936. He soon developed differences with the Fourth Internationalists and left them before their founding congress. He wrote several important historical works, novels, and a biography of Trotsky.

18. The "last international conference" refers to the First International Conference for the Fourth International, held in July 1936. Trotsky had urged that the international be founded at this conference, but its delegates took an intermediate step, setting up the Movement for the Fourth International. The resolutions adopted by the 1936 conference, several written by Trotsky, will be found in *Documents of the Fourth International (1933-40)* (Pathfinder Press, 1973).

19. Peter J. Schmidt was the leader of a left socialist group in Holland that joined with the Left Opposition in calling for a new international in 1933 and that merged with Sneevliet's group to form the RSAP (see note No. 10) in 1935.

16. Hendrik Colijn (1869-1944) was conservative premier of the Netherlands in 1925-26 and 1933-39.

17. Victor Serge (1890-1947), born in Belgium of Russian parents, spent five years in prison as an anarchist during

Cannon. The thing that we are not satisfied about the European groups is that they never seem to finish a question. They never bring their struggle to a conclusion. Half of the success we have made in the U. S. is due to the fact that we come to a point with people who cannot be assimilated. We discuss with them so far only. When they break from the organization, all relations end.

The European comrades don't bring their discussions to a conclusion. It appears to us that they split too lightly and are too quick to unite again. With such people as Vereecken we have followed the policy of coming to a definitive conclusion after thorough discussion. We cannot build the Fourth International with permanent discussion-mongers.

I think the congress has to lay down its political line and say to all: "Here is our program and platform. Let those who are with us come along on this basis. Let others go their own way."

I believe we must ask the young comrades in the Belgian and French sections to insist on such a position, and terminate all relations with those who reject the congress decisions, no matter who they may be. In the congress itself there should be a discussion on the question of "discussion." We must make it clear that we discuss, not for the sake of discussion, but in order to come to a conclusion and to act.

It was never clear to us, for example, how Vereecken, after breaking so light-mindedly with the Belgian section and so lightly reuniting, could immediately become political secretary—the highest post in the party. It creates the impression that one can tear the organization to pieces with impunity, then unite, and start over again as though nothing had happened. That is a hopeless policy in our opinion. The comrades of the Fourth International must have courage—if a break is made—to make the break definitive.

In the U.S. we consider a break with the organization a capital crime. We do not start all over again with such people the next day. We try to inculcate this spirit in the young comrades so that they will understand that loyalty to the organization is something sacred. They value the unity of the organization in the highest degree. That is why our last discussion²⁰ was so successful—nobody threatened to split. Consequently the party could allow the greatest amount of freedom in the discussion without fear of split or of dragging the discussion out forever.

I think that is one thing the European comrades must develop—the conception that the Fourth International is formed as a definite organization to which every member must be loyal. Those who lightly make splits must be chopped off and cast aside.

Trotsky. I subscribe to every word said by Comrade Cannon. I will only add that the situation in the Belgian party was complicated from this point of view—

20. The "last discussion" refers to the preconvention discussion held by the forces expelled from the Socialist Party in preparation for the founding convention of the Socialist Workers Party. The discussion was marked by serious differences over the class character of the Soviet Union and the organizational principles of the new party.

that it contained members from the Socialist Party without a revolutionary education. We have Dauge,²¹ a young comrade, very active, but educated in the spirit of the Vereecken party, without any spirit of revolutionary discipline. Then there is Lesoil,²² an excellent comrade, who is completely absorbed by his local sphere of action. It was a difficult situation.

That was also the reason why in this situation Vereecken could become again the national secretary. The misfortune was that the comrades from the SP, as soon as they split from it, immediately became partisans of independent trade unions. It was the greatest blow for the new party. I exchanged correspondence with Dauge on this question. It was during our stay in Norway and the police got hold of this correspondence, published it, and accused us of Machiavellian schemes. It made the situation more difficult.

