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An Interview With Philip Agee

Inside the Central Intelligence Agency



Paving the Way for Mao's Successor

Behind China's New Constitution

Mobilizations in Greece Protest New Cases of Torture

Why Healy Expelled the 200 From WRP

First Time in English

Trotsky's Speech at Adolf Joffe's Funeral

FBI Behind Firing of Antiwar Professor

New information on the secret police campaign against "dissidents" in the United States was made public January 29 when the Political Rights Defense Fund released fourteen pages of FBI documents detailing some of the agency's activities against antiwar activist Dr. Morris Starsky.

The documents show that in 1970 former FBI director J. Edgar Hoover directly authorized the mailing of anonymous letters to discredit Starsky, who was then appearing before a faculty committee reviewing his contract to teach. The letters falsely accused Starsky of threatening to beat a fellow socialist in an argument over money.

Starsky, an associate professor at Arizona State University from 1964 until 1970, was the organizer of the first antiwar teach-ins there. The best-known radical in Arizona, he eventually joined the Socialist Workers party. In January 1970 he canceled a class in order to speak at a rally against racial discrimination. Right-wing forces in the state legislature and board of regents used this as a pretext to demand that he be fired.

Although the faculty committee that heard Starsky's case recommended that he be retained, the regents refused to accept this verdict.

A spokesman for the FBI declined to comment on Starsky's case. Instead, he referred reporters to a statement by FBI director Clarence Kelley, who explained last November that "F.B.I. officials involved in these programs acted entirely in good faith and within the bounds of what was expected of them. . . ." □



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Maoist Congress Adopts New Constitution

By Dave Frankel

The day after it had adjourned, the people of China were informed that the National People's Congress—formally the highest governing body in the country—had met in Peking January 13 to 17. The congress, the first in ten years, opened with two reports. The first, on the revision of the country's constitution, was given by Deputy Premier Chang Chun-chiao; the second, on the work of the government, was given by Premier Chou En-lai.

According to the official communiqué printed in the January 24 issue of *Peking Review*, "The Congress was held at a time when the socialist revolution and socialist construction in our country had registered brilliant achievements, when in particular the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution had won great victories and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius had scored big successes and when the situation both at home and abroad was excellent. From beginning to end the Congress was permeated with an atmosphere of jubilation, unity, vigour and militancy. It was a congress of unity, a congress of victory."

The communiqué reported that after unanimously approving the reports by Chou and Chang, "The deputies celebrated the accomplishment of these glorious and historic tasks with prolonged applause."

Despite the self-congratulatory rhetoric, the congress actually reflected a deep insecurity in the Chinese bureaucracy. This was shown especially in the revision of the constitution of the People's Republic of China.

No Pretense of Discussion

When the "Stalin constitution" was adopted in the Soviet Union in 1936, Leon Trotsky subjected it to a withering criticism. He noted that the proposed draft of this constitution had been submitted to the Soviet population for its "consideration." "It would be vain, however," he wrote, "to seek in this whole sixth part of the globe one Communist who would dare to criticize



CHOU: Ten million youths sent to "mountainous and other rural areas."

a creation of the Central Committee, or one nonparty citizen who would reject a proposal from the ruling party. The discussion reduced itself to sending resolutions of gratitude to Stalin for the 'happy life.'"

But in the case of the Chinese constitution, there was not even the pretense of public discussion. The first the people of China heard of it was after it had already been adopted. Even the 2,864 delegates to the National People's Congress first began discussing the document January 5—only eight days before the opening of the congress.

Of course a constitution is only an outline on paper; its guarantees may or may not be enforced. The promises about democratic rights in the Stalin constitution were meant to impress liberal opinion in the imperialist democracies. For the millions of purge victims they might as well not have existed. But the new Maoist constitution makes the one introduced by Stalin

look like a blueprint for the millennium. It goes considerably further than even Stalin went in formally codifying the substitution of the party for the state, the party leadership for the party as a whole, and the individual dictator for the collective party leadership.

Article 3 of the new constitution declares, as did the 1954 constitution that preceded it, "All power in the People's Republic of China belongs to the people. The organs through which the people exercise power are the people's congresses at all levels. . . ."

But article 2 states: "The Communist Party of China is the core of leadership of the whole Chinese people. The working class exercises leadership over the state through its vanguard, the Communist Party of China."

Thus, power belongs to the people but is exercised by the "vanguard." And for those who miss the import of article 2, the point is repeated several more times.

Article 16, for example, begins to define the structure of the state by explaining, "The National People's Congress is the highest organ of state power *under the leadership of the Communist Party of China.*" (Emphasis added.)

The section in italics was not in the 1954 constitution. Its application was indicated in a January 17 communiqué in *Hsinhua*, the Chinese news agency, which announced that the Central Committee of the Chinese CP "decided to submit to the National People's Congress for deliberation 'the draft revised text of the constitution of the People's Republic of China', 'the report on the revision of the constitution', 'the report on the work of the government', as well as lists of nominees for the membership of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and the State Council."

Here we have "the highest organ of state power." Its agenda and the reports it considers are first approved by the Chinese CP, as are the nominees it chooses for government posts.

Obviously, the real government is the party leadership, and the pretense of an independent government apparatus is simply a sham.

Centralization

Although the party has been the decisive force in China since its conquest of power, the *formalization* of its total power over the state is an important step. One of the tasks carried out by the National People's Congress was the formal abolition of the post of head of state, because in the past the head of state—Liu Shao-chi—happened to come into conflict with the head of the party.

Another source of potential conflict was eliminated—at least on paper—by the approval of article 15 of the constitution. This explains that "the Chinese People's Liberation Army and the people's militia are the workers' and peasants' own armed forces led by the Communist Party of China. . . ."

"The Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China commands the country's armed forces."

The armed forces are commanded by the party chairman, not by the government. As Chang Chun-chiao said in his report on the constitution, "All this will certainly help strengthen the Party's centralized leadership over the structure of the state and meet the desire of the people of the whole country."

In the absence of any democratic discussion, what "the desire of the people of the whole country" is, is debatable, but Chang's point about centralization is indisputable.

Iron Fist

The iron fist is prominently displayed even in those sections of the constitution paying lip service to the idea of democratic rights. Article 13, for instance, says, "Speaking out freely, airing views fully, holding great debates and writing big-character posters are new forms of carrying on socialist revolution created by the masses of the people."

Then comes the purpose of such activity. "The state shall ensure to the masses the right to use these forms to create a political situation in which there are both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease

of mind and liveliness, and so help consolidate the leadership of the Communist Party of China over the state and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat." (Emphasis added.)

What the Maoist regime means by "speaking out freely, airing views fully, [and] holding great debates" was shown in an item in Hsinhua dated July 7, 1974, which stated:

"When the criticism movement was forging ahead this spring, a number of teachers and students at Peking University and other institutions left the campuses to explain the *directives* of the Party Central Committee on the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius and other relevant material to a total audience of several hundred thousand workers, peasants, soldiers and government cadres." (Emphasis added.)

Anyone rash enough to engage in critical activity beyond the scope of the party directives would soon find out that the "criticism campaign" had a new target.

Those naïve enough to think that the average Chinese citizen should have a say in politics are sternly admonished in article 26 of the constitution. "The fundamental rights and duties of citizens," it says, "are to support the leadership of the Communist Party of China, support the socialist system and abide by the Constitution and the laws of the People's Republic of China."

To disagree with the Maoist leadership is to violate the basic law of the land.

Mao's Role

The bourgeois press in the United States, virtually without exception, has speculated that the absence of Mao from the congress indicated that he disagreed with some of its decisions. But the fact that the chairman of the Communist party—which Mao remains—was named as commander of the armed forces casts doubt on the idea that Mao lost out in a conflict with his lieutenants.

Furthermore, the Mao cult was written into the preamble of the constitution, which says, "our great motherland will always advance along the road indicated by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought."

A more likely explanation for Mao's absence was given by Leo Goodstadt in the January 31 *Far Eastern Economic Review*. "The family rifts were patched up at the Fourth National

People's Congress in Peking," Goodstadt writes. "So confident was the old man that, while it was being held, he retired to a winter retreat 1,000 miles away from the capital.

". . . his decision not to fly to Peking may have been a reminder to the nation that its leader has no illusions of immortality. . . ."

Whatever the truth about Mao's role in regard to this particular congress, there can be no doubt that its attempts to strengthen the control of the top party apparatus over all aspects of life in China were motivated by fear of what may happen when Mao dies.

Before turning to other aspects of the congress, some additional features of the constitution should be noted.

● Even the Stalin constitution recognizes in principle the right of the constituent nationalities of the Soviet Union to secede from the state. This was a basic part of the Bolshevik program on the rights of the historically oppressed nationalities, and one that Lenin devoted his last efforts to defending and amplifying. The Chinese Stalinists, to their shame, have repudiated even the formal recognition of this right for such distinct nationalities as the Tibetans and Inner Mongolians. Article 4 of the constitution states:

"The People's Republic of China is a unitary multi-national state. The areas where regional national autonomy is exercised are all inalienable parts of the People's Republic of China."

● The new constitution's preamble enshrines the Stalinist theories of building socialism in one country and of peaceful coexistence with imperialism, along with the repulsive cult of Mao Tsetung Thought. Even a formal reference to the eventual triumph of the world revolution and the establishment of a single human society is missing from this document.

The Maoist preamble concludes, "The Chinese people are fully confident that, led by the Communist Party of China, they will vanquish enemies at home and abroad and surmount all difficulties to build China into a peaceful socialist state of the dictatorship of the proletariat so as to make a greater contribution to humanity.

"People of all nationalities in our country, unite to win still greater victories!"

Compare this with the "Declaration of Union" which headed the Soviet constitution adopted in 1923, under

Lenin and Trotsky. It said, "Finally, the very structure of the soviet power, which is international in its class character, calls the toiling masses of the Soviet Republics toward a unity of one socialist family."

It concluded that the Soviet Union "shall be the voluntary association of these sovereign nations on a basis of equality, each republic reserving to itself the right of free withdrawal from the Union, that admission to this Union shall be open to all Soviet Socialist Republics such as are now existing and such as shall arise in the future . . . that it shall stand as the firm bulwark against world capitalism and form a decisive step toward the union of the toilers of all countries into one World Soviet Socialist Republic."

Such language is alien to the Maoist bureaucrats, whose only interest is to solidify their own base of power, and whose highest ideal is their own advancement.

● Article 27 of the new constitution asserts, "The state protects marriage, the family, and the mother and child." It is precisely marriage and the family that have been the historical forms through which the enslavement of women has been carried out, and a genuine revolutionary government, while not attempting to mechanically abolish these institutions by decree, would never give them its blessing.

Successful Stabilization?

Although both the 1954 constitution and the newly adopted one call for yearly meetings of the People's Congress, which may be advanced or postponed "when necessary," this congress was only the fourth since the Chinese CP came to power. The previous congress was held in 1964.

The ten years since the last congress were a period of turmoil in China. Both Chou and Chang asserted in the very beginning of their reports to the congress that things had been successfully stabilized.

"Since the Third National People's Congress," said Chou, "the most important event in the political life of the people of all nationalities in our country has been the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution personally initiated and led by our great leader Chairman Mao. . . . The victory of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has consolidated the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country,

promoted socialist construction and ensured that our country would stand on the side of the oppressed people and oppressed nations of the world."

In his report on the constitution, Chang said: "Through repeated trials of strength with enemies at home and abroad, and especially through the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution of the last eight years which destroyed the bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-chi and of Lin Piao, the people of all nationalities in our country are more united and the dictatorship of the proletariat is more consolidated than ever."

It is certainly true that the Maoist leadership appears to be more united than at any time in the recent past. But the history of the Chinese CP is one of factional warfare waged by various bureaucratic cliques. The 81-year-old Mao doesn't have long to live, and the top bureaucrats are trying to patch together a party regime that will guarantee a stable succession. They know that renewed clique warfare might open opportunities for the masses to intervene with their own demands.

Thus, the claims that the country is "more united," and the regime "more consolidated than ever," have at least as much to do with the hopes and fears of the bureaucrats as the reality of today. This explains why the single most consistent thread running through the congress reports, as well as through the revision of the constitution, was the need to strengthen the repressive apparatus and the centralized control of the party bureaucracy.

'Magic Weapon'

The dictatorship of the proletariat, said Chang, "is the magic weapon with which the people of our country vanquish enemies and protect themselves. We must treasure it and constantly strengthen it."

His comment on the centralizing provisions in the constitution has already been quoted. Similarly, Chou said, "We should rely on the broad masses to deal steady, accurate and hard blows at the handful of class enemies, with the emphasis on accuracy."

Only a "handful of class enemies," yet Chou explained, "*Our primary task* is to continue to broaden, deepen and persevere in the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius. The

struggle between the two classes, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the two roads, the socialist and the capitalist, and between the two lines, the Marxist and the revisionist, is long and tortuous and at times even becomes very acute." (Emphasis added.)

Both reports and the preamble to the constitution include the Stalinist theory of "sharpening class struggle" following the overthrow of capitalism. In *State and Revolution* Lenin, restating the theory of Marx and Engels, explained that the capitalist state was an instrument of repression used by a minority against the majority of society. He explained that a workers state, representing the majority of society, would have less and less need to resort to the forms of repression required under capitalism once the armed resistance of the exploiters had been broken.

The Stalinist bureaucracy, however, did require such a repressive apparatus in order to protect its privileges against the mass of workers and peasants. Instead of withering away, the state apparatus was strengthened, and

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the internal regime was turned into a police dictatorship.

Following their Soviet mentors, the Maoist bureaucrats maintain that although capitalism has been abolished in China, the industry nationalized and the proimperialist armies shattered, it is necessary to continually strengthen the repressive apparatus against the threat of capitalist restoration. In reality, it is not capitalism they are afraid of, but the Chinese people.

The fear of the masses acting independently was behind Chou's exhortation to the congress delegates in which he said, "We must resolutely support the centralized leadership of the Party. . . . *it is the Party that exercises overall leadership.* We must put all fields of work under the unified leadership of the Party committees at various levels.

"We must carry forward the glorious tradition of observing discipline, conscientiously practise democratic centralism, and, on the basis of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, achieve *unity in thinking, policy, plan, command and action.*" (Emphasis in original.)

'Message From the King of Hell'

The meaning for the Chinese people of the decisions proclaimed by the so-called People's Congress are often hidden behind the rhetoric of stock phrases, the Maoist substitute for political discussion and analysis. The constitution informs the reader, for example, that "we should build socialism independently and with the initiative in our own hands, through self-reliance, hard struggle, diligence and thrift and by going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results; and we should be prepared against war and natural disasters and do everything for the people."

One line in Chou's report, however, gave a small indication of how "the magic weapon" of repression is being used in China today. "Nearly ten million school graduates have gone to mountainous and other rural areas," Chou told his audience.

This is the regime's method for weeding out and isolating the millions of working-class youth mobilized by Mao against his factional opponents in the early days of the Cultural Revolution. Having used demagogic promises of proletarian democracy to

push the Red Guards into motion—promises that are notably lacking in the present constitution—the regime now fears that many of these disillusioned youths have now become carriers of oppositional ideas.

Deportations from the cities of young persons who had participated in the Red Guard movement began in 1967. In December 1973, Hsinhua gave a figure of eight million for those exiled to the countryside. In his report, Chou stated that the number has now grown by nearly two million.

A former Red Guard quoted in an article in the November 30, 1974, issue of *Saturday Review-World* gives a vivid description of the way such banishment to "rural and mountainous areas" is viewed by the victims. He explained:

"There was a big meeting attended by all the teachers and students. And a big red poster was put up with a special sign on top in gold, just as on a wedding announcement. And underneath were the names of everyone who was to be sent to the countryside. The way they presented it—you might think it was a great honor. When all the girls saw their names, they burst our crying. But we boys just laughed. Who cares? If you pointed 10 guns at me, I'd still laugh.

"Then an individual notice was sent to each home—with a whole ceremony, gongs, and firecrackers, more than on New Year's Day. . . .

"We students called this individual notice a message from the King of Hell, telling us to hurry on down."

Viewed in this light, one change from the 1954 constitution is particularly interesting. The provision that stated, "Citizens of the People's Republic of China enjoy freedom of residence and freedom to change their residence" has been dropped, thus formalizing the existing system of internal passports and mandatory residence permits.

Although the congress was mainly concerned with China's internal situation, one pronouncement by Chou on foreign affairs caught the attention of the world press. He said in his report, "The two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, are the biggest international oppressors and exploiters today, and they are the source of a new world war. Their fierce contention is bound to lead to war some day. The people of all countries must get prepared. Detente and peace are being talked

about everywhere in the world; it is precisely this that shows there is no detente, let alone lasting peace, in this world."

It is certainly true that détente cannot guarantee peace. The war drive of imperialism is not something that can be altered short of its overthrow. But the point of Chou's statement was not to warn against making deals with imperialism at the expense of the world revolution. On the contrary, he was warning the imperialists that Moscow is an unreliable ally, and that Peking would prove a more dependable substitute.

"Soviet social-imperialism," says Chou, "'makes a feint to the east while attacking in the west.'"

Although Chou doesn't really expect a war between the United States and the Soviet Union, as was indicated by the focus of the congress itself, he uses this device as a means to make clear that the Maoists would be willing to unite with imperialism against the Soviet Union in the event of such a war.

The Maoist policy on this score was best expressed, in all its narrowly nationalist shortsightedness, in a Hsinhua dispatch dated July 6, 1974. The dispatch said:

"In furtherance of its expansionist ambition Soviet social-imperialism is handling Japan with kid glove and mail fist and applying the stick-and-carrot policy in an attempt to put Japan into its orbit of hegemony. . . .

"Linking its military bases on Japan's four northern islands with those in Vladivostok and other places in the Far-East, the Soviet Pacific fleet and military aircraft can control the Soya and Tsugaru straits and the Japan Sea and roam in north and west Pacific. *This is spearheaded first and foremost against the U.S. Seventh Fleet* and at the same time threatens Japan's security." (Emphasis added.)

The same policy has led the Maoist regime to give its support to the blood-soaked reign of the shah of Iran on the basis of the shah's hostility to the USSR.

Counterrevolution abroad and stifling dictatorship at home—that was the promise of the Fourth National People's Congress to the people of China and the world working class. The need for a political revolution by the mass of the Chinese workers and peasants to sweep the rotten Maoist bureaucracy out of power has never been clearer. □

Ford Pushes for More Saigon War Aid

By Ernest Harsch

Washington's recent moves to step up military aid to Saigon and Phnompenh, and its threats of renewed intervention in the Indochina fighting, have touched off protests in the United States.

About 2,500 demonstrators marched to the White House January 26 to denounce President Ford's request for more funds for the war in Southeast Asia. On January 27, demonstrators at a rally held on the Capitol steps demanded that Congress cut off all aid to the Thieu and Lon Nol regimes.

Despite widespread opposition, Ford asked Congress on January 28 to appropriate an additional \$300 million in military aid for Saigon and \$222 million more for Phnompenh. He also called for a lifting of the \$377 million ceiling on overall assistance to the Lon Nol regime. This would enable Washington to supply its Cambodian puppet with more aid through the so-called Food for Peace Program.

Congress had originally authorized \$1 billion in military aid to Saigon for fiscal year 1974, but limited actual appropriations to \$700 million. Ford's request for the \$300 million supplement was to cover the period through June of this year. In addition, Saigon is scheduled to receive \$400 million in "economic" aid from Washington this year. It was also reported that Ford's budget for fiscal 1975 will include a proposal for \$1.3 billion in arms aid to Saigon.

Since the conclusion of the January 1973 "cease-fire," the U.S. Congress has so far authorized more than \$6 billion in U.S. military and economic aid to the regimes in South Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos, according to figures released by Representative Les Aspin.

Ford declared that the additional \$300 million would not cover all the needs of Saigon's forces. Instead it was the "minimum needed to prevent serious reversals by providing the South Vietnamese with the urgent supplies required for their self-defense



Oliphant/ Denver Post

"Anyone care to give again to Vietnam. . . ?"

against the current level of North Vietnamese attacks." He termed it "an investment."

Other government officials joined this chorus. According to the January 23 *Christian Science Monitor*, Secretary of Defense James Schlesinger said at a recent news conference, "It would be a serious error on the part of the U.S., and I believe a serious moral lapse, for us to contemplate the semi-abandonment of an ally by failure to provide them with the appropriate financial resources."

On January 27, State Department spokesman Robert Anderson charged that there was "an escalation of North Vietnamese military pressure against the South" and pledged that Washington was "going to support the Government of Vietnam with military and economic aid so they can defend themselves."