Vereecken is not interested in the trade-union question—only in discussing it. Dauge was in favor of independent unions. Now he has learned a bit, but meanwhile it was a catastrophe for the party. Lesoil was in principle against this attitude, but in practice supported Dauge.

I believe that the separation from Sneevliet is complete and that he will not appear at the conference. He didn't answer my last letter in which I stated that in spite of all, if he wishes to be with the Fourth International, etc., he should answer and we will do what we can, etc.

As far as Vereecken is concerned he should be given a serious warning by a most responsible party. He will appear at the conference and criticize, but I believe it necessary to issue a sharp, personal warning, enumerating all his errors. He should be warned that our patience is at an end. He is not a young boy; he is forty. He is a chauffeur, works eight hours, then he is very active, writes articles, delivers speeches, etc., but he is very dangerous for the party.

Cannon. What progress has the French section made during this year?

Trotsky. They haven't recorded great progress during this year. It was a year of popular front²³ illu-

21. Walter Dauge was a leader of the Belgian Trotskyists, and was elected to the International Executive Committee at the founding congress of the Fourth International. He defected during World War II.

22. Leon Lesoil (1892-1942) was a founder of both the Belgian Communist Party and the Belgian Left Opposition. He was elected to the International Executive Committee at the founding congress of the Fourth International. Arrested by the Nazis in 1941, he died in a concentration camp.

23. An immense upsurge of the working class in France in 1936, which could have opened a socialist revolution, was diverted into electoral channels by the Popular Front, an electoral coalition of the Stalinists, the Social Democrats, and the Radicals (a bourgeois party). The coalition won a majority in the Chamber of Deputies. This aroused high hopes among the workers that the victory signified the end of the capitalist system in France. A coalition government headed by Leon

sions, and only the most courageous elements could approach our party. On the other hand, this situation engendered some sectarian tendencies.

Some elements look for an explanation for the stagnation and the too slow development not in the objective situation—the great wave of popular frontism—but in the insufficiency of our slogans; namely, that we consider it our aim to defend the Soviet Union in case of war.

This is the tendency of Craipeau,²⁴ a very good and honest element, but dogmatic and of a scholastic kind of mind. In many questions his views coincide with Vereecken's, but he is more disciplined in his attitude, more accessible to influence, etc.

The situation in our international is not bad in spite of the sharp discussion on the Russian question. I believe the problem is to check—control—to verify their attitude in the trade unions. The trade unions in France, during the last years, became a powerful organization. They had one million in two organizations. Then they merged and now have five million in the unified organization, and the leadership is more or less in the hands of the Stalinists, and they cover themselves by support of the Popular Front. But now the task is to prepare for the approaching crisis in the Popular Front. A break between the SP and the CP has already started. This should give a forward impulsion to our French section. They have the correct principles, but in their practical work the American comrades can help to check up.

They had two other incidents which hurt the organization. One member of the National Committee was counterfeiting money. I don't know whether it was to make the party prosperous, or for personal reasons. Naturally he was expelled and the party showed it was not done under its direction. But it was a great blow.

The second incident was that of two young comrades, Fred Zeller and Corvin.²⁵ Zeller came to us in Norway with a mandate from the Young Socialists. I told him, "Now you are the center of attack by the Stalinists. You must be cautious."

Immediately he wrote a postal card to a Stalinist, and said, "Down with Stalin!" It was reproduced in the Stalinist press.

Then he wrote me that he had learned a lesson and would be more cautious with the Stalinists.

But he got into the clutches of the Stalinists in some shady intrigue. So did the other young comrades. And

Blum, a Social Democratic demagogue, betrayed these hopes, leading to demoralization among the French workers for a number of years.

24. Yvan Craipeau (1912-) was a leader of the French Trotskyist youth when they were in the Socialist Party's youth organization, and a leader of the French section of the Fourth International during World War II. He left the Fourth International in 1946, joining several centrist organizations in succession. Author of *Le mouvement trotskyste en France* (Editions Syros, 1971).

25. Fred Zeller and Matthias Corvin, leaders of the French Trotskyist youth, were expelled in November 1937 for illicit dealings with the Stalinists; for some time thereafter they attempted to rejoin. Zeller later became a leading Freemason.

they were expelled. They were leaders of the youth movement, and it was a blow to the movement.

I believe that we should warn our youth in the U.S. We have new elements—devoted but not experienced. They don't know what the Stalinists can do to provoke them. Queer propositions will come from different sides. It is possible that you can find a young revolutionary worker or student involved with genuine fascists. They may be from the Gestapo and the GPU²⁶ at the same time. And these intrigues can be absolutely fatal for our organization, for revolutionary internationalism.

R.²⁷ What about Indochina? Don't we have a strong section there?

Trotsky. Yes. It's a very good section. The leader is in prison.²⁸ They had a big weekly, and I believe the organization has been declared illegal by our French socialist minister of colonies. I believe that so was the paper. I do not know if it comes out regularly now. I haven't seen it for two months.

Shachtman. Yes, it comes out. I've seen copies.

Cannon. And Molinier?²⁹

Trotsky. Molinier publishes a theoretical organ. He declares that he is in principle with us but our organizational policy is bad, that he has a better one. His organization is permeated by hatred against our organization.

It is very possible that you will be obliged, objectively, to devote attention to this question, and that at the conference Vereecken will defend him. Molinier should re-

26. Despite the propaganda denouncing fascism in the Stalinist press at the time, Stalin sought a "peaceful coexistence" deal with Hitler. A natural area in which to test out the possibilities was in hunting down revolutionists. Reciprocal work between the secret political police of the two regimes reached its peak during the Hitler-Stalin pact.

27. "R" was probably Vincent R. Dunne (Ray Dunne), or Rose Karsner, although it could have been Rae Spiegel, who took the shorthand notes at this meeting.

28. The imprisoned leader of the Indochinese section was Ta Thu Thau, who was one of its founders in the early 1930s. In 1937 the Socialist minister of colonies in the French Popular Front government, Marius Moutet, had Ta Thu Thau arrested for writing a "seditious" article. Ta Thu Thau was elected to the International Executive Committee at the founding congress of the Fourth International, and to the Indochinese Colonial Council in 1939. He was murdered by the Stalinists in August 1945.

29. Raymond Molinier (1904-) was a leader of the French Trotskyists with whom Trotsky collaborated on many issues until 1935, when he was expelled for violating discipline. *Documents of the Fourth International (1933-40)* contains resolutions passed in 1936 and 1938 explaining why Molinier's applications for readmission were rejected. Upon the outbreak of World War II and the German invasion of France, Molinier was forced into the emigration, going to South America. His group merged with others to form a unified French section of the Fourth International during World War II.

main outside, but the others—his members—can be admitted if they apply individually and if he remains outside. He is an element that can be very useful, but only when we have a big organization. In an organization such as ours his people are only disrupters. You can propose to him to come to the U.S. and promise him friendly personal relationships and after a year we will see.

As for the German section, it is more a question of organizing their paper. Naturally, as an emigré movement it has no mass base. It has *Unser Wort*, which appears regularly. The German sections of Switzerland, Austria, and Czechoslovakia have established a theoretical monthly, *The Only Road* [Der Einzige Weg]. The German section proper is not represented but Walter Held³⁰ participates in it.

I have written to him, asking him why the section does not participate and I await an answer. The best thing would be to transform the organ into one for all the German-speaking comrades, and I believe it is feasible. We have very good comrades, Johre and Fischer.³¹ Johre is a very good Marxist. In emigration things are very bad. He is embittered. That's why he refused to issue a theoretical monthly for the whole section. But it's necessary.