Vice-President Nelson Rockefeller termed the \$300 million to Saigon as "essential" on January 26. He claimed that Saigon's "not having enough strength" had encouraged more fighting.

Dictator Thieu added his voice dur-

ing a January 27 interview with *Washington Post* correspondent Philip A. McCombs. He said he wanted to "impress on the American people and the American Congress that we badly need their support . . . to resist Communist aggression and the takeover of South Vietnam." He declared: "I won't give up! We won't give up! Not President Thieu!"

Ford's request for more war funds followed a concerted White House campaign to convince the U.S. population that Hanoi and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam had embarked on an "offensive" against Saigon and that they were responsible for the breakdown of the "cease-fire" agreement. Anthony Lewis, in a column in the January 16 *New York Times*, outlined the scenario for this campaign.

"The State Department," Lewis wrote, "issues a grave warning against truce violations by the Communist side. Hanoi says that American reconnaissance flights have resumed in violation of the peace agreement and of later explicit undertakings; U. S. of-

officials deny it, then admit it, saying that breaches by the other side allow us to ignore the agreements. The Secretary of Defense warns that American opinion reacts 'in anger to outright aggression.'

"The immediate purpose of all the orchestration is plain enough. The Administration is going to ask Congress for a massive emergency increase in military aid to Vietnam. It knows that it faces great resistance, based on logic and experience, so it raises the cries of alarm to a new pitch of shrillness."

Trying to add some credence to its charges, Washington released documents January 30 that claimed Hanoi was moving from one to two army divisions to South Vietnam. "The suggestion by State and Defense Department officials," wrote John W. Finney in the January 31 *New York Times*, "was that North Vietnam might be getting into position for a major offensive, which South Vietnam would be unable to counter without additional military aid from the United States."

The major bourgeois newspapers in the United States also took up this tune. Despite a qualifier that there were violations of the "cease-fire" agreements on both sides, an editorial in the January 25 *New York Times* claimed that "the current violations by North Vietnamese forces in the South are the most serious, on a military scale, that have yet taken place." The *Washington Post*, in a January 28 editorial, stated, "It would be wrong, in our judgment, for Congress to enforce a one-sided cease-fire by denying the South Vietnamese adequate means of self-defense."

The hypocrisy of Washington's charges of "Communist aggression" becomes clear when Thieu's record is examined. Anthony Lewis pointed out in the January 16 *New York Times*, "The justification for intensified American intervention is that the Communists have upset the peace agreement made two years ago. But the evidence is rather the other way on initial responsibility for the breakdown of the truce."

Lewis then quoted an article by Maynard Parker in the current issue of the quarterly *Foreign Affairs*: "Almost from the moment the agreement was signed, President Thieu took to the offensive in an attempt to eradicate the Communist ink spots [areas controlled by the liberation forces]. . . . The second phase, which began on

Jan. 4, 1974, with a speech by Thieu ordering the Army 'to hit them in their base areas' and ended in May, 1974, resulted in a marked increase in large-scale offensive operations. . . ." On January 25, the PRG charged that Saigon had violated the cease-fire agreement 533,000 times in the past two years.

As *New York Times* diplomatic correspondent Leslie H. Gelb noted in the February 2 issue, the "predictions of possible North Vietnamese offensives seem to correlate better with the American budgetary cycle than with the weather in Vietnam."

One indication of how much Washington is willing to spend came at the end of July 1974, when Kissinger presented Congress with a plan for economic and military assistance to Saigon for fiscal years 1976-80. Although he classified most of the report as secret—including the projected military aid data—it was reported that the anticipated economic aid alone would be between \$1.9 billion and \$2.6 billion in "constant" 1974 dollars (which could be about 3.8 billion real dollars for the period 1976-80).

Historian Gabriel Kolko commented in the January 20 *New York Times*, "The complete Kissinger five-year plan for Vietnam shows, in effect, that the Administration is seeking only to gain further Congressional and public patience with a policy of sustaining with billions a moribund Saigon economy and an incredibly bloody level of military combat."

Washington's propaganda campaign carries with it the implicit threat of renewed U.S. military intervention in Indochina, as was shown by the recent declaration that it no longer feels bound by the Paris accords (see *Intercontinental Press*, January 27, p. 88).

"To escalate the American role now," *Times* columnist Lewis wrote, "is to chase the old delusion that we can impose our settlement on the Vietnamese. If we start down that road again, no one should expect it to stop at arms aid. Secretary of Defense Schlesinger, in his remarks about 'aggression' rousing America to anger, signaled the possibility of U.S. forces going back into combat."

In a January 21 news conference, President Ford left open just that possibility. When asked if there were any circumstances in which Washington

might reenter the Vietnam war, Ford replied that he didn't foresee any "at the moment." "Are you ruling out the possibility of bombing, U.S. bombing over there, or naval action?" a reporter asked. Ford answered: "I don't think it's appropriate for me to forecast any specific actions that might be taken."

Defense Secretary Schlesinger has already admitted that Washington has resumed its reconnaissance flights over North Vietnam. The liberation forces in South Vietnam have stated that U.S. reconnaissance planes "guided" South Vietnamese aircraft during the fighting in and around the provincial capital Phoucbinh.

In a January 17 *Washington Post* column, Tad Szulc described how the resumption of reconnaissance flights could quickly lead to greater military intervention: "If American pilots are lost, the administration may again invoke the need to protect U.S. lives by assigning armed escorts and, as one step leads to another, order 'protective' hits at North Vietnamese anti-aircraft emplacements."

Any reescalation of the U.S. involvement in the Indochina war, however, would be an extremely risky proposition for the U.S. rulers. The continued antiwar sentiment in the United States will make it difficult for Congress to accept Ford's aid request. Even Senator Henry Jackson, a longtime defender of Washington's Vietnam war policies, who now has his eye on the 1976 presidential campaign, has hesitated to publicly support the Ford proposal.

Kissinger also reflected concern over a possible resurgence of antiwar protests when he said at a news conference January 28, "Let me express the hope that what we are asking for doesn't rekindle the entire debate on Vietnam. . . ." □

Israeli Raids Spark Protests in Lebanon

Lebanese demonstrators surged through the streets in Beirut, Tripoli, Tyre, Saida, and other cities January 30 to protest the Israeli destruction of Kfar Shouba, a village in southern Lebanon.

Southern Lebanon itself was paralyzed by a general strike. Although demonstrators chanted anti-Israeli and anti-U.S. slogans, their protest was also directed against the inaction of their own government. They demanded aid to the victims of the Israeli raids and a better defense system against Israel.

Behind the Walls of Iran's Torture Chambers

By Majid Namvar

An investigation by Yves Baudelot, a Paris lawyer who visited Iran in November 1974, has produced further evidence on the wide use of torture in the shah's jails.

Baudelot's visit was made on behalf of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers and the International Association of Catholic Lawyers. While in Iran he met secretly with former prisoners and relatives of prisoners. They gave him detailed statements about detention, torture, and political repression in Iran.

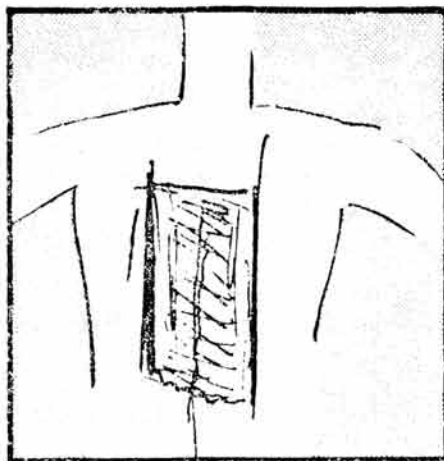
According to an account of his investigation published in the January issue of the *Amnesty International Bulletin*, Baudelot was refused interviews with the prime minister and other government officials in Iran. His request to visit the Comité and Evin prisons in Tehran, which are the main centers for pretrial detention of political prisoners, was also turned down.

Baudelot also tried unsuccessfully to obtain information on the case of Simian Salehi, a physician arrested in August 1974, when she was five months pregnant. Salehi is thought to have died in prison as a result of torture.

Some of the information gathered by Baudelot confirmed reports previously obtained by the London *Sunday Times*, which published a well-documented account of torture in Iran in its January 19 issue.

"The Iranian government flatly denies the use of torture in its prisons," correspondent Philip Jacobson reported. "But a *Sunday Times* investigation over a period of two years—based on personal testimony from prisoners, interviews with prisoners' families and reports from impartial observers—has produced a weight of evidence supporting such allegations which cannot be dismissed.

"Examination of the cases in The *Sunday Times* dossier," Jacobson added, "reveals a clear pattern. The prisoners who are alleged to have been tortured fall into three broad categories: left-wing activists who either



Sunday Times

Sketch of prisoner Ahmadzadeh's "toast-back," made by lawyer Nuri Albala.

support or take part in guerrilla operations; Moslem dissidents opposed to what they regard as the religious and political repression of the Shah, some of whom also turn to armed resistance; and those people, predominantly middle-class intellectuals, who were unwise enough to criticize the regime, in private or public, and were reported to the police. Most of the prisoners whose cases were examined were men under 30, but there are also allegations of young women being tortured and first-hand reports of attacks on young children."

Two such cases of torturing young children were also reported in the January *Amnesty International Bulletin*.

In the first one a seventeen-year-old was whipped and given electric shocks before the eyes of the father. In the second, "a 4-year-old child was whipped and cut in the neck with scissors before the eyes of the mother."

"One of the former prisoners," the *Bulletin* added, "told that it was so unbearable to see his child being tortured that he wished he had a knife to kill the child and put an end to its suffering."

According to the *Sunday Times*, the shah's torturers are all members of his secret police, SAVAK, headed by General Nemat-Ollah Nassiri. The shah himself, however, bears the ultimate

responsibility for the murderous operations of this secret network.

In his lengthy report, Jacobson outlined the methods of torture used by SAVAK. These include: "felacca, the sustained flogging of the soles of the feet, extraction of finger and toe nails, electric shock treatment to sexual organs and the thrusting of a broken bottle into the anus of prisoners suspended by their wrists from a beam."

Victims of SAVAK are also subjected to mental torture. According to the *Sunday Times* correspondent, some of the political prisoners, "were prepared in elaborate detail for their own execution, being led to the edge of a freshly dug grave and blindfolded before being 'reprieved.'"

Another method of torture extensively practiced by SAVAK is the "Hot Table." SAVAK is thought to have invented this instrument, which Jacobson describes as "an iron frame, rather like a bed-frame, covered with a wire mesh which is electrically heated like a toaster. Prisoners would, it is alleged, be strapped to the table while it was heated until it became red hot." At least one prisoner "is said to have died after suffering on this barbaric device," Jacobson reported.

SAVAK's use of the "Hot Table" was revealed through the case of Masoud Ahmadzadeh, who was sentenced to death in 1971. When Ahmadzadeh's case came before the appeals court in February 1972, two French lawyers were able, despite the government's obstructions, to attend the session as observers for international associations of lawyers.

Nuri Albala, one of the lawyers present in the courtroom, later described to the *Sunday Times* what he saw on Ahmadzadeh's chest and back.

"The whole of the middle of his chest and his stomach was a mass of twisted scars from very deep burns. . . . I am no doctor but I estimate they were several months old. His back was even worse. There was a perfect oblong etched into it, formed by a continuous line of scar tissue. Inside the oblong, the skin was again covered

in shiny scars from burning. I would estimate that the width of the table marks on his back was at least nine inches."

That same day the French lawyers were allowed to interview two prisoners at Evin. They spoke to Nasser Sadegh and Ali Mihandoust, who at the time were awaiting trial on political charges. The two have since been executed.

"Albala asked Sadegh if he or his colleagues had been tortured," Jacobson reported. "An interpreter conveyed Sadegh's long reply as: 'No, only beaten when we were first arrested.'"

"By facial gestures," Jacobson added, "Sadegh indicated that this was not what he had said. Albala then asked him directly in English, 'Were you beaten?' 'No, toasted,' Sadegh replied."

While the SAVAK agents were taking the lawyers out of the room, Sadegh shouted: "Let them know that I saw Behruz Dehghani die near me

in the torture room."

According to Iranian law, prisoners must be brought before a magistrate after twenty-four hours of detention. SAVAK's victims, however, are reported to be held incommunicado for several months. During this time (the "danger period") the prisoner is subject to the worst kind of torture.

The immediate aim of SAVAK is to obtain a signed "confession," incriminating not only the victim but also those friends and relatives who are suspects. Any resistance to signing the "confession" leads to the next stage of "serious interrogation."

According to Jacobson, this takes

place at the Evin prison in special blocks known as "inquiry rooms." It is there that the "Hot Table" is kept.

"Several former prisoners have testified," he reported, "that they were taken into the torture chamber after hearing dreadful screams coming from it and immediately noticed 'a smell of roasted flesh.'"

When asked by the *Sunday Times* to comment on the charges made by Baudelot, a spokesman for the Iranian Embassy in Paris cynically replied: "We have no political prisoners in Iran. His Majesty the Shah on several occasions recently has spoken of the fact that we have no need to carry out torture." □

Italian Police Raid Florence Clinic

Demonstrations Protest Abortion Arrests

The government's denial of the right of women to abortion sparked protests throughout Italy after the arrests of six staff members of a Florence abortion clinic following a raid in early January. They were charged with having committed a "crime against the integrity and health of the race."

Arrest warrants were also issued for other staff members of the Centro Informazioni Sterilizzazione e Aborto (CISA—Center for Information on Sterilization and Abortion), the sponsor of the Florence clinic. In addition, forty women had charges filed against them for having obtained abortions at the clinic.

Among those arrested were Gianfranco Spadaccia, national secretary of the Radical party, which administers CISA; Giorgio Conciani, a physician and secretary of a branch of the Liberal party; and Adele Faccio, a sociologist and director of CISA. Faccio was arrested January 26 while addressing a national conference on abortion attended by 3,000 persons.

Following the arrests, the Movimento di Liberazione della Donna (MLD—Women's Liberation Movement) called for a mobilization "to bring onto the piazzas of Italy the thousands of women who have abortions every day and who directly feel the violence of a system that forces them to undergo the terror of clandestine abortions."

According to a report in the January 19 issue of the Italian newsweekly *L'Espresso*, other women's organizations, political parties, and prominent individuals added their voices to the protest.

On January 12, hundreds of persons marched through Florence. Mainly women, they came from Rome, Milan, Padua, Bologna, and other cities, de-

manding "quick, cheap abortions." Signs described the Vatican's campaign to make 1975 a "Holy Year" as a "Holy crusade against women." *L'Espresso* reported: "Many persons followed the cortege, some applauded. The atmosphere was one of sympathetic interest and participation."

CISA was founded in 1973. At the last congress of the Radical party, CISA director Adele Faccio reported that the center had organized 6,000 abortions in Italy and more than 1,000 in Britain. The clinic charges 150,000 lire (about US\$235) for an abortion, but provides them free for women who cannot afford such a sum.

Estimates of the number of illegal abortions performed in Italy range from 500,000 to three million a year. An illegal abortion often costs more than 500,000 lire (about US\$780).

A further sign of the reactionary character of the government's attack on the right to abortion came when the public prosecutor in Rome charged the managing editor of *L'Espresso* with offending religion—a crime under Italian law. The "offense"? He published a story in the January 19 issue entitled "Abortion: An Italian Tragedy." The cover illustration showed a pregnant woman nailed to a cross. □

It has become increasingly difficult for the Iranian regime to stem the flow of information about its brutal repression of political opponents. In the past six months alone, a number of influential U. S. magazines, including *Time* and *Newsweek*, have published reports of the torture of Iranian political prisoners.

At the same time, there has been growing support for efforts to defend victims of the shah's secret police. In the United States, the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran* has sponsored several public meetings across the country.

One such meeting was held January 9 at the University of California at Berkeley. The meeting, one of the largest ever in defense of Iranian political prisoners, was attended by more than 800 persons. Speakers included Iranian writer Reza Baraheni, released from jail and allowed to go abroad after an extensive international campaign in his behalf; former Pentagon Papers defendant Daniel Ellsberg; writer Kay Boyle, representing Amnesty International; and poet Lawrence Ferlinghetti.

*156 Fifth Avenue, Room 600, New York, New York 10010.

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How Women Unionists Are Organizing in Puerto Rico

By Margarita Babb

[The following article appeared in issue No. 1 of the Puerto Rican feminist publication *Tacón de la Chanclleta*.

[In their introduction to the publication, the editors explained:

"When a girl is born in Puerto Rico she is still known as a *chancleta* (slipper), and the father who has only daughters is known as a slipper-maker. The *chancleta* is always on the floor and is confined to use inside the home. In addition, it is an object of little value.

"We believe that a *tacón* (heel) has been added to this slipper. In spite of the fact that we women are breaking down barriers, we occupy a clearly inferior position and are underutilized in all areas, notably in the work force.

"That is, with the *tacón* you can go out into the street and you are a little bit above floor level. But you are still a *chancleta*.

"This publication arises from the need to raise women's consciousness and to reexamine the situations that have unjustly led us to be called and treated as *chancletas*."

[The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

"We are working toward forming a federation of Puerto Rican women labor leaders so as to be able to draw in all women who have distinguished themselves in the labor field."

This was the answer given by Graciela Martínez, president of the *Unión de Empleados Públicos de Hospitales* [Hospital Public Employees Union], when asked if women trade-union leaders had made any proposals to the leadership of the organized labor movement for dealing with the problem of the inferior status of women.

In a recent interview, Graciela Martínez gave her reactions to the fact that unlike the mass of workers, who seem to have more willingly accepted participation by women in the trade unions, male union leaders regard

their female counterparts as "intruders."

"They (the male leaders) meet even with the governor and don't inform us (the female leaders). And they don't invite us to take a part either," she said.

The three other women presidents of public employees unions are Elba Vallés de Bing of the *Asociación de Empleados de la ACCA*,¹ Gloria Villahermosa of the *Asociación de Empleados de la Autoridad de los Puertos*,² and Sara Torres of the *Asociación de Empleados del Instituto de Cultura Puertorriqueña*.³

Graciela mentioned that on Labor Day a group of leaders was present at the *Fortaleza* [governor's mansion], but no women leaders were among them.

"We were not invited by the government or by the male labor leaders," she said. "They (the male labor leaders) don't think women have the ability and perseverance to lead trade unions."

At a meeting of union leaders held several months ago in the *Cueva del Chicken Inn*, Graciela said that she brought up this obvious indifference of the male *compañeros*. Those present included Pedro Grant of the *Movimiento Obrero Unido*,⁴ Félix Rodríguez of the *Federación de Maestros* [Teachers Federation], Federico Quiñonez of the *Hermandad de Empleados Exentos no Docentes de la UPR*,⁵ and Bonilla of the *Asociación de Em-*

pleados del Departamento de la Vivienda.⁶

We asked what their response was.

"They kept quiet. They just sat there dumbly. They didn't say a word. That is, silence was their answer at the time," said Graciela.

We pursued the question, asking Graciela if the women leaders had brought up this problem before the organized labor movement as a whole.

It was then that she revealed her plan for organizing a federation of women labor leaders, one of whose aims would be to take up the problem of the evident inequality between the leaders of the two sexes.

"Once we get organized here, we want to affiliate to the international organization of women labor leaders, which has groups in the Latin American countries. In fact, we plan to invite the president of the organization, a Colombian, to attend our organizing meeting next March."

We asked her why the Latin American women leaders decided to organize.

Graciela answered, "For exactly the same reasons as ours. In these sister countries we have virtually the same fixation—the woman's place is in the home. In Colombia, for example, single women must work. But once they marry, their husbands forbid this. For them, it would be degrading for their wives to work outside the home."

In Puerto Rico "I see a lack of interest in us among the male labor leaders. That is, the way they view us as intruders, their way of acting shows it.

"They still think the woman should stay in the home. That is why I say they view us as intruders.

"They have given me leaflets saying that women are chickenhearted, that we can't hold leadership positions

1. Agencia de Compensacion para Accidentes Automovilisticos—Motor Vehicle Accident Compensation Agency.

2. Association of Port Authority Employees.

3. Association of Puerto Rican Cultural Institute Employees.

4. United Workers Movement, a broad coalition of labor unions headed by Grant, a Puerto Rican Socialist party leader.

5. Brotherhood of University of Puerto Rico Non-Faculty Employees.

6. Association of Housing Department Employees.

because when big problems arise, we run away."

I should point out here that the members of the Unión de Hospitales at the Río Piedras medical center have waged three strikes in defiance of court injunctions.

Recruiting women to the union was very difficult, Martínez stated.

"As Puerto Rican women we are brought up to believe first of all in the home and husband. For Puerto Rican women, home and husband come first. Women think, or have thought up to now, that without the consent of their husbands they cannot make decisions for themselves," she pointed out, giving her opinion on resistance to unionization among women.

"I had to bring the message to such women that they, as women and workers, had to defend their rights in the workplace," Graciela continued, "that their husbands would be their representative afterwards, but that they had to resolve their problems at work right away.

"So women began to realize that if they felt it necessary to consult their husbands about joining a women's labor organization, they could do it, but that when the boss berated or propositioned them, they had to defend themselves on the spot."

Today, fifteen years after founding the Unión de Empleados Públicos de Hospitales, Graciela Martínez, the first woman founder of a public employees union, thinks that workers are still affected by such basic problems as lack of adequate housing, difficulties in making ends meet, and family problems.

"We must broaden the range of trade-union activity, find the means to fight in these cases," said Graciela, explaining that she often has to intervene personally in various government agencies to get them to solve some social problems of her members.

"There are many cases of violence involving men hitting women," she said in answer to a question. "This is quite frequent in cases when the man is very male chauvinist. He has mistresses or is very jealous. Women arrive at work in a nervous state, obviously having been beaten up.

"This situation in large measure flows from the environment in which the couple is raised, where usually

the educational level is low."

We wanted to know the attitude of men toward women coming into the work force.

"Women have been accepted well by their fellow workers," said Graciela. "Men realize that the power of the labor movement is doubled by the participation of women.

"Our experience has been that once the woman makes a decision to come into the struggle completely, she is solid. She is not afraid. She participates most effectively when the fight is for better working conditions and justice. Some men tell us: No, if you women really get into something, it's scary."

Graciela Martínez came into the work force as an employee at the Sunbeam electrical equipment assembly plant, which was then located in the Tres Monjitas Industrial Park in Hato Rey.

It was 1959. Graciela was a 27-year-old widow and mother of four.

Recalling that experience she told us, "I saw that the only means I had to defend my rights as a woman and as a worker was through the union."

Her experience at Sunbeam not only helped her become a staunch trade unionist. It also awakened her consciousness of the problems confronting the working woman.

"There I became aware of how women were abused. The Americans (administrators of the factory) thought that they could exploit women. If the women didn't give in to their propositions, they threatened them. I was a victim of that and I rebelled. I saw that the only means of expression I had was the union," said Graciela.

Years later at the medical center, Graciela has had to intervene to solve problems where section heads have succeeded in sexually exploiting a woman worker through intimidation, often by threatening to fire her.

At Sunbeam Graciela was elected shop steward, where she says that she worked on "what most affected women and what was the result of the discrimination against them—overwork."

After Graciela had worked six years at Sunbeam, the company's tax-exempt status expired. It moved out, leaving 245 workers without jobs. This was only three months after the signing of a collective-bargaining

agreement that she and her co-workers had devoted many hours to negotiating.

Nonetheless, Graciela was already well known as an active unionist outside her work place—in the Sindicato Obrero Insular [Island Workers Union], which she had founded with another woman, Aida Vega Bauzá, and five men—Pedro Grant, Juan B. Emmanuelli, Moisés Lebrón, Luis Rivera, and Julio Scioville. Later Graciela married Scioville.

The couple went to the United States for two years and when they returned, Juan B. Emmanuelli, president of the Sindicato Obrero Insular, approached Graciela asking her to contribute her abilities as a labor organizer to the union.

Graciela accepted. However, she demanded that the union not just verbally give her credit for her work but recognize her value by granting her a place in its leadership, and that it allow her to organize the public service workers.

The medical center at Río Piedras, where Graciela began her work, turned out to be a fertile field. The cleaning crew, which she organized first, were earning \$140 a month. They had no right to vacation or to overtime pay.

In certain areas of the center women were simply not hired. In other sections, they made up a tiny minority.

"The women candidates," Graciela stated, "took a written examination the same as anyone else but when they were interviewed, they were rejected because supposedly no jobs were available.

"When women were hired, it was for the worst jobs," she said, adding that this situation persists up to today, although to a lesser extent.

Graciela said that she became the founder of the hospital employees union when an attempt by unionists at the medical center to nominate her for the presidency of the Sindicato Obrero Insular was blocked. The dissident group split from the SOI and endorsed Graciela as leader of a new organization.

At present, the Unión de Empleados Públicos de Hospitales has 1,500 dues-paying members and is in the process of organizing more than 600 workers in different towns on the island. □

Inside the CIA

[Philip Agee, an officer in the U. S. Central Intelligence Agency for twelve years, quit the agency in 1969. At that time he held the rank of colonel. He has since written a book, *Inside the Company: CIA Diary* (published by Penguin Books in Britain), giving a detailed account of clandestine CIA operations in countries where he had been stationed.

[The following interview with Agee was obtained by Robin Blackburn and Tariq Ali. It appeared in the January 1 issue of *Red Weekly*, newspaper of the International Marxist Group, the British section of the Fourth International.]

* * *

Question. Could you tell us exactly what you did in the CIA?

Answer. I was recruited originally in 1956, and my career ran until early 1969. I was in training until 1960, then I went to Ecuador where I served under cover of being a diplomat until the end of 1963. From early 1964 to late 1966 I was in Uruguay, and from 1967 till early 1969 I was with the CIA in Mexico City.

During that period I handled, directed, and initiated most of the different types of operations that the CIA undertakes in the third world, including both "collection operations" [information gathering] and "action operations" which involve propaganda, trade-union work, youth and students, etc. This meant I was responsible for directing the work of dozens of agents in each country where I was stationed.

Q. Why did you decide to leave the Agency in 1969?

A. When I first went into the CIA, I really believed what I'd been taught, from a very young age onwards: that there is a "third way" between the traditional imperialism of the nineteenth century and earlier and revolutionary socialism. This is Wilsonian foreign policy [i.e., the "liberal" foreign policy pioneered by U. S. President Woodrow Wilson at the end of World War I], the search for a third way in which liberal capitalist nations would seek their self-interests and serve the greatest good of the greatest number.

Little by little as I worked for CIA, I began to question whether we were really promoting the reforms which we preached about. I began to find that the more successful our operations were the further away the reforms got. As a result I began to question the possibility of this so-called

"third way" and finally came to the conclusion that there really wasn't one and that what we were promoting around the world was simply a new version of the classic imperialism of the nineteenth century.

Q. When did these doubts begin?

A. A series of factors coincided in mid-1965. The invasion of Santo Domingo was one. There a reformist president—whom the CIA had helped to promote in the early 1960s—was not allowed to come back and play his rightful role in leading his country. I concluded from this that it must have been economic powers in the United States, principally the sugar interests, who wanted to keep him out, as he had developed a program of agrarian reforms which would have affected their interests adversely.

Also there was this incident of torture, which had more of an emotional effect on me than anything else. That happened several months after the Santo Domingo intervention. What happened was that we were in a "state of siege" in Uruguay and the head of station [top CIA official in a particular country] wanted to help the police look a little better because they hadn't been able to arrest any of the labor leaders. They had been searching for these trade-union leaders and couldn't find them. Two of our agents were in the self-defense squads of the Communist party of Uruguay, and we had, of course, the names of the leaders of these squads. The chief of station asked me to give to the police the name of the leader of one of these squads—Oscar Bonaudi. I gave the name for preventive detention, not thinking that anything else would happen.

About four days later, on a Sunday morning, the chief of station (at that time John Horton) and I were sitting in the office of the chief of police, an army general named Ventura Rodrigues. Also at this meeting was a colonel named Roberto Ramirez. He was the chief of the Metropolitan Guard, an antiriot shock force.

We in the CIA had just written a false document in the station that weekend "proving" that certain named officers of the Soviet Embassy were directing the trade unions in their struggles in this period of the state of siege. This document was to allow the government to justify the expulsion of those falsely accused Soviet Embassy officials. We were showing them the document on the Sunday morning before giving it to the military intelligence

people who were going to give it to the president.

While they were reading the false report I began to hear a moaning sound, which sounded like a street vendor outside trying to sell something. Gradually it became louder and louder, and pretty soon I realized that someone was being tortured. (I found out later that the torture room was just above the chief of police's office, on the next floor up.) The screams of this tortured man became louder and louder. The chief of police heard it too, of course, and he kept telling Ramirez to turn up the radio. (Ramirez had a tiny transistor radio and he was listening to the Sunday morning soccer game, while we were having this meeting.) Eventually Rodrigues said the report was good and would do the job and Horton and I left to get the report over to the president.

I haven't forgotten those screams to this very day. It was a case which was never publicized, but Bonaudi would remember it—if he is still alive.

The torture case, the Santo Domingo invasion, and the growing realization that we were really reinforcing all the corruption and injustices in Uruguay brought me to reconsider more and more this activity that I was engaged in.

Q. What would you say is the political objective of the CIA in the countries where it operates?

A. The political and economic objectives are virtually identical—the retention of these countries within the capitalist camp. In other words, to ensure that the goods that these particular countries produce are available to the U. S. for the cheapest possible price and that the countries concerned provide a market for the export of American capital and obtain its goods. Essentially it comes down to that. The way the CIA fits into the picture is that it works to prop up local governments that allow the system to continue, and to beat down the people who stand for change on the left. That is what the CIA is doing in most of the third world.

Q. What sort of activities would you be engaged in as a CIA officer?

A. I was engaged in operations of running spies into the left-wing parties in Latin American countries, taking over old cases and developing new cases. For example, recruitment of members of Communist parties in order to obtain intelligence on the capabilities and intentions of these organizations.

Also I worked very closely with local police intelligence services, in Ecuador and in Uruguay, in order to extend the capability of the CIA station beyond what its limited manpower would allow. We used the foreign intelligence service, either

military or police, as if it were our own to tap telephones, monitor the comings and goings of certain travelers, check hotels and maritime hostels, obtain files and photographs from the government in order to develop surveillance teams. The most important thing was that these local services would engage in repressive actions when we requested it.

In addition, I worked in the trade-union operations in which we tried to establish and build up the so-called "free" trade-union movement. This was done through the ICFTU (International Confederation of Free Trade Unions) and the CIA-controlled trade-union organizations in the third world, ORIT [the Inter-American Regional Labor Organization—a wing of ICFTU] and the ITS's [International Trade Secretariats—international organizations of trade unions within particular industries; most are connected with ICFTU and used by the CIA].

What the CIA does specifically in the trade-union field, is to promote, along with the rest of the U. S. government program in this field, trade unions in the third world which fall into the "Gompers-style" economic trade unionism. They try and keep the trade-union movement co-opted so that they exclude political considerations from their program and are quite happy to gain inch-by-inch rather than calling into question the whole capitalist system, which is certainly within their power.

I also engaged in quite a number of propaganda operations. We falsified lots of documents and attributed them to revolutionary organizations in order to bring discredit upon these organizations and the revolutionary movement as a whole—to discredit the Cubans, the Soviets, and all our enemies.

Q. As well as penetrating left-wing organizations, does the Agency also seek to stimulate and create right-wing organizations?

A. At one stage in Ecuador we were trying to force the president — Arosemena—to take certain policy decisions in relation to the repression of the left, and to break relations with Cuba. What we did was to create a mass hysteria relating to the imminent communist take-over of the country. We acted together with a section of the Catholic church and through the right-wing political parties to encourage mass demonstrations against any relations with Cuba and against the left in the country.

At one point in our campaign, a bomb was thrown by the Social Christian bomb squad into the Cardinal's house as a provocation. We were promoting the right-wing Social Christian movement in all their activities. In fact we eventually brought onto the station payroll the re-

tired army captain who was the leader of these different squads.

We formed what was called the National Defense Front, which grouped in it lots of



ALLENDE: CIA effort to overthrow his regime was "no isolated case."

individuals and the most important political organizations of the center and the right. They were powerful enough to get tens and even hundreds of thousands onto the streets, with the assistance of the church.

The simple bombing of the Cardinal's house—with him, by prior arrangement, conveniently in the Basilica downtown so that he wouldn't be hurt—resulted, a week later, in the largest mass demonstration in the history of Quito to protest this "outrage." The Cardinal, ninety years old, gets up on the platform at this demonstration and gives the principal address in which he says that following the teachings of Christ he is going to forgive the terrorists who tried to kill him. All this despite the fact that the bombers had been caught in the night by the police and had admitted that they were Social Christians! It didn't matter. The fact that the hysteria had already been generated meant that even though the bombing had been found out it still worked. Finally, through a military ultimatum, which was the culmination of our propaganda and political action efforts, Arosemena was forced to break with Cuba.

Months later, when we felt that his government had been penetrated by leftists and communists, we started up the whole operation all over again. That led to his overthrow.

The important lesson to learn is that the recent revelations of the CIA's efforts to "destabilize" the Allende government in Chile was no isolated case. These activi-

ties are taking place day in and day out, all over the world, and sometimes over a period of many years. In Indonesia it took the CIA ten years to bring about the overthrow of Sukarno in 1965. Destabilization operations against him were begun at the time of the Bandung Conference in 1955. It was the same in Ghana to overthrow Nkrumah, and the same in Brazil, although it was a shorter period of time (1961-64). But don't imagine that any of these operations are isolated. They are happening every single day.

Q. Why do you think it is that the CIA seems able to overthrow people like Sukarno, Nkrumah, Arosemena, even Allende, but is not able to overthrow Mao Tsetung, Fidel Castro, and leaders of revolutionary movements?

A. Well, certainly they tried. Not only Fidel Castro, but the Soviet Union itself. Even up until the early 1960s CIA were sending saboteurs into the Soviet Union with folding bicycles, or dropping different devices by parachute. This was called the "Red Socks Program." Whenever an emigre with suicidal tendencies could be found he would be sent in, but they failed miserably because they were all picked up and shot.

In the case of Cuba the CIA didn't spare any efforts to try and overthrow the Cuban revolution in its early years. But the difference between Cuba and China—countries which have had socialist revolutions—and these others is that they have the people on their side and you can't defeat them.

The reason that Sukarno was overthrown, the reason that Allende was overthrown, is related to the fact that the class struggle wasn't really entered into in earnest in those countries. It was delayed, delayed and delayed and eventually there was a lurch to the right instead of the left. In addition the army and the police which exist to defend capitalism still existed and were used by the CIA as a base of operation. The security and military forces are primary targets for a large proportion of CIA propaganda, which uses fear by frightening the security and military forces that in the event of a socialist revolution they would all be shot, which is, of course, not true. In the Cuban and Chinese revolutions a not unimportant section of these forces came over to the side of the revolution.

Q. What is the relationship between the intelligence gathering operations of the CIA and the clandestine counterrevolutionary operations which it carries out?

A. There is not much point in collecting intelligence unless you are going to use it. Information is no good in a vacuum. It cries out to be used. It can't be left alone.

That's why the collection operations of the CIA, which are called "foreign intelligence operations," can't be separated from its "covert action operations," which is the use of that information.

It is for this reason that I believe that any attempts to reform the CIA are doomed to failure. There's no possible way in which information is going to be collected and not used. One of the central and most important type of operations of the CIA are liaison operations, which are those operations undertaken through or with local intelligence services. The CIA trains these services, equips them, and then guides them, i.e., gives them the information requirements that the CIA needs to complete CIA programs. These operations tend to strengthen the local service and thereby to prop up the minority capitalist regimes and repress the left. They are in themselves action operations: collection and action are inseparable.

Q. You were responsible for overthrowing the Velasco government in Ecuador and "destabilizing" its successor. How much money do you think it cost the Agency to carry out these operations?

A. Not very much actually. Our principal political operation, which involved propaganda, was running at \$50,000 a year and through this operation we promoted lots of demonstrations and propaganda against relations with Cuba and against the Velasco government.

At one stage we had the vice-president on our payroll. He was being paid \$700 a month before he became vice-president, and after we increased his salary to \$1,000 a month.

But it doesn't matter how much a man is being paid. It's what he actually does that's important. In many cases very high government officials will be exceedingly effective without receiving a salary from the CIA. They understand that the interests of the class they belong to are identical with the interests of the CIA, the U.S. government, and U.S. companies. They live from that exploitation. So they don't have to be paid.

Q. When the Agency recruits someone from the Communist party or other left groups or from the trade unions, what is the main factor there?

A. In the countries which are the poorest the mercenary factor is proportionately higher. In many cases there is a resentment on the part of the agent towards the leadership of the party. For instance, he might feel that his talents have not been properly utilized and that he should have been promoted. He builds up this resentment over a number of years and at some stage might offer his services voluntarily. But by that time he has gone

through a hardening process against the revolutionary movement.

There are other cases. For example, one agent I worked with who was a fairly high level member of the Communist party of Ecuador, did not want to break ideologically with socialism, but he was in such dire financial straits that he couldn't get along without the salary we paid him. All we paid him was the equivalent of something like \$75 a month, which kept him alive but not in an ostentatious fashion.

What often happens with CIA agents is that a holding account is opened within the Agency, and money will be set aside each month within that account. The agent will get a certain percentage of his salary to spend and all the rest will go into this account which fills up over the years, and at some undetermined time in the future will be used. This obviously serves as a control factor because the agent realizes that if he doesn't have a proper attitude in the final settlement with the CIA, then he's signing quit claims on all that.

Q. On reading your book we can see that there are good grounds for believing that any serious left-wing organization is vulnerable to penetration. Do you think revolutionary organizations can develop a method to safeguard themselves and identify these people?

A. Even if organizations are penetrated, that shouldn't be allowed to create any type of hysteria. After all, the job is to get the word out to more and more people and attract more people to the side of the revolution and that can even be done by an agent from the other side if there is proper party discipline. That is why any organization must try and maintain as consistent and disciplined a record of activity on the part of its militants as possible.

If anyone is unusually curious about certain aspects of party work then he could be a potential agent. But that is why consistent propaganda and agitational activity by every militant is the best way of minimizing the effects of penetration. In other words, turn the work of the traitor against capitalism.

Q. Did you ever experience occasions when you thought that an agent was perhaps helping the movement a bit too much?

A. Well, there's sometimes a time when a decision has to be taken about how far an agent should go in developing his own position within the party. For example, it's very important for CIA stations to penetrate the militant action wings of left-wing organizations, so that they

can know in advance of any violence that might be planned. If a CIA agent has been able to penetrate one of these organizations, then the decision has to be made as to how far he goes. Whether he should, for example, be allowed to participate in violence which might cost a life, such as the execution of a hated police torturer. The local situation would determine whether he should be allowed to go that far or not. In a serious insurgency situation as in Vietnam, or even in Argentina today, he might be allowed to go through with it despite the costs.

Q. To turn to some wider aspects of the problems we've been discussing, would you agree that there is some connection between the activities of the CIA and the facts which were thrown up by the Watergate affair?

A. I don't think there can be any doubt that Watergate represents the application within the United States of the methods that the CIA has been using abroad for the last twenty-five to thirty years. The penetration operations, i.e., the bugging, the political disruption, the black propaganda operations (e.g., attributing to someone a false document), were all applied in the United States.

Most of the Watergate operations were right out of the CIA textbook. And now we're beginning to see that the FBI had this COINTEL Program which was their way of penetrating and disrupting everything to the left of the liberal Republicans and Democrats from 1956 onwards. The recent official reports released by the Justice Department show that in that period the FBI engaged in no fewer than 2,300 different operations against the left. This is an average of one new one every other day—not counting Sunday—for the last fifteen years.

These were not one-shot operations that just occurred and then ended. They had a tremendous cumulative effect over the years. They might begin one year and not end till ten years later. They were still in operation in 1971 when in a leftist raid on the Media, Pennsylvania, FBI office, the records were stolen and the existence of the program revealed.

So we not only had military surveillance throughout the sixties, but also the FBI, the Watergate operations, and Nixon's own illegal intelligence plans.

Then there are the unhappy "plumbers" group, most of whose operations we don't even know of yet. The break-in at the Watergate was only one of many. It is, of course, not a coincidence that most of the Watergate plumbers were trained by the CIA. It just goes to show that these CIA techniques and methods, which no one thought would ever be applied at home because they thought that morality

changed once we crossed our own national frontiers, were finally brought home and applied in the United States. This is very significant, quite apart from the fact that it led to the enforced resignation of Nixon.

Q. We now hear from Kissinger that the threat to U. S. interests does not merely exist in the third world, but also in the capitalist countries of Western Europe. Does this mean that the CIA will be actively involved and preparing to intervene in Europe?

A. Well, yes. You must understand that it is a corollary of Wilsonian foreign policy that any government, no matter how bad, is better than a communist government. It follows that anything which suggests the emergence of an anticapitalist government *anywhere* in the world (not just the third world), is "incompatible with the United States security interests," in other words the security of the ruling capitalist minority of the United States, because it certainly isn't in the interests of the Chicanos [Mexican-Americans], Puerto Ricans, Indians, most women, Blacks, or the workers to see capitalist rule extended or continued.