The comrades are very well educated theoretically. Adolphe, for example, was quite green a few years ago, but now he is an educated Marxist. He writes very well in three languages and knows six other languages. But the misfortune is that Sneevliet, Vereecken, and now Serge refuse to recognize the authority of the IS—because it is composed of young boys, and their policy is a thousand times better.

Cannon. And Maslow-Fischer?³²

Trotsky. They are Maslow-Fischer. On all questions that provoked a discussion—Russia, Spain, China—they are against our line. They have a paper and they

30. Walter Held was a German Trotskyist who fled to Norway after Hitler came to power. He served as a secretary to Trotsky when he was granted asylum in Norway. In 1941, after the German invasion of Norway, Held tried to reach the United States by way of the USSR and Turkey, both of which granted him the necessary transit papers. But the GPU took him off the train at Saratov and executed him.

31. A. Johre and Oskar Fischer (Otto Schuessler) were leaders of the German Trotskyists in emigration. Fischer served as a secretary to Trotsky in Turkey and again in Mexico. Both broke with the Fourth International during or after World War II.

32. Arkady Maslow (1891-1941) and Ruth Fischer (1895-1961) were central leaders of the German Communist Party in the 1920s. They were expelled by the Stalinists in 1927 because as supporters of Zinoviev they had defended the Russian United Opposition. In 1928 they helped to found the German Leninbund, which collaborated with the Left Opposition until 1930. Maslow and Fischer withdrew from the Leninbund, and in the mid-thirties drew closer to the Left Opposition. In 1935 Fischer was nominated by Trotsky for co-optation on the International Secretariat, where she served for at least a year. By 1938, however, both of them were withdrawing from the Trotskyist movement.

sign their articles "Buntari"—insurgents.³³ They're always insurgents. It's a different mentality they have.

Serge is an excellent poet, a literary man. He writes very well and he has a long anarchist past. He remained in Russia for years in the Stalinist prisons. He was a courageous and honest man and did not capitulate, which is a very good characteristic. But he didn't follow the development of the Fourth International. He came with some very vague ideas—with the imagination of a poet—to embrace the whole world: the POUM, the anarchists,³⁴ us.

I received a personal letter from him, referring to Sedov,³⁵ and in it he mentioned that in spite of differences of a secondary nature, etc., etc., he is with us. Only they are not of a secondary nature.

It would be very good if our American friends took the initiative in advising him not to enter into politics. I, too, will try to write to him—it's a very delicate matter—that I consider him one of the best revolutionists and one of the best writers, but not a politician.

Rosmer³⁶ is very friendly to us. He was connected with Sneevliet but he is now dissatisfied with him. I don't believe that he will take an active part in the movement, but his moral authority can be very useful to us.

It is very hard for our French comrades. They live amidst financial misery—there is absolutely no comparison with our rich Yankees. A \$1 bill—30 francs—in the IS is a fortune.

Cannon. We have sent \$50. We have a regular monthly pledge for the IS.

Trotsky. Oh, that's very, very good. And they are very economical.

It is necessary to have a subsecretariat in New York with the perspective that the subsecretariat may become the real secretariat. We do not know the fate of Europe if fascism continues to advance. If it does, then America will be the only place, and a subsecretariat is necessary. □

33. *Buntari* is a Russian word.

34. The anarchists headed masses of workers numbering in the hundreds of thousands in Spain at the time. They were in position to lead a socialist revolution there but failed the historic test. Ironically they betrayed their main principle—opposition to all forms of the state—by accepting posts in a bourgeois government that helped pave the way for Franco.

35. Leon Sedov (1906-38) was Trotsky's son and closest collaborator and a leader of the Fourth International in his own right. He served on the International Secretariat for several years in Berlin and Paris and was coeditor with Trotsky of the *Biulleten Oppozitsii* (Bulletin of the Opposition). He was killed by the GPU in a Paris hospital in February 1938.