I would say that Portugal, Greece, and Italy must be the top priorities of the CIA at the moment. Wherever the legitimacy of capitalist democracy is challenged by the masses, the challenge posed by the CIA increases accordingly. In Portugal, in particular, given the importance of the Cape Verde Islands and Angola, the CIA must be in there working very hard indeed.

Q. Reading the sections of your book on Uruguay, one felt that this third world country wasn't very different from Britain. You've been living here for the last couple of years, is that your impression?

A. I'm astounded practically week by week with the similarities between what I see here now and what I saw in Uruguay. In Uruguay you had a country which had a long tradition of liberal reform; it had a very high level of literacy; it had a welfare state and a mixed economy. But a small minority of people owned the large bulk of land which produced the bulk of the wealth of the country: beef, wool, and hides. Dependent in the main on imports, the country was confronted with a permanent trade imbalance, decline in productivity, and increasing governmental instability.

The result was resistance to the declining standard of living, because in the fifties Uruguay had attained a standard of living which was on a par with some West European countries. The militancy of the trade unions increased accordingly, because they weren't going to stand by and watch their living standards de-

teriorate while a small handful of owners were able to live like they always had, in a very privileged way with beautiful homes, big cars, and shopping trips to Europe all the time. So the trade unions



VELASCO IBARRA: His vice-president was on payroll of CIA's Ecuador office.

had to fight simply in order to keep up with inflation, but of course this wasn't enough to prevent a military take-over.

Q. One got the impression that when there was a big general strike in Uruguay, at one time bringing the whole economy to a halt and really confronting the government with the power of the workers, it seemed as though the Agency didn't have too many things it could really do, despite all its penetration.

A. Yes. The march of events in Uruguay shows us just what the Agency could and couldn't do. It couldn't break the trade unions. The only alternative eventually was a fascist-type dictatorship. That's what they have right now—the most terrible, unspeakable repression that anyone could ever imagine. So all the penetration of the CIA in the left-wing organizations, the trade unions and the student movement, and the government, can't solve the problem—it can only make it much worse. This is what has happened in Chile, Uruguay, Paraguay, Brazil, Bolivia.

Q. From your book one gets the im-

pression that you were interested in any group which claimed to be working for socialism whether it was the Cubans, the Chinese, the Trotskyists, or the pro-Moscow groups. You didn't seem to distinguish very much between the different ideologies?

A. No. What we did in the stations was to distinguish between the different organizations relative to their respective strength and then concentrate on the ones that seemed stronger, both in the trade unions and also from the point of view of militant action, i. e., the armed struggle. These were the highest priorities to penetrate.

But what you must understand is that the CIA is not concerned so much with the global policies of the USSR as such. It is opposed to socialist revolution anywhere whether it is in Russia or China or Mozambique or Sri Lanka or Cuba—that is, a revolution in favor of the working class of the United States. The CIA, whose aim is to keep the United States both united and capitalist, is therefore justifiably concerned at the spread of revolution as such. The very existence of the Soviet Union and China is positive in terms of the interests of the American working class.

Why do you think that the United States is extremely reluctant to reestablish relations with Cuba? It's not because of the humiliation involved. They realize the tremendous influence that the Cuban revolution has on the oppressed in the United States, such as the Blacks and the Chicanos and the Puerto Ricans. Once relations are established there are going to be thousands and thousands of people going to Cuba, and coming back having seen what the revolution has done for the Cuban people. Many of them will see what a socialist revolution can do for the United States.

Q. You've been to Cuba a number of times since you left the CIA. What was your impression of Cuba compared with those other Latin American countries where you'd been working?

A. I'd also been there before the revolution, so I knew something about Cuba under Batista and I was able to make a comparison. My impressions of revolutionary Cuba were very favorable because I saw many of the problems which existed in other Latin American countries beginning to be resolved there. They hadn't solved all the problems by any means, and they were the first to admit that and to discuss their failings. But they were grappling with the very basic things: the elimination of illiteracy, the extension of a free medical service to the entire population, the establishment of day-care centers for children, the eradication of prostitution, the tremendous importance

placed on education of a very varied kind for the entire people, and the elimination of racism. In spite of the blockade imposed by the United States and in spite of the need to maintain a large army in a state of alert, all this had been achieved and the Cuban people were better off than they had ever been before. In fact they were living rather well.

Q. Why did you decide to write a book about what you'd done in the CIA?

A. There were a whole series of reasons for this. I would like, if nothing else, to prick the conscience of Americans and try to bring them along the same political trajectory as I experienced since I went into the CIA, quit, and then decided to write a book about it. In other words to try and open some minds to the reality that there isn't a "third way" and that the U.S. is merely trying to disguise the old imperialism with a new cloak.

I hope to contribute to the growing campaign in the United States to call into question these activities, and to work for the eventual abolition of the CIA as part of the overall process of weakening and finally defeating the ruling capitalist minority in the United States.

Most importantly, I want to show the methodology that lies behind the CIA's operations which is true not just for Latin America, but the entire world. This is so that the revolutionary movement can understand better the nature of the enemy and learn to spot and combat it better. They will be able to take countermeasures and reduce the impact of these operations in their own countries.

Another purpose is to encourage former and current officers in the CIA who may be working in the kind of job that I had to do the very same thing that I did. They could make public the documents they have access to and write their own diaries, because there are many more CIA books to be written. There's one to be written on Brazil, on Chile, on Iran, on Indonesia, on the Phoenix program in Vietnam [a CIA-initiated program involving the systematic murder of all suspected supporters of the National Liberation Front; resulted in tens of thousands of deaths].

I want to encourage all former and current employees of the Agency to tell the world the truth. It's not difficult. For instance, when I was working on this book I was going through back files of newspapers of the countries where I'd been working and it was like looking through CIA files themselves. Because practically everything the CIA does has a visible effect. The trouble is that most people don't realize that the hand of the CIA is behind many incidents.

Q. Last summer Agency sources put out a story alleging that you'd defected to

the KGB. There have been also a number of attempts to stop you publishing the book. What really worries them do you think?

A. What's worried them the most is the fact that I've exposed a whole series of their operations and agents in my book. In a way it's much more worrying that I've done this than if I had become another defector to the KGB. It's been much more important making this information available to the people of the third world and to the revolutionary movement.

There's no doubt that the scene in the United States is very mixed right now with regard to the CIA. They are very much on the defensive. Colby, its boss, is traveling around the country right now making public appearances and trying to convince the American people how much they need the CIA.

Arrested Under 'State of Siege' Decree

Argentine PST Members Still in Jail

Several members of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers party) who were arrested after the declaration of a state of siege in Argentina last November 6 are still being held in jail. According to a report in the December 30, 1974, issue of *Avanzada Socialista*, these include:

● *Jorge Mera*. Mera is being held in the Villa Devoto jail. He is a well-known leader of the bank workers union and of the Banco de la Nacion strike. Mera was arrested soon after the declaration of the state of siege, during a police raid on the party's national headquarters.

● *Daniel Veiga*. Veiga was arrested during a series of roundups carried out in Corrientes and is imprisoned in that city. Members of other political organizations were arrested at the same time.

● *Silvio Dragunsky*. Dragunsky is being held in Bahia Blanca.

● *Luisa Segura*. Segura is being held in Tucuman. She was arrested when the police interrupted a meeting at the Agronomic House of the University of Tucuman. She is a well-known student leader at the university's medical school.

Avanzada Socialista condemned the arrests and pointed out:

"Using the guerrillas as a pretext, the government has unleashed an unjust repression against worker and student activists, as well as democratic and left currents. Its victims, the imprisoned compañeros, are more than ever at our side. Like our seven beloved comrades who died this year, they symbolize all that the

This is Colby, a man who has the blood of tens of thousands of Vietnamese on his hands through a Phoenix program that he ran in Vietnam. So any public exposure and attack is extremely worrying to the Agency. However we should not get the impression that the CIA is retreating. Only recently a bill to restrict its activities was defeated in Congress by a margin of 68 against 17.

We shouldn't be too surprised. That is the strength of the CIA in the U.S. government. We can't expect very much from the U.S. Congress. They're part of the ruling class. They realize that the CIA is necessary to keep their prosperity, their power, and their privileges going. It's only the American people—the oppressed nationalities and the working class—who are going to bring about a change and they'll only do it through a political party or a politically related organization. □

party will continue to struggle for, no matter what the obstacles.

"At this year's end, wherever we meet, we will raise our fists in the revolutionary salute and pledge: 'We are continuing the fight, imprisoned socialist compañeros!' We will redouble our efforts to build a workers and people's mobilization that can free you and all workers, students, and political activists who as victims of unjust repression fill the jails of the 'people's' government." □

Dutch Trotskyists Fuse With Proletaries Links

In a conference December 7 and 8, 1974, the Dutch section of the Fourth International, the Revolutionair-Communistische Bond (Revolutionary Communist League), voted to fuse with the Proletaries Links (Proletarian Left) group.

Proletaries Links split from the left Social Democratic Pacifistisch-Socialistische Partij (Pacifist Socialist party) in 1972. After the more conservative elements left the group in June 1973, it evolved quickly toward the left. In the nine months before the fusion, it collaborated closely with the RCB.

The new organization, Internationale Kommunisten Bond (IKB—International Communist League), is active in nine cities and towns throughout the Netherlands. It publishes a monthly paper, *Proletaries Links*; a quarterly magazine, *De Internationale*; and a student paper, *Barrikade*.

Why Moscow Rejected U.S. Trade Pact

By Dave Frankel

"The Soviet government has now informed us that it cannot accept a trading relationship based on the legislation recently enacted in this country," U. S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger told reporters in Washington Jan. 14.

"The Soviet government," Kissinger continued, "states that it does not intend to accept a trade status that is discriminatory and subject to political conditions, and accordingly, that it will not put into force the 1972 Trade Agreement."

Thus, two and a half years after they carried out one of the greatest betrayals in the history of the world working class, the rulers of the Soviet Union canceled the agreement that had originally been intended as their reward for stabbing the Vietnamese revolution in the back.

The U.S.-Soviet trade agreement was initiated by Richard Nixon in the Moscow summit meeting of May 1972. The circumstances are worth recalling.

On March 23, 1972, Nixon suspended the Paris peace talks on Vietnam, accusing Hanoi of "bullying the United States." One week later the Vietnamese liberation fighters responded with a major offensive.

Nixon ordered the use of B-52 bombers against the cities and population of North Vietnam. By the beginning of May, 140 B-52s and 900 fighter-bombers were pounding Vietnam. On May 8 the entire world was stunned by Nixon's announcement that he had ordered the mining of Hai-phong and Hanoi harbors.

Responding to this murderous onslaught, the Soviet bureaucrats issued a statement May 11 verbally disapproving of the slaughter and urging Nixon to restrain himself. In order to remove any sting from the reprimand, Soviet foreign-trade minister Nikolai Patolichev paid a "courtesy call" at the White House the same day, meeting with Nixon in what was termed a "cordial atmosphere." Eleven days later the then-commander-in-chief of the U. S. armed forces arrived in Moscow to talk about world peace and trade.

Writing in the May 26, 1972, *New York Times*, Hedrick Smith spelled out the considerations involved in the trade talks:

"The contents of the trade agreement are intimately bound up with the second level—the private level—of the Moscow meeting, for American officials have been hinting the last 24 hours that its contents depend in some measure on how helpful the Kremlin leaders want to be regarding Vietnam."

How helpful the Kremlin leaders were—and went on being—was indicated by no less an authority than Henry Kissinger himself in an interview taped Jan. 15 of this year and reported in the *New York Times* two days later.

"In all parts of the world except the Middle East," Kissinger said, "the United States and the Soviet Union have pursued substantially compatible and in some cases cooperative policies."

As for the Middle East, Kissinger noted that the Soviet Union "has not been exceptionally helpful, but it has also not been exceptionally obstructive."

The helpful posture of the Soviet bureaucrats toward imperialism originated with the doctrine of peaceful coexistence—originally termed "socialism in one country." As Leon Trotsky explained in 1928:

"The new doctrine proclaims that socialism can be built on the basis of a national state *if only there is no intervention*. From this there can and must follow (notwithstanding all pompous declarations in the draft program) a collaborationist policy towards the foreign bourgeoisie with the object of averting intervention, as this will guarantee the construction of socialism. . . ." (*The Third International After Lenin*, third edition. New York: Pathfinder Press, 1970, p. 61.)

Trotsky's warning proved prophetic. As soon as a serious danger of imperialist intervention against the Soviet state began to loom—following the rise of Hitler in the 1930s—Stalin launched the policy of "collective security." Political support was offered

to those capitalist regimes willing to sign pacts with Moscow. Stalin went so far as to strangle the Spanish revolution as a token of his willingness not only to concentrate on building "socialism" in one country, but also to help in actively limiting the socialist revolution to the single country in which it had already triumphed. When he was spurned by Britain and the U. S., Stalin turned to détente with Hitler, signing the 1939 nonaggression pact.

Although Moscow's desire for peaceful coexistence with imperialism and its fear of revolutionary upheavals as destabilizing factors in its own sphere of influence have remained constant since the 1930s, an additional factor has entered its calculations in the current détente. The Kremlin's nuclear arsenal and military strength have largely dissipated the fears of foreign intervention it once had, but it wants and needs Western technology and economic exchange. "From the outset," wrote Peter Osnos in the January 7 *Washington Post*, "the Soviets have made clear that they regard trade and the purchase of American technology as cornerstones to detente at least as important as limiting nuclear weaponry."

However, the Soviet bureaucrats reckoned without the vagaries of Watergate and the presidential ambitions of Henry Jackson. The Senator from Boeing, seizing on the issue of free emigration for Soviet Jews and taking advantage of Nixon's growing domestic troubles, was able to capture nationwide headlines. "The time has come to place our highest human values ahead of the trade dollar," Jackson declared in September 1972.

This right-wing hypocrite, who backed the bloodbath in Vietnam down to the end, was able to pawn himself off as an opponent of oppression. When Jackson released an exchange of letters between himself and Kissinger detailing Soviet assurances of a more liberal emigration policy

in October 1974, the *Washington Post* declared:

"At the American end, to be sure, Sen. Jackson emerges as the hero. He is quite right in saluting the new accord as 'historic.' Not only did he accomplish an objective which most others thought could not be achieved; he accomplished something of great personal meaning to the people involved and, in doing so, he added an extraordinary human dimension to American diplomacy."

Although less effusive, the *New York Times* was no less pleased. It editorialized Oct. 20: "Coming on top of the Turkish aid votes, the cut-offs of military involvement in Indochina and other measures of recent years, this new demonstration of Congressional influence shows again how much a determined Congressional majority can achieve."

Despite the charges of the Stalinists in Moscow and the U.S., Jackson's campaign was not aimed against the détente itself. This was made clear when he endorsed the emigration-trade compromise worked out by Kissinger with Moscow, and was denounced by cold-war diehard George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO.

The sections of the capitalist establishment backing Jackson simply wanted more for their money. "The experience . . . is a powerful argument for more steadfastness in negotiating with Moscow," wrote the *Wall Street Journal* in its Oct. 22 editorial.

As it turned out, however, the imperialists pushed the Kremlin too hard—an eventuality they didn't have to worry about when it was only the Vietnamese revolution that was involved.

The cancellation of the pact followed a series of Soviet warnings that the U. S. Congress was engaging in "unwarranted meddling in the Soviet Union's internal affairs" by pressing for a public linkage between trade concessions and the right of Soviet Jews to emigrate freely. Nevertheless, the trade act passed by Congress and signed into law by President Ford Jan. 3 allowed Ford to grant nondiscriminatory tariffs to Soviet imports for 18 months—instead of the three years expected by Moscow—only if he received assurances that freer emigration would result. Any extension would have to be approved by Congress.

More important economically than the tariff issue to the Soviet chiefs was the availability of cheap credit

from the U.S. government-financed Export-Import Bank. Another congressional restriction limited such credits to \$300-million over a four-year period, a figure that Kissinger told one reporter was "peanuts."

For Moscow, the main benefit of



JACKSON: Pushed the Kremlin too hard.

trade with the U.S. is the availability of advanced technology and American help in development projects—both financed by low-cost loans from the Export-Import Bank. A total of \$469-million in such loans had been granted before the congressional restrictions were enacted, and existing contracts between U.S. companies and the USSR are expected to run their course. Indeed, U.S.-Soviet trade had been increasing even without a formal agreement.

But the type of huge projects envisaged by Moscow will be cut back severely without a new agreement on U.S. credit. The Kama River truck-manufacturing complex now under construction alone costs in the neighborhood of \$5-billion. As for the 20-year projects for the development of Soviet natural gas and oil resources, their future is bleak without U.S. government backing. The oil companies have no wish to risk their own money in such ventures.

One Sovietologist, quoted in *Newsweek*, was able to figure out the Kremlin's motivation in reacting as it did. "When they added it all up," he said, "it was a bum deal."

Miffed by the obstacles, the Kremlin bureaucrats hinted at a harder line. "For the first time in recent memory," reported Peter Osnos from Moscow in the Jan. 15 *Washington Post*, "the press is regularly employing terminology like 'gunboat diplomacy,' 'im-

perialism' and 'provocative acts' in describing U.S. actions."

However, Moscow quickly made clear that it has no intention of abandoning the détente. Publicity was given to a Jan. 14 speech by Soviet Premier Alexei Kosygin calling for "making the process of détente irreversible."

A commentary in the Jan. 18 issue of *Izvestia*, the official government newspaper, asserted that "the Soviet Union intends in the future to continue the course of further deepening the relaxation of international tensions. Our country as before is interested in the positive development of Soviet-American relations in all spheres."

The U.S. rulers, for their part, have no desire to scuttle the détente while facing a growing international economic crisis, deepening radicalization in Europe, an explosive situation in the Middle East, and an upsurge in the Indochinese war. The *New York Times*, which three months earlier had been cheering Senator Jackson on, complained Jan. 17 that "Mr. Jackson overplayed his hand and, as President Ford has noted, helped to achieve results quite the opposite from those he intended."

"A dangerous period has opened," warned the *Times* editors. "Far more than trade and emigration are involved. . . . If the prospects for détente continue to dwindle, the chances for a moderate Soviet policy in the Mideast may dwindle with it.

". . . in other fields, such as mutual force reductions in Europe and efforts to resume peace negotiations in Vietnam, as well as the Middle East, hope for a more peaceful world will ride on the Administration's new efforts to revise Congressional trade and credit restrictions."

Much as they dislike it, the imperialists need the Kremlin's help in holding back the world revolution. And Moscow has served notice that although it is willing to help out, it expects recognition for its services. □

Italian Butchers Protest Meat Prices

Italy's 80,000 butchers closed their shops January 27 to protest high meat prices and low sales. Among the measures they proposed for government action were a reduction in the 18 percent tax on meat and a dropping of the ban on meat imports from countries outside the Common Market. They are also asking the government to draw a \$46.5 million subsidy available from the Common Market to buy meat for people with low incomes.

Students Demand Ouster of Officials Tied to Junta

[The arrest and torture of two students in the small Greek town of Aliveri at the beginning of the year touched off a new wave of mass student mobilizations demanding liquidation of the repressive apparatus built up by the junta and, in particular, the ouster of university officials and teachers linked to the dictatorship. The focus of these actions has been the University of Salonika and within this university, the School of Medicine, which was occupied by its students on January 13, after a mass demon-

stration of 15,000 persons.

[Reprinted below are an editorial on the Aliveri incidents from the January 11 issue of *Ergatike Pale*, a weekly published in Athens that reflects the views of the Greek Trotskyists, and a report from the Sosialistike Spoudastike Pale (SSP—Student Socialist Struggle) group in Salonika from the January 25 issue of the same paper. *Ergatike Pale's* comment on the report from Salonika is also given below. The translation of these articles is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

Continue the Struggle for Democratic Rights

On the last day of 1974 in the town of Aliveri in Euboea, in a police station, under the supervision of the lieutenant in charge, a specially trained policeman beat the student N. Pantzalis with his fists and tortured him with the "phalanga" [beating on the soles of the feet]. On the evening of January 1, in the same district station, another policeman beat another student, Thoma Manganaris, with a club.

The reports that are being published in the Athens press reveal the violent, inhuman, and criminal character of the "police state," of the organs of the secret police in the cities and in the towns. Aliveri is not an exceptional case in the Greek countryside or in Greek history, nor is it simply a hang-over of the seven-year reign of the dictatorship established in April 1967, during which torture was an everyday occurrence in the offices of the secret police.

The "phalanga" and more broadly all the manifold forms of torture that the police state used against revolutionists and leftists in general have a long history in the service of all the postwar bourgeois governments without exception, whether dictatorial or parliamentary, "liberal" or "populist." This is an integral part of the decaying capitalist system that exploits and oppresses the working masses.

The torturers have changed commanders—Phontanas, Charalabides, Lambrinopoulos, Kobocholes, Evert, and company; and more recently Spanos, Babales, Mallios, Kravarties, Karapanagiotes, Lambrou, and company. But the methods of the torturers remain the same. If they change at all, it is because modern refinements have been added. They can go into the ascendant for periods, as during the seven-year dictatorship, or decline somewhat, as they did after July 1974; nonetheless, they have survived and are flowering under Caramanlis's "progressive democracy."

The roots of this torture go deep, and it must be combated with deep-cutting mass mobilizations. All of us have to see the torture of Pantzalis and the clubbing of Manganaris as blows directed at all of the exploited and oppressed masses, at ourselves.

There should not be one university- or high-school student group or trade union, one farmers association, or scholarly or artistic society, there should not be any mass organization that does not take up the question of extending and defending the democratic rights that have been mocked by reactionary junta-type constitution,¹

1. For a translation of *Ergatike Pale's* analysis of the constitution proposed by Caramanlis, see *Intercontinental Press*, February 3, p. 159.

trampled underfoot by police officials, and threatened with destruction by the first shoots of fascism that are beginning to spring up in the shelter offered by the repressive apparatus of the capitalist state. We should combine the struggle we all must fight for democratic freedoms with the everyday struggle for the direct demands that have been taking on an urgent character since the start of this year.

No section of the working masses today has escaped the effects of the high cost of living. There are the rising prices of food, clothing, shoes, water, telegrams, postal service, local taxes, tickets to public events (to say nothing of theater and movie tickets, which are almost beyond reach). At the same time, wages, pensions, and salaries remain frozen. At the same time, the profits of the big capitalist concerns (above all the monopolies) are rising. At the same time, a huge percentage of the budget is going for unproductive expenditures (arms, secret police, and so on). While the building workers are being hit hard with unemployment, a few giant engineering firms are raking in windfall superprofits (according to the data given in a revealing article by the civil engineer Demetrios Topalian in the January 1 issue of *Aughi*, their profits have increased by 700 to 2,000 percent in the last seven years).

There is only one answer to the government's call for "austerity," to the causes of the rising cost of living. That is to begin right now to organize a broad mass strike movement for raising wages, salaries, and pensions by at least 50 percent and tying them to the cost of living. Along with this, we must organize a united front to struggle by direct action for widening democratic freedoms.

These are essential first steps toward broader and deeper class struggles in the future that will raise the possibility of sweeping away the capitalist government by an anticapitalist struggle of the workers and the toiling masses fighting for the formation of a revolutionary socialist government of the workers and peasants.

Mass Student Demonstrations in Salonika

Salonika

It is true that many expected the political changes that have taken place—the formation of the government of "national unity" (unity between the oppressed and the oppressors) and the Caramanlis government that came out of the November 17 elections—to be a panacea.

Many believed this, but not, of course, the revolutionists. Many persons—the bourgeoisie, petty-bourgeois types, and reformists—used the formula of "patience until the elections" to block student mobilizations in the period before the vote. Nothing should disturb the electoral campaign, they argued. But that campaign is now several months behind us and, as we see, nothing has changed.

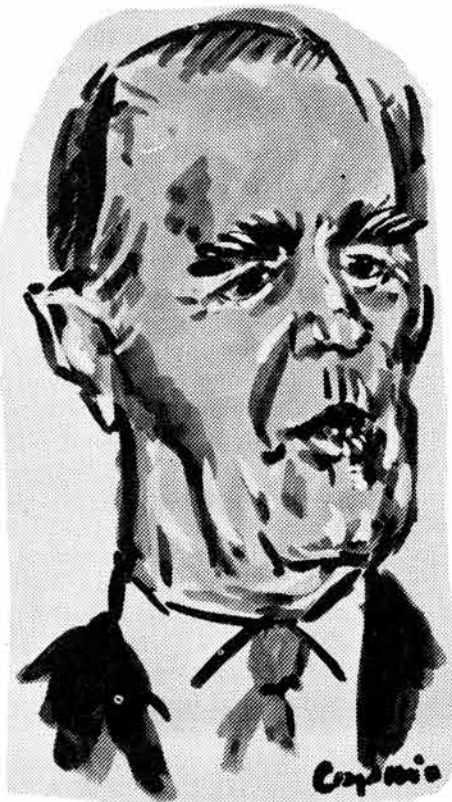
Prices have continued to rise. The liquidation of the junta's apparatus has remained on paper. And they have drawn up a constitution worthy of the junta itself. Nothing has changed, or to be more precise, everything is changing for the worse. Students, with the sensitivity that distinguishes them as a group, have been the first to see the hypocrisy of the government and to oppose it openly. The specific causes are these:

The special Disciplinary Board that was to deal with the junta's professors has never functioned. The universities are still being run as if nothing had happened between April 1967 and July 23, 1974. New police agents have been sent in to replace the old.

The living conditions of the students are getting worse and worse despite the ministers' declarations and optimistic predictions. At the same time, the same ultrareactionary laws that have regulated university affairs since 1932(!) remain in force. In fact, the 1954 constitution [which became effective after the fall of the junta] is anything but favorable to education or to the working people. In these conditions, it was certain that a student explosion was going to take place. All that was needed was a spark to set it off. And this was provided by the recent provocative events in Aliveri.

The first school in Salonika to make a decisive move was the School of Medicine. It had a special problem with Professor Christophoridis (a well-known collaborator of the junta and the secret police). Despite strikes by

the students and the seizure of his offices, he refused to give up his professorial chair. As a result, the students of the medical school decided to hold a five-day strike. If Christo-



CARAMANLIS: Called for "patience," but elections changed nothing.

phoridis did not leave at the end of that time, they would seize the school.

With the support of twenty-two "democratic" and not so democratic professors, the administration responded to this decision by closing the school the day before the occupation was to take place. Despite all this, on Monday, January 13, 1975, at 4 in the afternoon, after a successful mass rally, the school was formally occupied (actually it had been held since the morning of that day) and the students have continued their occupation to this writing (January 20).

In the meantime, the other schools of the university declared one- or two-day strikes as an expression of solidarity with the School of Medicine and as a warning to their own administrations. However, after the occupation these strikes tended to go on much longer. The student-union organizations split. Some proposed strikes

for clear reasons. Others for unclear ones. And still others—mainly the Regas Feraios,² the PSK,³ the anti-EFEE,⁴ and the PASP⁵—rejected a strike. These organizations were torn to pieces by internal differences. Thus, in one place we saw the PSK support the strike (in the School of Dentistry) and in another (the School of Physics and Mathematics) characterize it as "disorienting" and "an ultraleft error."

Finally, however, all these organizations withdrew and tried to cover their retreat as much as possible with references to "changed conditions" and various other vague formulations. This, however, did not convince many people. On Wednesday [January 15], all the schools declared a general, unlimited strike. The Maoists—who had supported the strike from the beginning—were delighted and began to raise their all-too-familiar litany on the themes "antifascism" and "anti-imperialism." They thought their time had come. Simultaneously, however, they were drowned out by the demands of the mass of the students.

Characteristic of both the AASPE⁶ and the PPSP⁷—the two main Maoist groupings—was the lack of any concrete program of transitional demands, a deficiency that had already appeared clearly in the student elections on November 9. This fundamental lack, which arises from their refusal to use transitional demands, still marks them today. Thus, in approaching the prob-

2. The student organization associated with the "interior" faction of the Communist party, which is supported by the Italian CP, Yugoslavia, and Rumania.

3. Panspoudastike Syndikalistike Kinese—United Student Union Movement.

4. The "Antidictatorial" EFEE (Ethnike Foitetike Enosis tes Ellados—National Student Union of Greece), the organization associated with the "exterior" Moscow-backed faction of the Greek CP and affiliated to the international Stalinist student federation.

5. Panellenia Agonistike Spoudastike Parataxe—Pan-Hellenic Militant Student Alliance.

6. Antifasistike, Anti-imperialistike Spoudastike Parataxe tes Ellados—Antifascist, Anti-Imperialist Student Alliance of Greece.

7. Proodeutike Panspoudastike Syndikalistike Parataxe—Progressive United Student Union Alliance.

lems of the strike, they either came up with harebrained proposals, such as the "student courts" and "political trials of the fascists" put forward by the AASPE, or refused finally, like the PPSP, to take a position on the SSP proposal for a student voice in the administration or for student control. In the meantime, the government stalled, expecting the whole affair to fade out and disappear.

Throughout this period, the Socialistike Spoudastike Pale fought consistently to win acceptance for its proposed transitional demands, which had already been accepted in the program of the Foitetike Epitrope Organotikes Protovoulías [FEOP—Student Committee of the Organized Vanguard]. These included the right of students to exercise a check over the administration of the higher schools and the AEI,⁸ improvement of the conditions for study, and rejection of the Disciplinary Board.

The SSP's proposals were not adopted by the general assemblies in the schools but served well as a basis for debate. The fact that despite the newness of the SSP these proposals were able to compete on an equal basis with those of the reformists and the PASP shows whose positions were correct.

In the meantime, the School of Medicine has continued to spearhead the entire mobilization with its occupation. But unfortunately things have not gone well there either.

In the context of all these mobilizations, the campus-wide committee decided to call an all-inclusive demonstration for Wednesday, January 22.⁹

Finally, the SSP thinks that precisely this lack of definite goals on the part of the Maoists and the reformist demands of the PASP, the Regas Feraios, and the PSK—such as codetermination, reinstatement of the organic

8. Anotata Ekpaideutika Idrymata—Institutions of Higher Learning.

9. According to the January 23 issue of *Aghi*: "Thousands of students and workers in Salonika took part in the march called by the all-campus committee . . . to press demands for purging the pro-junta officials from the university and the state apparatus as well as for freedom in Cyprus. . . .

"Thousands of people followed the spirited demonstration and in many places hundreds of persons joined with the demonstrators."

law, and student participation in the Disciplinary Board—offer the government excellent opportunities for making promises that can only demobilize the strikes without bringing any benefit to the students. Along with this, there is the problem of a lack of support from the people, many of whom with good reason have not understood what was going on, since no one has taken the trouble to inform them. In combina-

tion, these two factors can lead to bad results. It is all too likely that the strikes will peter out and that the occupation will end without any substantial gains being achieved.

But nothing will prevent the SSP from continuing its struggle for the correct positions and demands, and once again it will be proved right by the events.

Caramanlis's 'Solution' and the Opposition

The organic law that went into effect on September 3 (the decree "for restoring the rule of law in the institutions of higher learning") has not solved a single problem. Not one of the students' demands has been met. To the contrary, by this halfway solution, the government is trying to split the students, relying on the divisions within the movement.

In this context, the announcement by the opposition parties that they find themselves in complete agreement with the government's decision¹⁰ and that furthermore it corresponds exactly to the view they put forward in their discussions with the government (as was said in a joint communiqué by the EK-NPD,¹¹ PASOK,¹² the EDA,¹³ and the "interior" KKE¹⁴) shows the character of this opposition. It leaves

10. The September 3 organic law issued by the Caramanlis regime was supposed to restore democratic process in the university by purging the junta's officials. The minister of education announced January 21 that the government would ask a vote to renew the law the next day. It has an absolute majority in the legislature.

11. Enosis tou Kentrou-Nees Politikai Dynamis—Center Union (the old bourgeois liberal party) and New Political Forces (a Social Democratic formation) that united with the EK before the November 17 elections.

12. Panellenio Sosialistiko Kinema—Pan-Hellenic Socialist Movement, the grouping led by Andreas Papandreou.

13. Enosis tes Demokratikes Aristeras—Union of the Democratic Left, the old CP electoral front, now controlled by the "interior" faction.

14. Kommounistiko Komma tes Ellados—Communist party of Greece.

no room for illusions.

The "exterior" KKE did not sign the declaration because it was not included in the multiparty meeting. But so as to avoid misunderstandings, *Rizospastis* [the daily paper of the "exterior" faction] wrote on page 8 of its January 22 issue that "yesterday's declaration by Minister of Education Zepos represents a new victory for the students in their struggle."

This bankruptcy of the bourgeois and reformist opposition parties shows yet again that the only way the students can solve their problems is by mobilizing in disregard of the desires of the bourgeois politicians and the traditional left and in direct contradiction to them. And the only leadership with a correct line for such a struggle is the KDKE¹⁵ and the SSP. □

15. Kommounistiko Diethnistiko Kommatos Ellados—Internationalist Communist party, the Greek section of the Fourth International.

'Like Water Gushing From a Fountain'

Workers at the Matsushita Electric company in Japan are expected to chant a daily hymn. Norman Macrae, deputy editor of the British weekly *The Economist*, insisted in the January 10 issue of that publication that they "feel only a little silly" as they sing:

Let's put our strength and mind together,
Doing our best to promote production,
Sending our goods to the people of the world,
Endlessly and continuously,
Like water gushing from a fountain.
Grow, industry, grow, grow, grow!
Harmony and sincerity!
Matsushita Electric!

India's Economic Impasse

By Sharad Jhaveri

Jamnagar

The Indian bourgeoisie faces a severe economic crisis. A lead article in the August 1974 special issue of the Bombay *Economic and Political Weekly* described it as "the gravest crisis of the Indian economy since Independence."

The capitalist economy is almost stagnant. The conspicuous decline in the government's revenue receipts and administrative competence matches an equally glaring decline in industrial production, investment, and employment. Only inflation, government expenditures, and deficit financing have posted increases in their growth rates.

Stagnant Industrial Production

Since 1965, the growth rates of industrial output, industrial investment, and employment have been consistently low. These rates are lower than in the past; they are below the targeted growth rates and certainly below the minimum requirements of the economy. Above all, they are decidedly much less than the potential that could be achieved.

From 1955 to 1965, industrial output grew at a rate of 8% to 10% a year. Increases in the gross fixed capital of large and medium-sized companies in the private sector averaged 9% to 10% a year, while increases in net assets averaged 7.5% to 8% a year. Employment in the organized industrial sector increased nearly 6% a year.

In 1966-67, industrial production actually declined. In 1968 and 1969, growth rates of 6.8% and 7.5% were registered. Except in 1972 (7.1%), these growth rates could not be maintained. The growth of industrial production ranged from 5.1% in 1970 to 1% in 1971 to 0.7% in 1973.

During the Fourth Five-Year Plan period,¹ the annual compound rate of growth in industrial production was about 3.9% as against the targeted rate of 8% to 10%. The general index of industrial production (base: 1960 equals 100) which should have reached 244 to 267 by 1973-74 on the basis of the Fourth Plan targets missed the mark considerably. Significant declines occurred in basic and capital-goods industries. Against the targeted growth rate of 9.9% for basic goods, the actual rate achieved was 4.9%. In

the case of capital goods, the targeted rate of 17.1% stands in sharp contrast to the actual rate of 5.9%.

In 1974, equally significant declines occurred in several key industries. Finished steel output declined by 1% in the period from January to August; in the corresponding period of 1973 it increased 3.6%. Cement production is estimated to have declined by about 9% in the period from January to October 1974, against a decline of 4% in the corresponding period of 1973. Coal output grew at a rate of 2.3% during the period from January to May 1974, against a rate of increase of 6.5% in the same period of 1973. In vanaspati (cooking oil) production, the decline was 18%.

The Economy Slows Down

The underutilization of productive capacity is an important problem in several key industries, such as the public-sector steel industries at Durgapur in West Bengal and Rourkela in Orissa. Plants are currently working at between 28% and 50% of their capacity in the railway car, heavy machinery, paper, cement, construction, mining, machine tool, steel pipe and tube, and steel casting and forging industries. During the period of the Fourth Five-Year Plan, industrial capacity grew at a rate of only 3.8% a year.

For the last three years, northern India has been hit by severe power shortages. The states worst affected are Haryana and Punjab—where many of the agricultural methods associated with the "green revolution," requiring large amounts of energy, have been introduced. In some areas the power supply has been cut 75%. A recent study showed that production also declined 75%, causing an average daily loss of Rs. 2 crores² and throwing thousands of workers out of their jobs.

The annual report on currency and finance released by the Reserve Bank of India on December 5 stated that inflation was the main characteristic of the economic crisis. It also noted that inflation would continue, even as recession sets in. The report cited the slackening demand for iron and steel, construction materials, machinery, transport equipment, cotton textiles, and durable consumer goods.

It revealed that by mid-November deficit spending by the government had reached about Rs. 954 crores. The real outlay for the public sector in 1973-74 fell by 14%. The prices for investment goods are today 26% higher, and the Reserve Bank report admits that "it is unlikely that real investment in the current year will show any increase."

Rising Unemployment

Between March 1972 and August 1974, the number of unemployed workers registered with the employment exchanges around the country rose from 52.9 lakhs³ to 86.4 lakhs. The hardest hit area is eastern India, which has shown an increase in unemployment of 98.8% during the last two and a half years. In Bihar unemployment jumped 156.6%, and in West Bengal, about 75.4%. In Punjab and Haryana, the unemployment figures rose 89.6% and 76% respectively. Commenting on the unemployment in Punjab and Haryana, an editorial in the November 23 *Economic Times* stated that "with wealth concentrating in the hands of the few, a large number of people has swollen the urban labor market from the rural areas."

The 1971 census showed that the number of women listed under the category of "independent earners" had declined as unemployment increased. The proportion of women employed in the primary and secondary industries has dropped. The expansion of employment of women in the service sector has been confined generally to the more menial jobs. In the area of education and other social services, the inequality of women is apparent.

The Indian bourgeoisie, however, has not dared to disclose the real extent of unemployment. The official figures represent only those who have reported to the employment exchanges. They do not reflect the rampant unemployment in rural India or seasonal unemployment. Moreover, new recruits to this army of unemployed, including those who have been laid off from textile mills and other industries hit by the power shortages, are also not included in these statistics.

An article in the November 23 *Economic Times* stated that while "the unemployment situation is indeed grim," there would be no significant improvement in the overall number of jobs available.

The Food Crisis

The prices of food grains have skyrocketed. In the course of a single year, they have almost doubled, while the incomes of the majority of the population have remained stationary. From August 8 to September 7, 1974, the wholesale price index for cereals rose 4%; for pulses

1. The regime's Fourth Five-Year Plan covered the period from 1969 through 1974. — IP

2. One crore equals ten million units. A rupee is equivalent to US\$0.126. — IP

3. One lakh equals 100,000 units. — IP

[beans], 9%; and for all food grains, more than 5%.

The public distribution system is rapidly deteriorating. From the 1.1 million tons of food grain released through the public distribution system during the best month of 1973, the figure has dropped to about 7 lakh tons a month for the last months of 1974. In December, it declined even further to 5 lakh tons.

The capitalist regime claimed that with the end of the state take-over of the wholesale wheat trade, and the consequent comeback of the wholesale traders, hoarders, and speculators, open market supplies of wheat have been augmented. But this argument misses the most important point—prices. In addition, the public distribution system hardly touches the rural poor. The picture, therefore, is that of a shrinking public distribution system that exposes more and more of the population to the mercy of the market.

A correspondent for the *Economic and Political Weekly* wrote in the September 21 issue, "The stocks with the government are altogether inadequate to meet the demands of the public distribution system in the lean period before the kharif⁴ harvest." According to the reporter's estimates, the regime had a stock of barely 4 million tons at the beginning of July 1974. A part of this has since been exhausted, with little restocking from either domestic procurement or foreign imports. At the time the correspondent wrote the article, the total stocks held by the regime stood at about 3.3 million tons.

According to an estimate by the Finance Ministry, about 8.8 million tons of food grains were to be rationed by the public distribution system during 1974. Of this, 5.6 million tons were to be imported, while only 3.2 million tons were scheduled to be procured from rich farmers. The *Economic and Political Weekly* correspondent considered this amount grossly inadequate. As of November 25, 1974, the regime had imported 3.5 million tons of food grains to keep the distribution system going.

According to a report in the December 2 *Economic Times*, the procurement drive for the 1974 kharif crop had yet to pick up steam, although the central buffer stocks were very low. The rice crop is expected to be 4 million tons less than that of last year. Thus the projected procurement target of 5 million tons of rice and 1.5 million tons of coarse grains is not likely to be achieved. In several states, according to the *Economic Times* report, the procurement drive had not even begun yet. Because of the severe famine conditions in wide areas, the consequences of the regime's delay in procurement efforts will be serious.

4. The kharif season crops are harvested in autumn after the summer monsoon rains. — IP

On November 26, 1974, the regime of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi came out with a new scheme for the distribution of such essential commodities as food grains, kerosene, cloth, coal, vanaspati, and medicine. Under the new scheme, the rationing of these goods will be confined to the thirty-three largest cities and will not cover the rural areas. Commenting on the scheme, an article in the December 4 *Economic Times* pointed out that the rural poor, who lack the purchasing power to buy basic goods at their current high prices, need as much protection as the city populations.