36. Alfred Rosmer (1877-1964) was a revolutionary syndicalist and collaborator of Trotsky in France during World War I. He was a leader of the Communist International and the French Communist Party until he was expelled in 1924. He was a leader of the Left Opposition and a member of its International Secretariat until November 1930, when differences with Trotsky led him to withdraw. Their personal friendship was renewed in 1936, but he did not rejoin the Trotskyist movement.

Official IRA Heads Down Blind Alley

[The following article appeared in Vol. 2, No. 11 of *The Plough*, the newspaper of the Revolutionary Marxist Group, the Irish section of the Fourth International. The article was signed by the Dublin Branch, RM.G.]

* * *

The inability of the present Official leadership to develop a coherent, not to mention correct, strategy for the post-Sunningdale* period is alarming many rank-and-filers and supporters. In a situation where membership has fallen to an all-time low, where the circulation of the *United Irishman* [the Official monthly paper] has dropped by a third in a very short period, and many longstanding leaders have been expelled or have resigned, the prevailing course of the Officials can only discredit the organisation further.

As early as August 1969 the Officials' strategy of trying to win the Protestant working class by restricting the struggle to purely civil rights issues was proven to be totally false. But the leadership had so miseducated its followers and staked so much on this strategy in its controversy with the Provos that it lacked the ability and courage to change course once its mistake had been proven. Instead of recognising the growth of reactionary politics among Protestant workers, they continued to pretend that the Loyalists were striving for unity with the Catholic community.

When the UWC strike occurred they found themselves in an acutely embarrassing position. They could not

deny the reactionary nature of the strike without appearing out of touch with reality. The *Coiste Seasta* [Executive Committee] of Official Sinn Féin [the political wing of the Official republican movement] in the June *United Irishman*, declared that "the leadership (of the strike) is fascist, the policies are fascist, the tactics are fascist and the basis now exists for a complete fascist take over in the North."

It is obvious that if the UWC leaders are "fascist" and that the way is open for a fascist take-over, then the Catholic working class is in great danger and that the elementary duty of socialists is to prepare the strongest possible opposition to the UWC. But those who are currently directing the Officials' policy proved incapable of taking this next step in the logical development of their argument. In the editorial of the same issue of the *United Irishman* it was stated that "the UWC success in smashing the middle class alliance executive has added a new dimension to Northern politics. It is too early yet to say whether or not the central feature of the Council is the workers dimension. But the cool treatment of West-Craig-Paisley [the right-wing Unionist politicians] by the twenty-one-man committee augurs well for the future."

The fascist nature of the "twenty-one-man committee" was overlooked, the fascist tactics ignored, the imminent threat of a fascist coup was forgotten. Instead of opposing these reactionary leaders it was suddenly necessary "that Republicans must seek to develop an understanding with the UWC."

With such a confused understanding of the Loyalist strike it was impossible for the Gardiner Place [Official republican] leaders to appreciate to what extent the strike changed the political atmosphere in the North. Instead of seeing the UWC strike opening up a period which would aid the West-Craig-Paisley triumvirate consolidate its influence over the Protestant working class, nourish the growth of anti-Catholic militarism, and lead inevitably towards a major sectarian confrontation, the Officials saw the period being characterised chiefly by the growth of Protestant working-class independence and the decline of the tra-

ditional Orange [settler ascendancy] movement.

In a thinly veiled criticism of the disquieted members in the ranks of the Officials, the July *United Irishman* explained that one must "recognise that the traditional Unionist politicians were being by-passed by a new organisation of essentially working class leaders" and it stated confidently "on this occasion the splits in the ranks (of Orangism) will be deepened by a growing awareness of how the Protestant workers were manipulated by the old Orange guard."

Having so drastically misjudged the implications of the UWC strike, the Officials were led to the most reactionary conclusions. The strategy they projected was one of abandoning the Catholic minority to the tender mercies of Loyalism.

On the 10th of August, Tomás McGiolla, president of Official Sinn Féin, called for the formation of a United Front Against Internment as the key to unlocking the potentials of the present period. The basis of this united front he suggested should be formed by what he claimed were the only two organisations to carry out mass mobilisations. "These two organisations are the UWC and NICRA [Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association, the rump of the old civil rights united front, which is closely linked to the Officials]," he said.

To see what this perspective implies, it is necessary only to examine a statement issued by NICRA a few days after McGiolla's speech. NICRA pointed to the growth of Loyalist militarism and correctly stated that Rees' stalling on the "third force" was giving prestige to the para-military groups who constituted one of the most malignant elements in a deteriorating situation of sectarianism. But the most energetic para-military groups behind the "third force" idea are the Orange Volunteers, the Ulster Volunteer Service Corps, the Red Hand Commandos, and the Ulster Special Constabulary Association—all of which are on the UWC. In other words, according to NICRA (long dominated by the Officials) it is these very forces which comprise the backbone of the UWC that were leading the fight for an unequivocal return to Protestant ascendancy. And it is with these forces that the current helmsmen of the Officials recommend that the Catholic popula-

* The Sunningdale agreement among the three governments that claim to legislate for Irish territory—London, Dublin, and Belfast—was concluded at the end of 1973. Among other things, it provided for a provincial assembly in Northern Ireland in which the traditional nationalist party would "share power" with the Unionist party, the Protestant ascendancy party associated with unity with Britain. The "power sharing" scheme collapsed, at least temporarily, when the Ulster Workers Council strike in May forced the Unionists to withdraw from the joint executive. At the end of May the London government suspended the assembly and formally resumed direct rule over Northern Ireland.—IP

tion should unite to fight for democracy!

Worse still, the Officials leadership wilfully ignores the fact that West, Craig, Paisley are members of the UWC. And it was Craig who on June 7 warned that any attempt to prevent a return to Protestant ascendancy would result in bloody confrontation. "If there is no other way to achieve a constitution or maintain the heritage we believe in," he said, "we will be waging civil war in the full sense of the word." So it is with such cutthroats

on the UWC that the Officials seriously suggest that the Catholic workers should form an alliance to defend themselves!

The line now being pursued by the Officials is not just another mistake by a group of sincere revolutionaries. A determined clique now has its hands around the throat of the organisation. Whereas in the past, the mass base and activity of the Officials could be relied upon to prevent such people reigning for too long or bringing their policies to logical conclusions,

this is now unlikely. The Officials are now little more than a political sect buoyed up by the prestige of yesteryear. They are slowly sinking into oblivion. Any major attempt to change course now will only result in further disintegrating the organisation. Those within the Officials who wish to continue the fight for revolutionary politics must be prepared to accept this obvious consequence, otherwise they will end up like others—helplessly towed in the wake of reformism. □

In Defense of the Swedish Vietnam Movement

[The following statement was issued August 13 by the Political Bureau of the RMF (Revolutionära Marxisterna Förbundet—Revolutionary Marxist League, the Swedish section of the Fourth International) and published in the August 16 issue of the RMF's weekly paper *Internationälén*. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

In recent months an intense debate has been conducted in the Swedish press over the line for solidarity work in defense of the struggle in Indochina. This has involved the platform of the solidarity movement, but at the same time it has opened other questions: developments in South Vietnam since the 1973 Paris accords, the U.S. policy in Southeast Asia, the nature of the Soviet Union, the role of China, and other questions.

Regarding this debate, the *Vietnam-bulletin* has had the following to say:

"The DFFG's [De Förenade FNL-Grupperna—the United NLF Groups] right to discuss their own future has been under discussion. There has been a debate over the question of procedure. But it would have been more useful for Indochina and for all us anti-imperialists if the discussion had been over the real question: What is the state of things in the world today?" (Issue No. 5, 1974.)