An editorial in the November 26 *Bombay Times of India* stated: "The Congress [party] has had all the time and the opportunity in the world to create an effective public distribution system and give a modicum of relief to the Harijans⁵ and the landless in the rural areas and the jobless millions in the cities. But it has done little about it." The editors continued, "In fact, judging by past performance, the country will be lucky if in the next three months the authorities are able to identify the areas and the classes of people that an extended public distribution system will be designed to serve."

Even the elementary demand for food has now become a slogan of the socialist revolution in India.

A Country of Poverty

A correspondent writing in the July 20, 1974, *Economic and Political Weekly* noted that poverty in India has actually increased. If the poverty line were defined very conservatively as an income of Rs. 20 per person per month (using 1960-61 prices), then the percentage of those below the poverty line has jumped from 40% in 1967-68 to about 66% in 1973. It has been calculated that only 10% of the population draws an income of Rs. 400 a month or more.

The reporter observed, "Poor procurement of food grains, failure to build up an extensive public distribution system for commodities of mass consumption, frittering away of vast resources in non-developmental expenditure, low levels of public sector saving and investment, neglect of growth of employment, failure to evolve devices to protect the real incomes of the employed poor—all these have been of the government's making."

As shown by the Commerce Research Bureau (Basic Statistics Relating to the Indian Economy—1973), India under capitalism remains one of the poorest countries in the world, both in terms of gross national product and per capita income.

The crisis of the Indian capitalist economy is not just conjunctural. It is essen-

5. Mahatma Gandhi instituted the word Harijans, or "Children of God," as the semiofficial term for untouchables. — IP

tially structural and results from attempting to build a viable capitalist economy in an underdeveloped country in the midst of a decaying and crisis-ridden global capitalist economy.

An editorial in the December 6 *Economic Times* noted that India's "real economic crisis is structural and inflation is the outward manifestation of that crisis." The editors said that the crisis "originates in the shifts of income blessed by opportunistic policies, contrived shortages of supplies of essential goods, a slowdown in the pace of development (partially reflecting the ill-conceived suspension of planned development), massive speculative operations sustained by unrestrained flow of black money,⁶ and production patterns and policies distorted or influenced by the black money elite that dominates Indian society today. These are the problems which remain unsolved much as before."

The *Economic Times* recognized the explosiveness of the situation. The editorial went on, "Whoever analyses the state of economy today will find some of these ugly features posing a grave threat to the country's economic stability." It warned, "Such crisis conditions, if continued too long, would provide ideal stumping ground to political adventurists."

For the moment, the Indian bourgeoisie's policy is to rely more and more on the private sector to help lift the stagnant economy out of the morass.

The Ruling-Class Strategy

In agriculture, the regime will continue to give the rich capitalist farmers subsidies and incentives in order to secure marketable surpluses of food grains. It will also rely on massive imports. The agrarian bourgeoisie, which is the main prop of capitalist rule in rural India, will continue to reap all the benefits of the government's efforts to raise agricultural production. They will not be taxed, despite the fact that during the last two decades they have concentrated massive resources in their own hands.

In the industrial sector, the Gandhi regime is evolving a new strategy that would give the private sector a larger role in the economy, even in those areas that were traditionally reserved for state enterprises. This new strategy parallels the regime's retreat from the state control of the wholesale wheat trade. New Delhi's economic planning is in shambles; expenditures projected by the economic plan have already been slashed by about Rs. 200 crores.

Of course, the bourgeoisie's overall strategy is to pass the burden of the economic crisis onto the shoulders of the masses. An editorial in the August 1974 *Economic and Political Weekly* observed

6. Black money refers to income that is not declared in order to avoid taxes. — IP

that "the burden of fighting the inflation has been almost entirely foisted on the shoulders of the organised working class." The partial wage-freeze⁷ was part of this strategy.

However, not a single measure for regulating the flow of "black money" has been taken. Nor have there been any curbs on the huge profits of the corporations and capitalists or on the massive drain of valuable foreign exchange through smuggling, the manipulation of accounts, and other shady deals.

The railway strike was a testing ground for the government's confrontation with the working class. The determination of the bourgeoisie, plus the weak union leadership, combined to crush the railway strike. Despite the erosion of Gandhi's popularity, her handling of the railway strike reinforced the Indian bourgeoisie's confidence in her. The capitalists then launched another offensive against the workers by imposing the partial wage freeze.

However long and acute the economic crisis may be, it will not necessarily result in a revolutionary situation. If the crisis is prolonged, the defeat of a major working-class action like the railway strike in May 1974 may breed pessimism and political apathy among the workers. Their defensive reflexes may be weakened. There are some indications that this is the case with the railway workers.

So far, there has been no organized working-class response to the wage freeze launched by the bourgeoisie. The so-called leftist parties have not initiated any actions to defend the past gains of the workers. Nor has there been a single vigorous campaign in defense of the victimized railway strikers, not to mention the thousands of political prisoners in the country.

For the moment, the class initiative remains with the bourgeoisie. It is very skillful in using pseudo-socialist demagoguery and in pitting the various left parties against each other. At times it even allows popular front governments, like those in West Bengal and Kerala, to run the local capitalist state administrations.

The two main Stalinist parties in India—the Communist party of India and the Communist party of India (Marxist)—have greatly assisted the Indian bourgeoisie in retaining its class initiative through their popular front politics, either under the guise of the "national democratic revolution" or the "people's democratic revolution."

7. On July 6, the government enacted an ordinance that imposed a partial wage freeze. Under the law, all wage increases for one year were impounded in compulsory "savings" accounts, to be paid back in five annual installments. It also applied to 50 percent of all cost-of-living allowance increases for two years.—IP

While both major Stalinist parties are petty-bourgeois in their programs and leadership, they are a major tendency in the organized working class. Thus the deception and confusion they spread among the working class—over the real class nature of the regime, the immediate



GANDHI: Wage freeze for workers, green light for black marketeers.

tasks, or the character of the coming revolution—have been a great obstacle to the development of class consciousness and class action on the part of Indian workers. The CPI's treacherous role during the May 1974 railway strike⁸ was a clear example. The Indian bourgeoisie very skillfully exploits the class-collaborationist politics of the Stalinist parties.

Mass discontent is seething. In 1974, mass struggles were launched in several states, but they were sporadic and uncoordinated. Workers did not participate in them on a mass scale. The Stalinist parties failed to provide a genuine class orientation or leadership to the developing mass struggles. As a result, the struggles have been weakened in the face of the bourgeoisie's determined efforts to wear them down or crush them with increasingly ruthless force.

As the economic crisis deepens, inflation will continue to rise, further eroding the real income of the workers. The

8. In the face of government repression against the railway strike, S.A. Dange, chairman of the CPI and general secretary of the CPI-dominated All-India Trade Union Congress, proposed that the strikers settle with the regime separately by group or zone. This divided them and quickly led to the end of the strike.—IP

capitalist regime will push more of the economic burden onto the workers and toilers, slashing the budgets of "welfare" projects. The Planning Commission has already given up on any effort to increase employment opportunities and has proposed a cut of Rs. 743 crores in the financing of primary education. At the same time that the regime has rushed to compensate the owners of ailing industries taken over by the state, it has imposed a partial wage freeze on the workers.

In its frantic search for resources to keep the economy going, the regime will continue to fleece the toilers through compulsory deposit schemes, indirect taxes, and artificial inflation. It will seek greater amounts of foreign aid, resort to increased deficit financing, and try to force the workers to accept more intense exploitation.

Under the compulsion of these unbearable conditions, the propertyless and exploited masses will protest, resist, and perhaps launch gigantic extraparliamentary struggles. The nature of these struggles will often be defensive, spontaneous, local, or sectoral. Because of the lack of working-class leadership, these struggles may take false paths. Nevertheless, the mass struggles are likely to grow and spread in 1975.

The bourgeoisie can be expected to become more authoritarian, further dropping its pretenses of democratic rule. In 1974, the Gandhi regime's authoritarian trend had already become quite visible. Such repressive legislation as the Maintenance of Internal Security Act (MISA) and the Defence of India Rules (DIR) have been used almost exclusively against democratic movements and opponents of the regime—not against the major profiteers, black marketeers, or hoarders. The number of political prisoners is increasing and the use of torture is on the rise. The regime is spending more and more on its repressive apparatus, and its use of force against the mass movements is increasing steadily.

Despite the growing repression, the pro-Moscow Communist party of India can be expected to side more and more with the Gandhi regime and, together with the CPI(M), to try to derail the developing mass movements.

In this context, it is necessary to fight for a program of transitional and democratic demands. Such demands include calls for the defense of the victimized railway workers, the preservation of gains won in past struggles, the repeal of repressive laws and the release of political prisoners, and the formation of committees of the exploited in the factories, cities, and districts. It is also necessary to raise concrete demands for an effective public distribution system and to offer an anticapitalist solution to the food crisis.

This is the need of the hour in India. □

AROUND THE WORLD



U.S. Bomb Shipments to Saigon

Dinh Ba Thi, the interim head of the Provisional Revolutionary Government delegation in Paris, charged in a news conference January 24 that Washington has given Saigon more than 1.5 million tons of bombs since the signing of the 1973 Paris peace accords.

This is nearly equivalent to the 800,000 tons of bombs that were dropped yearly on South Vietnam under the Johnson administration and only 25 percent less than the one million tons of bombs dropped each year under Nixon.

Dinh also charged that more than 100 Central Intelligence Agency operatives were running a network of 14,000 South Vietnamese political police agents.

Dissident Yugoslav Professors Fired

Eight dissident Yugoslav professors were dismissed from the philosophy department of the University of Belgrade January 28 by the Serbian legislature. The eight, who have been under attack since 1968, were charged with "corrupting the youth," and preparing their students for a "political confrontation" with the government. They had also been charged with establishing links with European "Trotskyists."

The dismissal of the eight professors provoked the resignation of the dean of the philosophy faculty, Dr. Sima Cirkev. Solidarity among the teachers at the university forced the government to modify the law governing the composition of faculty councils to enable it to get rid of the critics.

Demonstration Forces U.S. Warship to Cancel Call at Greek Port

A rally of more than 4,000 persons protested the docking of the U.S. destroyer *Byrd* at the Greek island of Corfu January 27, forcing the Caramanlis regime to request cancellation of the ship's visit. By the time Washington complied, removing the warship eight hours later, the demonstration had grown to 10,000 persons. According to a police statement, two officers who had gone ashore were "nearly lynched."

U.S. naval authorities said that this was the first time an American warship had been scheduled to visit a Greek port since the war on Cyprus and the fall of the Greek junta. Washington's support for the former Ioannides dictatorship and for the Turkish invasion of Cyprus was a focal

point of the Corfu demonstration.

Associated Press reported that the organizers of the demonstration had sent a message to the Greek government calling for an end to all visits by U.S. warships. Under the Caramanlis government, several Sixth Fleet warships are allowed to continue to use special homeport facilities near Athens.

Danish Government Falls

On January 28, three weeks after the Danish general election, the minority Liberal party government was forced to resign. A parliamentary resolution presented by the Social Democratic party that demanded the Liberals resign passed by 86 votes to 85.

Poul Hartling, the Liberal premier, had called the January 9 election in an attempt to win support for a one-year wage freeze. However, Hartling's party failed to win a majority in the election and the Social Democrats remained the largest party. It is expected that the Social Democrats will be asked to form a new government.

Ethiopian Regime Launches Attack on Eritrean Liberation Forces

The Ethiopian government ordered bombers, armored units, and troops into action against the Eritrean independence forces February 2. At least seventy-five persons were reported killed and nearly 200 wounded in the fighting that began January 31. The clashes were termed the biggest since the Eritrean independence struggle began in 1962. The government claimed it was in control of Asmara, Eritrea's capital, after two days of fierce fighting in the city.

The Golden Years

"If I put a man in a room, beat him, starved him, didn't give him any water, the state would put me in jail. If I own a nursing home and do it, the state pays me."

Dr. Isa Goldman, chief medical resident at Brooklyn's Coney Island Hospital, also explained to a New York commission investigating conditions at nursing homes for the elderly what was meant by the term "nursing-home transfer." This, he said, was New York hospital jargon used to describe patients who were dehydrated, near death, usually in a coma, and suffering from huge bedsores. When, through continued neglect, nursing-home patients reach this state, they are transferred to

hospitals to await death.

Goldman's testimony came January 29 in the midst of a mounting scandal on the treatment of old people in institutions that are run for profit. Two patients testified the same day. They told of bad food, of cockroaches and mice in their rooms, and of being dragged out of bed at 5 in the morning after being kept awake by persons on the staff watching television until midnight. One old man who protested these conditions was beaten for it.

Since most nursing-home patients cannot afford the rates charged by the operators, the owners collect Medicaid payments from the government. Investigators have so far documented cases in which nursing-home owners have spent money intended for patients' care on a Rolls-Royce and chauffeur, fuel for a yacht, and alimony payments.

Can't Bite the Bullet

The first river-borne supplies to reach Phnompenh since Cambodian insurgents opened their current offensive on New Year's Day arrived in the city January 23. Ordinarily, the Cambodian capital is supplied by one convoy a week traveling on the Mekong river. A *New York Times* dispatch remarked that "some of the people of Phnom Penh, low on rice, became concerned when they learned that the convoy had brought only ammunition."

Vatican Hit by Sindona Bankruptcy

Massimo Spada, a former official of the Catholic church's central administration, has estimated that the Vatican lost \$55 million in the failures of two banks controlled by Italian financier Michele Sindona. Spada also said that Sindona had helped the Vatican sell its financial interests in a string of enterprises, including an international real estate combine whose holdings included the Watergate building complex in Washington. On January 31, Federico Alessandrini, the Vatican's chief press spokesman, denied reports that Vatican money may have been used for foreign-currency speculations.

Washington Lowers Estimate of OPEC 'Petrodollar' Buildup

A U.S. Treasury Department analysis of the financial prospects for the main countries involved in the world petroleum trade concludes that "there is no reason that the accumulation of substantial debt

by oil-importing nations to oil exporters need undermine either the solvency or the liquidity of oil importers as a group."

The study, made public January 30 by Treasury Secretary William Simon, contrasts sharply with earlier predictions of world financial collapse and the eclipse of the imperialist powers as a result of higher oil prices. While the World Bank estimated last July that the exporting countries' accumulation of oil revenues would reach \$653 billion in 1980 and \$1.2 trillion by 1985, the Treasury Department report estimates a peak accumulation of \$200 to \$250 billion by 1980, and then a leveling out followed by a decline starting about 1985.

Japanese Bankruptcies at Record High

Reflecting the seriousness of Japan's recession, the number of bankrupt firms in 1974 reached the highest level on record. According to figures released by private credit research agencies January 13, more than 11,600 companies went bankrupt in 1974, up almost 10 percent from the previous year. They left a combined debt of more than 1,600 billion yen (about US\$5.38 billion).

Manila Reported Using Napalm in Fight Against Muslim Rebels

The Philippine air force dropped napalm bombs on suspected strongholds of Muslim rebels, according to a January 24 Associated Press dispatch from central Mindanao. Colonel Rudolfo A. Caniaso, commander of the Thirteenth Infantry Battalion in Pigcawayan, and Esteban Doruelo, former mayor of Pigcawayan, said they had watched from a spotter helicopter January 22 while air force jets dropped napalm on buildings near Tumbao, sixteen miles south of Cotabato City. Caniaso also said that during another air strike, his troops 500 yards from the target felt the heat of the bombs. Defense Secretary Juan Ponce Enrile denied the reports.

Four Japanese Workers Fight Deportation From U. S.

Four young Japanese immigrant workers in San Francisco face deportation. Arrangements for their entry into the United States were made by the Seketei Corporation, which promised to pay them \$800 a month as cooks at the Kiku of Tokyo Restaurant in San Francisco. They were brought in on E-2 visas with credentials falsified by Seketei. But when they began work, they had to wash dishes and tend bar sixty hours a week for as little as \$0.92 an hour. When they complained, they were fired.

The four—Kosaku Kato, Etsuo Shimizu, Masafumi Zaitzu, and Yukio Udagawa—are now waging a legal battle against the U.S. Immigration and Na-

turalization Service, which has declared them "illegal aliens" and is trying to deport them. They are suing the restaurant for \$1 million and plan to sue the cooks union for failing to protect their rights.

"Companies like Seketei love to bring people in our situation over here," Zaitzu told reporters, "because they can pay us whatever they want, and if we complain, they kick us out for 'falsifying visas.'"

Vietnamese Buddhist Sect Rebels

Thousands of supporters of the anti-communist Hoa Hao Buddhist sect rebelled in the Mekong delta January 31, following an announcement by Saigon that the sect's private army of 50,000 would be disarmed and disbanded. The Hoa Hao militiamen clashed with Saigon troops, leaving at least three dead. Saigon radio charged that the sect had organized antigovernment protests, threatened outposts, and arrested policemen. The sect controls parts of the western Mekong delta, where they have opposed the liberation forces since the 1940s.

U. S. Coal Profits Soar

The Pittston Company, the largest independent U.S. coal producer, reported a 398.8 percent jump in its profits for the fourth quarter of 1974, despite a decline in sales of more than 14 percent. Taking advantage of shortages, Pittston sold some grades of coal for more than \$100 a ton. Similar coal brought no more than \$15 to \$20 a ton in 1973.

Since other major coal producers are owned by larger oil companies and do not report their incomes separately, Pittston's financial report is one of the few indications available of the extent of coal operators' profits.

Cairo to Buy 44 French Jets

The Egyptian regime has ordered forty-four Mirage jet fighters from Paris, French government sources told reporters January 30. Half of the planes are the new F-1 fighters that were added to the French air force last year. The other twenty-two are the F-1Es, which have not yet gone into production and would not be available until the end of the 1970s. The source said that in agreeing to the weapons deal, Paris had asked Egyptian President Sadat not to make "too much noise" about the transaction.

U. S. Trade Deficit Hits \$3 Billion

The United States racked up its second-largest trade deficit in history in 1974. The \$3.07 billion deficit was exceeded only by the \$6.4 billion deficit in 1972.

However, overall U.S. exports rose 38.3% over 1973, compared to a rise of only 3.5% in imports. It is estimated, therefore, that if oil imports in 1974 had cost the same as in 1973, Washington

would have had a trade surplus of \$14 billion.

Announcing the new figures January 27, Commerce Secretary Frederick Dent attributed the rise in U.S. exports to the "increased competitiveness of American products in world markets due to devaluation" of the dollar.

Israeli Commission Reports on October War

The report of an official Israeli commission on the causes for the defeats suffered by Israel in the early days of the October 1973 war with Egypt and Syria was submitted to the government of Premier Yitzhak Rabin January 30. A summary of the report that was made public cited faulty intelligence, lax discipline in the armed forces, inadequate performance by top Israeli commanders, and breakdowns in communications and the command structure as reasons for the setbacks.

The bulk of the final report was classified as secret. The commission directed that a decision on releasing the report to the public should not be made for thirty years.

Israeli Air Power

Which country has the world's third most powerful air force? Israel, according to a report by Rowland Evans and Robert Novak in their January 27 column: "High-level Pentagon specialists say that Israel now possesses a more powerful arsenal of sophisticated air munitions than any country in the world except the Soviet Union and the United States."

Rhodesian Immigration Down

The Rhodesian regime's "Settler '74" campaign, which was designed to bring one million white immigrants to the country during 1974, was a resounding flop. The racist regime fell short of its target by 999,405, with a net gain of only 595 immigrants, the lowest total in eight years.

Coalition Regime Takes Power in Angola

The Angolan coalition regime formally took office January 31 at a ceremony in Luanda before a cheering crowd of 5,000 Angolans waving flags of the three liberation movements.

The members of the new presidential council are Johnny Eduardo of the FNLA (Frente Nacional de Libertacao de Angola—Angolan National Liberation Front), Lopo do Nascimento of the MPLA (Movimento Popular de Libertacao de Angola—People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola), and Jose Ndele of UNITA (Uniao Nacional para Independencia Total de Angola—National Union for the Total Independence of Angola). The Portuguese high commissioner is General Antonio da Silva Cardoso.

María Joffe Logra el Exilio

Por Gerry Foley

[La siguiente es una traducción del artículo "On Maria Joffe's Gaining Exile", publicado en *Intercontinental Press* el 27 de enero.]