Those who in this way reduce the subject of the debate in *Aftonbladet* and other papers to a procedural question must have put on blinders. To be sure, there were some repulsive contributions, such as the hypo-

critical letter by the Social Democrat John Olle Persson, but these did not dominate the debate. Most of those who have criticized the DFFG leadership have not done so on narrow formal grounds but out of justified political opposition to the *content* of the DFFG leadership's new line. What will the consequences be of the DFFG's joining in a front against the superpowers, the USA and the Soviet Union, where the Indochina problem is to be treated as only one of a number of equally important questions?

This turn must mean that Indochina solidarity will get relatively less attention from the DFFG activists. The DFFG leadership is trying to justify this by a false interpretation of developments in South Vietnam since the Paris accords. This question is taken up elsewhere in this issue of *Internationälén*. Let us simply repeat the DFFG's own view. It is summed up in the following cynical formulation:

"Vietnam is no longer the flashpoint of the primary contradiction in today's world. Hard struggles are being waged on other fronts—Palestine, the raw materials question, and the question of the boundaries for fishing rights." (From the Swedish FNL's newsletter for members, No. 6, 1974.)

Another result of the proposed turn would be that the Indochina question would be taken up in only a very limited way—from a nationalist standpoint, insofar as this struggle can give a good example of how small nations can fight the superpowers. In conjunction with this, the social and class content of the Indochinese revolution would be com-

pletely pushed out of the picture.

For us Trotskyists, it is interesting—but sad—to study the development of the DFFG leadership.

A few years back we explained our opposition to the DFFG's version of the flashpoint theory. It was not that we were opposed to an Indochina organization putting its stress on Indochina, as was claimed. Nor did we want to see the DFFG expanded into a "general anti-imperialist organization," as we were accused of doing. (Doesn't this argument rebound sharply now against the DFFG leadership?) Rather we wanted to oppose the DFFG's failure to study imperialism as a system and their failure to understand that the struggle against this system must be international and thus that the DFFG for their part had to collaborate to a greater degree with other anti-imperialist organizations.

For a long time we were painted as traitors to the Vietnamese cause because we argued that *unconditional* support did not necessarily have to be *uncritical*, that it was quite possible to take the lead in militant solidarity work without having to agree on every point with the Indochinese comrades' analyses and diplomatic statements. How ironic it is that the very people who ranted against us for years about this are now not only criticizing the Indochinese in a way we never did but also sweeping the Indochinese comrades' positions under the rug and falsifying them.

On one question, the DFFG leadership has managed to make a 180-degree turn twice, namely on its attitude toward the VPK [Vänsterpar-

tiet Kommunisterna—Left party of Communists, the name of the pro-Moscow Swedish CP since 1967] and united-front work with this party. After the DFFG, under the influence of the KFML of the time,¹ included the concept of social imperialism in their program as a characterization of the Soviet Union, they dumped it in 1972 so as not to endanger the united-front work with the VPK that the SKP [Sveriges Kommunistiska Parti—Communist party of Sweden, the name assumed by the main right-opportunist Maoist group in 1973] and DFFG leadership wanted. Today the pendulum has swung back.

What has happened now—the SKP fraction's using the DFFG leadership to ram through a decision turning the DFFG into a more direct instrument of their party's policy—has a long history.

Even before this, it was the needs of the SKP that molded the DFFG's studies and propaganda; it was this party's interests that determined the DFFG's relationship to the VPK, SAP [Socialdemokratiska arbetarpartiet—Social Democratic Workers party], and the RMF; it was the SKP's analyses that underlay the formulations of the DFFG's program. Hitherto, however, the DFFG has had great prestige, and many of the SKP's points of view gained such momentum among the left that opposition was limited.

Now the situation is different. In recent years, the SKP's position has suffered a relative weakening, and the new turn is running into opposition from all the organizations left of the SAP and outside the Maoist wing. It can only be hoped that the debate that has now been opened will deepen and draw the historical lessons, and that the SKP domination of the Indochina movement will be completely eliminated.