María Joffe, viuda del opositor de izquierda Adolf Joffe, llegó a Israel el 12 de enero, según un comunicado de Reuters desde Tel Aviv. El comunicado informó que planea escribir sus memorias:

"Me queda poco tiempo pero tengo el compromiso con la humanidad de escribir, para que la gente pueda saber qué pasa en la Unión Soviética," dijo la veterana bolchevique de 75 años de edad al arribar al aeropuerto de Tel Aviv. "Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn escribió sobre los horrores de los campos de concentración y yo tengo mi propia historia que contar sobre esa época difícil."

No se dieron las razones por las que la viuda de Joffe escogió a Israel para exiliarse. Puede ser por razones prácticas. Todos los judíos tienen el derecho a la ciudadanía israelí. Los Estados Unidos han podido ejercer una gran presión para que la Unión Soviética permita a los judíos emigrar. Aún más, la emigración sionista es quizá la menos vergonzosa para el régimen burocrático.

María Joffe estuvo recluida en un campo de concentración de 1929 hasta 1956, desde la época en que se consolidó el régimen dictatorial hasta el "deshielo" poststalinista. Estuvo en la casa de Trotsky el 17 de enero de 1928, cuando el dirigente revolucionario fue aprehendido y desterrado junto con su familia a Alma-Ata en el Asia Central Soviética.

Natalia, la esposa de Trotsky, describió el incidente en su diario: "... apenas habíamos acabado el desayuno cuando sonó el timbre; era la esposa de Byeloborodov; después llegó la esposa de Joffe. Sonó de nuevo el timbre—y se llenó todo el departamento de agentes de la G. P. U. vestidos de civil y uniformados. Le entregaron un oficio a L.D. [Lev Davidovich Trotsky] que lo declaraba bajo arresto para ser trasladado de inmediato bajo escolta a Alma-Ata. ... El teléfono sonaba constante-

mente, pero un agente que estaba al lado de él nos impedía, de buen humor, contestarlo. Fue sólo por casualidad que pudimos avisarle a Byeloborodov que la casa había sido ocupada y que nos estaban llevando por la fuerza. ...

"Los agentes estaban notablemente excitados. L.D. se rehusó a salir por su propia voluntad. Utilizó la ocasión para poner en claro la situación. El Politburó intentaba hacer aparecer su exilio, al igual que el de los opositores más prominentes, como un acto voluntario. De esta manera se presentaban a los trabajadores los exilios. Era necesario refutar ese mito, mostrando la realidad de tal manera que los hechos no pudieran ser suprimidos o distorsionados. De ahí la decisión de L.D. de forzar a sus oponentes a hacer uso abierto de la fuerza. Nos encerramos en uno de los cuartos con nuestras dos visitantes. Se llevaron a cabo pláticas con los agentes de la G. P. U. a través de puertas cerradas. Los agentes no sabían que hacer; titubeaban, consultaban a sus jefes por teléfono, y cuando recibieron instrucciones, anunciaron que iban a forzar la puerta, ya que debían llevar a cabo las órdenes. Entretanto, L.D. dictaba instrucciones sobre cómo debería actuar la oposición en el futuro. La puerta permaneció cerrada. Oímos el golpe de un martillo, se rompió el cristal, y un brazo uniformado se introdujo. ... Al ver a L.D. con las pantunflas puestas, buscaron sus zapatos y se los pusieron. Después encontraron su abrigo de piel y su gorro y se los pusieron. L.D. se rehusó a salir. Lo levantaron en peso y se lo llevaron. Corrimos detrás. Yo me puse mis botas para la nieve y mi abrigo de piel. ... La puerta se golpeó detrás de mí. Del otro lado, oí una conmoción. Les grité a los hombres que se llevaban a L.D. por las escaleras, exigiéndoles que dejaran salir a mis hijos; el mayor iba a acompañarnos al exilio. La puerta se abrió de repente, y mis hijos salieron apresuradamente seguidos por nuestras visitantes, Byeloborodova y Joffe. Se

abrieron paso a la fuerza con la ayuda de las medidas atléticas de Seryozha. Al bajar las escaleras Lyova timbró en todas las puertas, gritando: 'Se están llevando al Camarada Trotsky!' Caras asustadas aparecían en las puertas y en las escaleras; en este edificio, sólo vivían obreros soviéticos prominentes. Nos amontonaron a todos en un automóvil; Seryozha difícilmente pudo meter sus piernas. Byeloborodova también venía con nosotros."¹

No está claro que le pasó a María Joffe si fue arrestada en ese momento o si decidió quedarse atrás y fue arrestada después.

De la misma manera que los hijos de Trotsky, la familia del diplomático soviético, fue un blanco especial de la venganza paranoica del dictador que destruyó al partido Bolchevique y asesinó a la mayoría de sus dirigentes.

Aleksandra Chumakova, una vieja bolchevique menciona a la hija de Joffe en sus memorias, que se publicaron en un samizdat, poco después de la caída de Krushchev. La suerte de Masha Joffe se vinculó de una forma peculiar a la de Anya Khromova; una representante particularmente talentosa de la juventud idealista que maduró después de la instauración del poder soviético y que fue aniquilada en las grandes purgas. Khromova fue arrestada por escribirle a Stalin una carta en verso describiendo los sufrimientos de los campesinos bajo la colectivización forzosa.

Chumakova escribió: "Al regresar a Moscú después de su estancia en una granja colectiva, Anya le escribió una carta a Stalin en verso que describía la vida miserable en las villas colectivizadas en Rusia.

"Anya tenía esperanzas de que Stalin ayudara a los hambrientos kolkhoz y salvara a sus abuelos de morir de inanición. Pero se equivocó. Su carta en verso no le gustó a Stalin, éste ordenó a la OGPU

1. León Trotsky, *My Life* (New York: Pathfinder Press, 1970), pp. 540-41.

que le exigiera una explicación a Anya.

"Pronto la figura aterradora de un agente de la OGPU llegó a su escuela y empezó una investigación. Fueron cuestionados el director de la escuela, los maestros, los empleados de mantenimiento e inclusive algunos alumnos. Todos los que fueron cuestionados apreciaban bastante a Anya y se expresaron sobre ella con afecto. Era una joven muy inteligente y talentosa. Observadora atenta de los fenómenos naturales y de la vida humana, describía lo que veía con imágenes vividas que tomaban cuerpo tanto en prosa como en poemas.

"Nadie tenía quejas. Todo el mundo habló bien de ella. Pero el agente de la OGPU era de los testarudos. Era difícil para él aceptar pruebas favorables de nadie. No creía en el testimonio de la gente de la escuela. Tenía su propia opinión profesional, que se había desarrollado durante los muchos años que tenía como agente y que se basaba en la sospecha y la desconfianza en la gente. Estaba seguro de que la carta en verso a Stalin acerca de las granjas colectivas, no había sido escrita por Anya, sino por alguien que se escondía detrás de las faldas de una escolar. Arrestó a Anya y la llevó de la escuela directamente a la cárcel. Toda la escuela lloró al despedirse de Anya Khromova. Pero aún arrinconada en el rincón del automóvil, en silencio, componía nuevos versos.

"Unos días después Anya fue interrogada. El agente había decidido poner al descubierto su 'supuesto talento literario' y hacerla decir los nombres de los verdaderos autores de la carta a Stalin. Estaba seguro que el autor de la carta era algún asiduo enemigo del poder soviético y éste no iba poder escapar.

"Cuando Anya fue llevada a su oficina, le dió papel y pluma y le propuso que hiciera una composición en verso acerca de las mujeres con las que compartía su celda.

"El agente abandonó el cuarto, diciendo que regresaría en dos horas. Ya sola, Anya se sumió en su pensamiento. Empezó a recordar las caras de sus compañeras de celda y seleccionó las imágenes más lacerantes para mostrar como la vida en prisión era una vida de sufrimiento insoportable y de tormento. Entre las que compartíamos la celda, en aquel entonces, estábamos las siguientes:

"1. Masha Joffe, hija del famoso diplomático soviético A. A. Joffe.

"2. Elena Barbina, esposa de un funcionario del Soviet de Moscú.

"3. Un grupo grande, de mujeres jóvenes, de la Juventud Comunista, guías del Parque Gorki para el Descanso y la Recreación, que fueron acusadas de desear emigrar a Inglaterra. (Ese verano el escritor británico George Bernard Shaw había visitado Moscú).

"4. Kabakova, esposa del primer secretario del Comité Regional de Sverdlovsk del partido.

"Después de dos horas el agente regresó y tomó las hojas de papel ya escritas de Anya. Con gran irritación, pero a la vez vehementemente absorto, escudriñó las oraciones rítmicas de su maravillosa poesía. Le dominó la rabia, la irritación y el disgusto. En sus manos tenía una obra literaria de talento, de cuyas páginas brotaba la voz de la mujer angustiada, que pedía que se auxiliara a mujeres inocentes arrestadas, cuyas vidas estaban siendo destruidas en la prisión.

"Con gran fuerza poética Anya describió a una de sus compañeras de celda en la prisión a la que los chekistas le habían quitado a su hijo lactante, cuando la arrestaron. Sus senos se le hincharon dolorosamente por la interrupción repentina de la crianza, sus pezones inflamados se partieron y sangraron. La desafortunada madre se sacudía se revolcaba en su litera, gimiendo y maldiciendo su destino de mujer y de madre.

"El agente no dudó más. Había probado el talento literario de Anya Khromova. Ya no sospechaba que alguna otra persona haya escrito la carta a Stalin. Su suerte estaba decidida. Fue sentenciada al exilio en Siberia. Al partir nos preguntó, '¿Es verdad que Dostoievsky y Ryleev estuvieron en prisión?' Le dijimos que era cierto. 'Entonces,' dijo, 'Ya no temo más por mi futuro.'"²

La que escribió las memorias no volvió a saber nada de Anya Khromova. Masha Joffe desapareció de la misma manera.

Por lo que respecta a Adolf Joffe, su muerte no podía dejar de impactar. Su nombre estaba inseparablemente vinculado al heroico periodo del

2. George Saunders, ed., *Samizdat: Voices of the Soviet Opposition* (New York: Monad Press. Distribuido por Pathfinder Press, 1974), pp. 200-202.

poder soviético. Se suicidó poco antes de que Stalin estableciera la dictadura política de la burocracia.

Un viejo "bolchevique leninista" y veterano de la Oposición de Izquierda, anónimo, describió el papel de Joffe, en sus memorias escritas en un samizdat:

"A. A. Joffe entró al movimiento revolucionario en los últimos días de la reacción zarista cuando los cuerpos de los revolucionarios colgaban de los postes de los faroles, y las llamas de las barricadas de 1905 revoloteaban en el distrito de Presnya. Dejó sin arrepentirse el hogar de su rico padre, abandonando su vida pacífica de burgués por la peligrosa vida de combatiente revolucionario del proletariado. Asumió sin temor este camino en la vida, aunque constantemente se arriesgaba al exilio o a las balas de la policía, la muerte.

"Durante los primeros días del poder soviético, Joffe fue asignado al trabajo más difícil que enfrentaba el estado soviético, la esfera del trabajo diplomático, la política exterior. En éste había un impedimento tras otro. El mundo burgués no quería reconocer el poder Soviético. Sólo la gran capacidad de Joffe, su conocimiento y su talento pudieron superar los obstáculos. Era como un zapador en el campo de batalla, despejando un camino que había sido minado, en sus esfuerzos para obtener el reconocimiento diplomático de la Rusia Soviética. Fue el primer embajador plenipotenciario de la tierra de los soviets en la Alemania burguesa y en otros países. Fue asignado por Trotsky, que era en aquel entonces comisario de asuntos exteriores, para desatar los nudos entre Alemania y Rusia. Jugó un papel importante en las negociaciones de paz en Brest, en 1918. Por esta actuación prominente, Lenin le agradeció personalmente. Poco antes de su muerte, Joffe fue embajador en Japón."³

Joffe regresó de Japón a principios de 1927, gravemente enfermo de tuberculosis y de neuritis. Sus doctores en Moscú estuvieron de acuerdo en que la única esperanza para salvar su vida era enviarlo al extranjero para un tratamiento. Sin embargo, Stalin no sólo le rehusó la visa para salir del país, sino que también le quitó la atención médica, mientras que la policía lo hostilizaba severamente.

3. Saunders, *Samizdat*, pp. 94-95.

El 16 de noviembre, Joffe se pegó un tiro. La Oposición de Izquierda pudo organizar una manifestación en su funeral. Fue probablemente, la última expresión pública de oposición revolucionaria a la burocracia que se dió fuera de los campos de concentración, hasta el ascenso de la nueva oposición después de la muerte de Stalin.

El viejo opositorista de izquierda que publicó sus memorias en un *Samizdat* para la nueva generación de opositoristas participó en la manifestación.

"La columna que encabezaba la procesión llegó al monasterio de Novo-Devichy. En las puertas del monasterio estaba la policía montada, armada con rifles. El secretario del Comité Ejecutivo Central de Todas las Repúblicas Soviéticas, Yenukidze, estaba parado cerca de la milicia. Había dado órdenes de permitir la entrada sólo a los parientes y a las amistades cercanas del difunto. Se nos ordenó que nos 'dispersáramos inmediatamente y nos fuéramos a casa.' Pero éramos 10,000. Corrimos hacia las puertas y las tomamos por asalto. La policía se retiró. Dentro del cementerio vimos una fosa al lado de la pared; encima de la pared había tropas armadas de la Cheka. Nos habían preparado una emboscada ('por si acaso') . . .

"La reunión empezó cerca de la fosa. Primero habló Chicherin. Después de él habló Ryutin, miembro de la delegación oficial al funeral. Era una 'nueva estrella en ascenso' de primera magnitud, empezó a hablar con la retórica acostumbrada. Su forma de hablar era ruda, atacaba constantemente a la Oposición. Era un discurso fúnebre lleno de alusiones insolentes que parecía más bien una provocación. . . . Pero nos reservamos nuestra indignación y permanecimos en silencio.

"Ryutin declaró que toda la Oposición era culpable de la muerte de Joffe. ¡Cuándo íbamos a pensar, en aquel entonces, que unos cuantos años después nos encontraríamos a aquella 'estrella', Ryutin, en el mismo barco que nosotros en la cárcel de Verkhné-Uralsk!"

Trotsky también habló.

"Después de haber trepado a la plataforma, Trotsky se descubrió la cabeza. Sus palabras emanaron como una melodía triste que pronto nos impactó. Había oído muchos de los discursos

de Trotsky pero ninguno como ese. Hablaba de su amigo, del revolucionario que dedicó su espíritu ardiente a la causa de la revolución hasta la última gota de su sangre.

"La muerte de Joffe afectó profundamente a Trotsky. Este tipo de muertes podría llevar a otros a imitaciones inadmisibles. El noble ejemplo de los Lafargues no fue una lucha por los ideales revolucionarios sino una protesta, una protesta por la que se paga muy caro y que puede ser dañina porque elimina combatientes de las filas de los revolucionarios. Esto no se puede permitir.

"Luego la melodía triste del discurso de Trotsky se tornó en un llamado valiente a la vida, a la lucha por la vida: las palabras quemantes de Trotsky caían sobre la multitud de 10,000 oyentes con el sonido del metal, 'Nadie tiene el derecho de seguir el ejemplo de esta muerte. Debemos seguir el ejemplo de esta vida.'

"Esta era la orden del jefe del ejército. . . . Nunca olvidamos esa orden, este mandato, aún en los días más oscuros de la represión stalinista.⁴

"La bandera leninista de la revolución proletaria mundial ha sido

4. El texto del discurso de Trotsky en los archivos de Harvard no incluye los siguientes episodios. El editor de *Samizdat* especula que los discursos de Trotsky y de Zinoviev han de haber sido confundidos en la memoria del "bolchevique leninista." El discurso de Zinoviev, según informes, fue menos restringido que el de Trotsky.

Zinoviev había apoyado a Stalin en la primera etapa de la lucha después de la muerte de Lenin. Sin embargo, cuando fue obvio que Stalin estaba decidido a destruir al partido Bolchevique, todas las corrientes que todavía le tenían algo de lealtad al partido que hizo la revolución, aún los elementos derechistas y parcialmente burocratizados, se aglutinaron en contra del verdugo dirigente de la burocracia contrarrevolucionaria. Sin embargo, debido al drama tan intenso y estrecho de aquellos años, y a la naturaleza semiclandestina de la lucha, es difícil saber si Trotsky dijo lo que le atribuye el memorialista, o porque los viejos opositoristas asocian estas declaraciones con esta determinada ocasión. No hay duda, sin embargo, que estas reflejan el programa y la actitud de la Oposición de Izquierda.

echada al lodazal y ha sido pisoteada,' dijo Trotsky acusando a Stalin de traicionar la causa de Lenin. La voz del orador timbró como una alarma causando sobresalto y trepidación. '¿Cómo la levantaremos de nuevo? ¿Cómo la limpiaremos del lodo que la cubre?' Nos preguntamos a nosotros mismos imaginándonos la bandera de Lenin.

"Trotsky agregó que la dirección del Comité Central había dejado pasar situaciones revolucionarias en Europa, China y la India, y habían retrasado la revolución mundial por muchas décadas. Esta ha sido una traición al internacionalismo. . . .

"La últimas palabras de Trotsky en el sepulcro de Joffe fueron como un juramento sagrado: 'Levantaremos en alto la bandera leninista de la revolución proletaria mundial y la llevaremos adelante hacia el comunismo mundial. ¡Viva el partido comunista revolucionario!'"⁵

De la misma manera que los viejos bolcheviques han transmitido la verdad de la Oposición de Izquierda por medio de los *Samizdats*, María Joffe ha sobrevivido la carnicería de su partido y ha vivido para ver la decadencia del sistema que edificó y de la religión estatal que creó para justificarlo. En occidente, puede también encontrar una nueva generación de revolucionarios que continúan la lucha de la Oposición de Izquierda. Sus memorias pueden contar la historia de las generaciones de revolucionarios destruidas por el holocausto stalinista y de esa manera ayudar a fortalecer la continuidad entre la lucha de ellos y la de aquellos que siguen manteniendo sus ideales no sólo en la Unión Soviética sino en todo el mundo.

Sólomente los revolucionarios más dedicados y con más visión, pudieron mantener una perspectiva revolucionaria durante más de cincuenta años de terror masivo y de represión totalitaria. Sin embargo, los viejos bolcheviques que escribieron sus memorias, transmitiendo el nombre y el ejemplo de Adolf Joffe a los que están combatiendo a la burocracia stalinista hoy en día en la Unión Soviética, nos muestran que los opositoristas de izquierda que sobrevivieron no carecieron de esas cualidades. □

5. *Samizdat*, pp. 95-98.

Pentágono Prepara Fuerzas Para Medio Oriente

Por Dick Fidler

[La siguiente es una traducción del artículo "Pentagon Readies Forces for Action in Arab East", publicado en *Intercontinental Press* el 27 de enero.]

* * *

Washington ha aumentado sus amenazas contra los países productores de petróleo, con toda una serie de maniobras calculadas, llevadas a cabo en el transcurso de las últimas semanas. Al mismo tiempo se sigue preparando para una intervención militar.

En una conferencia de prensa, el 14 de enero, el Secretario de Defensa James Schlesinger, haciendo eco de las declaraciones previas del Presidente Ford y el Secretario de Estado Kissinger, dijo que si se produce un precio elevado del petróleo o un embargo en la exportación de éste que amenace "estrangular" a los países industrializados, los Estados Unidos "considerarían recurrir al uso de la fuerza." Llevó así la posición de Ford un paso más adelante, al declarar que "En realidad es factible que llevemos a cabo operaciones militares" en el Golfo Árabe-Pérsico, un área que, según se dice, posiblemente fuera invadida y ocupada por los Estados Unidos.

El mismo día en que habló Schlesinger el *Washington Post* informó, sin hacer comentarios, que "un periódico de Kuwait dijo que los Emiratos Árabes Unidos han ignorado una solicitud hecha por el Presidente Ford pidiendo permiso para que la Marina de los Estados Unidos utilice dos islas costeras para ejercicios de desembarco militar." El Pentágono ya está llevando a cabo tales ejercicios en el Mediterráneo.

". . . los que planean la política de los Estados Unidos no están proponiendo seriamente una intervención como solución viable a los problemas financieros que enfrentan los Estados Unidos, Europa Occidental y Japón," informó, desde Washington, el reportero del *Wall Street Journal* Richard J. Levine el 15 de enero. "No obstante, la creciente predisposición de

los antiguos funcionarios norteamericanos a referirse a este asunto candente en reuniones públicas, se considera significativo por varias razones.

"Para empezar, esperan que las amenazas preocupen a los estados productores de petróleo del Medio Oriente, que, con excepción de Irán, son considerados militarmente débiles, y de esta manera impedir grandes reducciones en la producción o aumentos enormes en el precio. Según este razonamiento, un elemento de irracionalidad calculada en la política norteamericana es útil para mantener a raya a otras naciones."