We agree with the critics who have argued in the debate that it is a sec-

1. The Kommunistiska Forbundet Marxist-Lenisterna (Communist League of Marxist-Leninists) later split into two groups reflecting the two sides of Maoism, an ultraleft "Third Period" group and a right-opportunist "Popular Front" group. The right-opportunist group, which maintained control of the DFFG, renamed itself the SKP (Sveriges Kommunistiska Parti—Communist party of Sweden) in 1973, reviving the name that had been dropped by the pro-Moscow party in 1967. —IP

tarian orientation for an organization devoted to solidarity with Indochina to get involved in deep programmatic analyses of a series of ideological questions. This goes not only for the nature of the Soviet Union or China but also for the question of the concrete course of the revolution and the policy of the Indochinese leadership. This is a sectarian orientation because it unnecessarily narrows the base of a solidarity group and prevents currents that are prepared to give unconditional support to the Indochinese liberation struggle from participating in organized common work. On the other hand, it is of course completely justified from the standpoint of the needs of the Indochinese struggle to criticize the Soviet Union and China for giving insufficient aid.

The DFFG's present program—which includes far-reaching analyses—should be replaced by a statement of basic guidelines for action. A central slogan should be established, and at the same time the immediate tasks should be summed up in an action program with more limited demands and slogans.

The central slogan must reflect an understanding that—despite great advances—the decisive victory has not yet been achieved and that solidarity work must continue until all Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia are liberated from the economic as well as the political oppression of imperialism. The slogan of "Solidarity to the Final Victory" corresponds best to the situation in Indochina and to the needs of the solidarity movement.

Five themes should be included in the action program:

1. Demands and slogans directed against interference by the imperialist powers and first of all by the USA (U. S. Out of Indochina, and more precise versions of this).

2. Demands and slogans directed against the puppet regime and its backers (Free the Political Prisoners; Political and Trade-Union Rights; etc.).

3. Demands and slogans directed against the Swedish government (Break With Saigon—Recognize the PRG, Recognize the GRUNC; Stop Swedish Business From Profiteering out of the Vietnam War).

4. Slogans and demands designed to express our solidarity (Uncondi-

tional Support to the Vietnamese People; Support the NLF; Send Money to Postal Account 400 499-0).

5. Slogans and demands that reflect the necessary internationalist orientation of this solidarity work (International Solidarity, International Struggle).

The three slogans² that have long guided the DFFG's work are essentially correct but in the present situation must be made more precise and complete.

Adopting a statement and an action program of the type we have described provides the necessary *minimum platform*, while not excluding political currents for no good reason. But on the organizational level, in order to end the suppression of other political views and permit the maximum mobilization, it is necessary to give tendencies the right to express themselves internally and externally, a principle that has been profitably applied in the last year by the Chilekommitté [Chile Committee].

The action program must also provide the basis for subsequent special campaigns on a broad minimum platform around certain limited slogans, campaigns along the lines of the DFFG's present Vietnam weeks but with full freedom of tendencies. The most important theme seems now to be a campaign around the slogans "The Struggle in Indochina Continues" and the demand for Sweden to "Break All Ties With Saigon and Recognize the PRG."

The line that the SKP and DFFG leadership is pushing now is a death-blow to Indochina work in Sweden and means the liquidation of the positive aspects of the DFFG. Therefore it has to be fought. Therefore the SKP's domination of the solidarity movement has to be broken. The present development in the DFFG's leadership has at least had the benefit that many persons both inside and outside this organization have begun to discuss the SKP's policy. This discussion must continue.

Comrades!

Go to the root!

Take up the struggle for a correct line!

Take up the struggle for leadership in the solidarity movement! □

2. The three slogans are "USA Out of Vietnam," "Support the NLF," and "Fight U. S. Imperialism." —IP