Además, informó Levine, "Aunque los funcionarios antiguos de los Estados Unidos están convencidos de que una acción militar no es una opción factible dada la opinión pública actual, algunos de los que planean esa política están convencidos de que si la situación económica de las naciones industrializadas se deteriora seriamente, el sentir del público cambiaría radicalmente. De esta manera, el uso de la fuerza podría ser considerado."

Sin embargo el "uso de la fuerza" ya está bajo consideración—y se está preparando activamente. En el semanario liberal *The New Republic* del 18 de enero, un ex oficial del Pentágono informó que "los expertos del ejército están preparando una fuerza expedicionaria para el Medio Oriente compuesta de tres divisiones (blindadas, aeromóviles y aerotransportadas) para ser agregadas a las trece divisiones que ya existen en esa región. Esta vez," agregó Earl C. Ravenal, "quizá haya razones para creer que el alto mando militar no sólo esté atiborrando sus archivos con sus acostumbrados planes de contingencia."

Ravenal, actualmente catedrático de la Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies (Escuela Johns Hopkins de Estudios Internacionales Avanzados) en Washington describe un posible "guión" para la invasión norteamericana en el Medio Oriente que tiene bastantes toques de auten-

ticidad. Escribe:

". . . para la primavera o a principios del verano, la nieve se habrá despejado de las Colinas del Golán y Egipto habrá reaprovisionado su armamento con embarques soviéticos, entonces ya habrá quedado claro (quizá después de una larga conferencia llena de obstáculos en Ginebra) que los israelíes no se retirarán de los campos petroleros del Sinaí en Abu Rudeis ni en los pasos estratégicos de Gidí y Mitla, ni que den terreno a Siria, ni siquiera simbólicamente, o que lleguen a aceptar un régimen anti israelí en la ribera oeste. Habrá una escalada en las incursiones terroristas árabes y en las escaramuzas fronterizas. Israel ni siquiera tendrá que atacar primero en el sentido estricto de la palabra, sin embargo, estará listo para una contraofensiva general.

"Con el estallido de la guerra, las tropas israelíes, después de haber estabilizado dos o tres frentes—destruyendo al ejército sirio, impidiendo un ataque jordano, y deteniendo a los egipcios en los pasos del Sinaí sin que le cueste mucho—podría contraatacar con un comando que tome por sorpresa a Kuwait o cualquier otro país petrolero rico y despoblado del golfo. Para entonces los Estados Unidos desplegarán sus propias fuerzas de 'interposición'—de hecho ocupación—para reemplazar a los israelíes, bajo la cobertura superficial de alguna agencia internacional o consorcio, o simplemente después de haber propuesto tal cobertura se podrá despejar el campo para una acción unilateral. Al mismo tiempo los Estados Unidos le harían una advertencia a los soviéticos con una repetición—o quizá sólo una insinuación—del alerta nuclear mundial de octubre de 1973.

"Aquí el guión se vuelve eufórico. El daño causado por la invasión o por el sabotaje podrá ser pronto reparado. Los otros países petroleros que no han sido atacados, serán advertidos de que tienen que bajar sus precios y se les controlaría por me-

dio de nuestra capacidad y propensión a quebrar sus precios aumentando la oferta o invadiéndolos, si es necesario. Los primeros embarques de petróleo se enviarían a naciones carentes de petróleo y a naciones carentes de dinero, a precios por debajo de los del mercado, para legitimar la intervención militar. Naciones industrializadas necesitadas—y los estados diplomáticamente complacientes—serían la segunda prioridad en los embarques de petróleo. Nuestras propias necesidades serían aseguradas, y las estructuras financieras se estabilizarían indefinidamente. No es difícil ver por qué esta visión causa tanto entusiasmo."

Ravenal, un liberal, aparentemente favorece en lo general los objetivos de la campaña de Washington—según dice: "ante los descarados insultos económicos y políticos" por parte de los países productores de petróleo. Pero se detiene en lo que él llama las implicaciones "filosóficas" de la intervención militar:

"... no debemos perder nuestra habilidad de distinguir entre contraembargos, rupturas diplomáticas, acciones contra capitales extranjeros—y el envío de fuerzas armadas a través de fronteras internacionales, invadiendo estados soberanos, matando deliberada y organizadamente un sinnúmero de personas."

Crítica a sus compañeros liberales que "se indignaron por lo que hizo Nixon en Haipong," y ahora, bajo la presión de la campaña instrumentada por Kissinger en contra de los árabes, "están considerando la intervención 'quirúrgica,' 'decisiva' con interés ávido y con poco arrepentimiento."

Está de acuerdo que una ocupación rápida de los campos petroleros en el Golfo Árabe-Pérsico, por parte de los Estados Unidos, es factible desde el punto de vista militar, pero señala "la carga, el peligro, y el riesgo diplomático" que esto implica.

"Quizá tengamos que ocupar varios países árabes durante 10 o 15 años, posiblemente luchando contra guerrillas abastecidas por gobiernos simpatizantes e inclusive es posible que surjan nuevos regímenes radicales. La ayuda militar a Israel tendría que ser asegurada firme y constantemente." Los Estados Unidos se volverían aún más impopulares de lo que ya son en todo el mundo.

Aún más, subraya Ravenal, la ac-

ción militar requeriría un despliegue de grandes fuerzas convencionales indefinidamente, "especialmente en el Mediterráneo Oriental y el Océano Índico. La causa para el aumento, de las fuerzas nucleares y una mayor flexibilidad de las mismas, con el potencial de guerra (necesario para negociar en tiempos de crisis con los soviéticos) se fortalecería. El presupuesto para la defensa tendría que dejar de ser controlado para ser ampliado por años o décadas; el costo adicional fácilmente llegaría a los 20,000 millones de dólares anuales."

Los estrategas militares de los Estados Unidos consistentemente descartan la posibilidad de una respuesta militar de importancia por parte de los soviéticos. Pero Ravenal advierte "que nadie puede estar seguro de que los soviéticos se abstendrán de hacer valer sus fuerzas. . . ."

El Pentágono sin lugar a dudas se ha envalentonado con el silencio guardado por el Kremlin ante las declaraciones bélicas de los Estados Unidos. Un análisis del *Washington Post* del 15 de enero señaló que mientras los órganos informativos soviéticos le hacen propaganda a los ataques a la política exterior de los Estados Unidos publicados en el extranjero, los funcionarios siguen con sus elogios a la política de la "distensión" y ninguno de los voceros más importantes del Kremlin ha atacado hasta la fecha directamente a los Estados Unidos."

El 10 de enero veinte partidos comunistas de Europa Occidental emitieron una declaración conjunta denunciando "la aventura militar planeada por los Estados Unidos en el Medio Oriente." Sin embargo la declaración estaba encubierta por un lenguaje nacionalista que llamaba a los europeos a defender "su independencia, su libertad, su seguridad y . . . la paz."

La declaración de los partidos comunistas difícilmente pudo haber sido considerada una indicación de una nueva combatividad del Kremlin; muchos gobiernos capitalistas en Europa Occidental han emitido críticas aún más duras a la política norteamericana en el medio Oriente!

Según la política de la "coexistencia pacífica" (distensión es el nombre actual), el Kremlin y sus agentes, los partidos stalinistas en todo el mundo, tienen esperanzas de poder parar

la carrera bélica norteamericana en el Medio Oriente—y el peligro de guerra nuclear con la Unión Soviética que esto implica—confiando en la oposición a esos planes por parte de los aliados de Washington.

Esta estrategia ilusoria se deshace ante un hecho fundamental que se va evidenciando cada vez más, conforme aumenta el peligro de guerra.

La clase dominante de los Estados Unidos está dispuesta a arriesgar una confrontación nuclear con el Kremlin si considera que tal confrontación es necesaria para defender sus propios intereses imperialistas. Sólo siente desprecio por la renuencia de sus aliados y competidores. Como le dijo Kissinger a *Business Week*, ". . . los gobiernos [de Europa Occidental] que representan se han opuesto sistemáticamente a todas las medidas que hemos tomado en el Medio Oriente; toda acción fuerte que se ha llevado a cabo en el Medio Oriente ha sido llevada por los Estados Unidos. . . ."

"Creo que padecen de un tremendo sentimiento de inseguridad. Reconocen el hecho de que su seguridad depende de los Estados Unidos, que su prosperidad económica también depende de los Estados Unidos, y saben que en lo esencial tenemos la razón en lo que estamos haciendo. Así, este sentimiento de impotencia, la inhabilidad de poder aplicar la política doméstica que ellos saben que es correcta, les produce cierta displicencia que siempre se detiene antes de traducirse en acción política."

¡Estas formulaciones difícilmente pueden tomarse como una indicación de que Washington esté dispuesto a complacer a los críticos dentro de alianzas de occidente!

Esta misma presunción arrogante de los Estados Unidos como la potencia imperialista dominante, carente de cualquier consideración "normal" hacia la soberanía nacional de otros países, está presente, del principio al fin, en el artículo del Profesor Robert W. Tucker, que ha recibido gran publicidad, publicado en la revista *Commentary* de enero.

Tucker argumenta con franqueza: el uso de la fuerza armada es el recurso lógico de cualquier potencia soberana imperial como los Estados Unidos en contra de los intentos de los países semicoloniales de mejorar su posición económica a costa de los

intereses de los Estados Unidos. Argumenta en contra de cualquier noción de que estos países puedan tener el más mínimo derecho a lo que él llama "control exclusivo" sobre sus recursos naturales, y alienta a Washington a superar lo que él cree es una falta de determinación para utilizar la fuerza armada lo que atribuye al "legado de Vietnam."

Los apologistas de la campaña de Washington en contra de los países productores de petróleo no tienen más alternativa que retroceder ante declaraciones tan descaradas de los intereses propios del imperialismo, ya que sus otros argumentos se han desplomado tan obviamente bajo el peso de sus contradicciones internas propias.

Por ejemplo, el mismo Ford expuso lo falso de la supuesta intención por parte de Washington de reducir los precios del petróleo cuando reveló su nueva política de energéticos el 13 de enero.

Una de sus medidas claves incluye una tarifa sobre importaciones ultramarinas de petróleo que aumentará el precio en tres dólares por barril, empezando en abril, otra es el fin del control sobre los precios del 60 por ciento de la producción doméstica que todavía tiene el precio tope de 5.25 dólares por barril.

"Hasta la Casa Blanca admitió que los planes del Sr. Ford aumentarán 25,000 millones de dólares además de los gastos en concepto de combustible de los norteamericanos y sobre todo un aumento de un sólo "golpe" del dos por ciento en el costo de la vida," informó el *New York Times* el 19 de enero.

"Una familia común y corriente pagará 250 dólares más al año en concepto de gastos de energía; por lo menos diez centavos más en el galón de aceite para la calefacción; y el 20 por ciento más en el precio de la electricidad. Habrá otros aumentos en los precios como resultado de un transporte más caro y de un aumento en los costos de la industrial manufacturera, que son imposibles de calcular."

Falta ver si Ford puede convencer al público norteamericano de que los árabes son los culpables de estas medidas draconianas. Esa tarea puede ser menos "factible" de llevar a cabo que dejar caer el poder militar del Pentágono sobre los países productores de petróleo. □

February 10, 1975

DOCUMENTS

Trotsky's Speech at Adolf Joffe's Funeral

[Maria Joffe's exile from the Soviet Union in early January has refocused attention on the heroic generation of the Soviet Left Opposition, of which she is a survivor. In particular, the press has recalled her husband, Adolf Abramovich Joffe, a leading Soviet diplomat in the early years of the revolutionary government and one of the most prominent among those who opposed Stalin from the left.

[The new generation of dissenters in the Soviet Union, those circles reawakened to political thought, have shown a certain interest in A.A. Joffe as well as the other revolutionists who became victims of Stalin. Roy Medvedev, for example, in *Let History Judge*, quotes extensively from a samizdat account of the funeral of Joffe, who committed suicide in 1927 to protest the expulsion of Trotsky and Zinoviev from the party. Another dramatic account of that funeral, which became the last public demonstration of the Left Opposition where its leaders could speak, is in the "Memoirs of a Bolshevik-Leninist," published in samizdat sometime after the fall of Khrushchev.¹

[Because of the renewed attention being paid to the Joffes, we are printing here, for the first time in English, the speech given by Leon Trotsky at Joffe's funeral. There could be no more fitting account of Joffe's life. A cothinker and collaborator of Trotsky's from the days of the Vienna *Pravda*, Joffe long before 1917 jointly defended with the future leader of the Red Army the thesis that the Russian revolution had to be proletarian in character, a socialist revolution. And Joffe never abandoned his belief that the twentieth century was the age of permanent revolution, when a decadent capitalist system could no longer advance the cause of civilization in any way whatever anywhere in the world, a time when any revolution

that did not liquidate capitalism would be only a caricature of a revolution.

[The following passage by another survivor of the Left Opposition, the anonymous author of "Memoirs of a Bolshevik-Leninist"—who refers with respect to Maria Joffe in his work—helps provide the background to the present text.

[". . . the time has come to again summon Soviet youth to friendship based on mutual ideas, on struggle and striving for a better future for all humanity . . . (friendship) strengthened by the idea of fighting for a common cause.

[". . . (Such) was the friendship between Trotsky and Joffe. They maintained their friendship through prison and exile, without ever sullyng it. And when danger threatened Trotsky, Joffe committed suicide as a sign of protest.

[Such friendship always begins in the years of one's youth and is dedicated to something great, exalted, and purposeful. Such friendship makes one want to bow the head in respect. . . ."²

[The translation of Trotsky's eulogy to Joffe, from the speaker's own transcript of his words, is by George Saunders. It will appear in a collection of political profiles by Trotsky to be published by Pathfinder Press.]

* * *

Comrades, Adolf Abramovich has become part of the history of the last decade above all as a diplomatic representative of the first workers state in history. It has been said here—and in the press—that he was an outstanding diplomat. That is correct. He was a diplomat—that is, he served at the post to which he was assigned by the revolution and the workers government. But he was a great diplomat because he was a revolutionist through and through.

By social origin, Adolf Abramovich was the product of a bourgeois environment—more precisely, of a wealthy bourgeois family. But as we know,

1. Published in the collection *Samizdat: Voices of the Soviet Opposition*, edited by George Saunders. (New York: Monad Press. Distributed by Pathfinder Press, 1974.)

2. *Samizdat*, pp. 174-75.

there have been cases in history when the products of this sort of environment have made such a sharp break with their background—a break that goes to the very marrow of their bones—that from then on, there is no danger of their ever being won over to petty-bourgeois ideas. Adolf Abramovich was and remained a revolutionist to the end.

Speakers here today have referred—and rightly so—to the high level of his cultural attainments. As a diplomat he was forced to move in enemy circles, among cunning, sharp-eyed, and venomous foes. He knew this world, its customs and habits, and he assumed the ways of this world with subtlety and skill; but for him this was like putting on a uniform required by his post of duty. Adolf Abramovich never wore a uniform on his soul. It has been said here—and said correctly—that he was a stranger to routine or stereotyped attitudes on any question whatsoever. He approached every problem as a revolutionist. He held posts of responsibility but he was never a bureaucrat. Bureaucratism was alien to him. He looked at every problem from the point of view of the working class, which had raised itself from the depths of the underground to the heights of state power. He approached every problem from the point of view of the international proletariat and the international revolution. And this was the source of his strength, a strength he called on constantly to combat his own physical weakness. His strength of mind and his ability to exert its power remained with him to the very last moment, when the bullet left the dark stain that we can see here today upon his right temple.

Comrades, you might say that he withdrew from life by his own choice. And the revolution permits no one to withdraw on their own initiative. But let no one presume to judge Adolf Abramovich. For he withdrew at a point when, in his own thinking, he had nothing left to give the revolution but his death. Then, firmly and courageously, as he had lived life, he left it.

Difficult times never frightened him. He remained on the same even keel in October 1917 when he was a member, and later chairman, of the Military Revolutionary Committee in Petrograd; the same on the battleground outside the city as the shells from Yudenich's cannon burst all

around; and the same at the diplomatic table in Brest-Litovsk, and later in so many capitals of Europe and Asia. Difficulties did not distress him. What impelled him to abandon life was the consciousness that it was impossible for him to combat those difficulties.

Comrades, let me say this—and it is a consideration I believe corresponds in full to Adolf Abramovich's last thoughts and last testament—such an action, withdrawing from life by one's own decision, has a contagious power. Let no one presume to follow the example of this old fighter in his death. No. Follow him in his life.

Those of us who were his close friends, who not only fought side by side but lived side by side with him for decades, are forced now to tear ourselves away from the vivid image of this exceptional person and friend who remains in our hearts. There was a gentle and steady glow about Adolf

Abramovich that gave warmth to all around him. He was a focal point around whom others gathered—in the émigré circles, in the penal colonies, and in prison. He came, as I have already said, from a well-to-do family, but the means at his disposal in his younger years were not just his own property. They became the resources of the revolution. He helped comrades with a generous hand, not waiting to be asked—as a brother, as a true friend.

Here in this coffin we bring the mortal remains of this exceptional person, at whose side it was so easy and pleasant for us to live and fight. Let us take our leave of him in the same spirit that he lived and fought: He took his stand under the banner of Marx and Lenin; under that banner he died. And we vow to you, Adolf Abramovich, we will carry your banner through to the end! [Shouts of "Hurrah!" Singing of "The Internationale."]

Demand Release of Vladimir Bukovsky

[The following appeal was printed in the letters column of the January 15 *New York Times*.]

* * *

Dec. 30 was Vladimir Bukovsky's 32d birthday. He spent it—as he has spent almost all of his adult life—in a Soviet prison cell.

Since his first arrest at the age of twenty, Bukovsky has been in and out of Soviet psychiatric hospitals, labor camps and prisons. He is presently in Vladimir Prison, the most dreaded of all Soviet penal institutions, in the third year of a twelve-year sentence.

Although he has written a few short stories, Bukovsky hardly had the opportunity to mature as a writer. Instead, he invested his freedom, and possibly his life, in the fight against "fear which has gripped the people since the time of Stalin." He has conscientiously dedicated himself to publicizing acts of political oppression in the U. S. S. R.

Vladimir Bukovsky's life reflects total selflessness: He is being punished primarily for condemning the repression and persecution of others. Soviet authorities have treated him with unusual harshness because he has sent evidence to the West about Soviet psychiatric and prison abuse.

Bukovsky's health has been broken by his ordeals in prison. He suffers from heart and liver disorders, from rheumatism and from peptic ulcers. He is in danger of becoming a permanent invalid.

We urge the Soviet authorities to release Vladimir Bukovsky. He must not spend another birthday in prison.

Dustin Hoffman, Edward Albee, Anthony Perkins, Hal Prince, Paddy Chayevsky
New York, Dec. 30, 1974

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The Political Situation in Argentina

[The following open letter appeared in the December 30 year-end summary issue of *Avanzada Socialista*, weekly newspaper of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers party, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International in Argentina). The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

It is rather symbolic that these lines, our year-end good wishes, should begin here, between a drawing by Ho and a note from Cayetano Bollini.¹ Symbolic, in effect, because we want to extend a cheerful greeting and leave you with a smile on your face. That is, we want to talk to you about the final subject, the one we left for last, and we want to do it with the optimism that the theme deserves.

As this year ends—the third for us at *Avanzada Socialista*—a relationship has already been established between you and us, an unspoken understanding. We know each other. We know that you—activist, member, or friend of the PST—are disturbed, that fears prey on your mind. Maybe you spent the holidays taking special precautions. With a vivid recollection that more than 100 persons have been murdered by the fascists, and the anguish of knowing that several of these were party comrades, revolutionary activists this Christmas have been getting used to the idea that embracing their families can be a dangerous luxury, one for which you may have to pay with your life.

These are the same precautions you take and the same fears you feel when you ask to meet us in discreet places, when you carry our newspaper folded over four times, when you think and rethink, weigh and reweigh, how much is worth risking for the party.

So we want to talk to you and share with you the optimism we feel about where we stand today and how far we have come in building this marvelous tool, the revolutionary party, so that together we can gauge whether this objective justifies all the risks, sacrifices, hard work, and blood it has cost and will cost to achieve.

If you read page 2, you know that

we don't think the PST is a candidate for the "political force of the year."² We start by recognizing that the revolutionary party is still small, does not exert a major influence over national events, and that it is not looked to for leadership by any broad sectors of the masses in our country.

However, a number of accomplished facts and a still greater number of indicative signs confirm unmistakably that we are moving toward consolidating a mass revolutionary party, and that at this very moment our party reaches into all parts of the country, uniting a large section of the revolutionary vanguard.

Let us look at the facts. The PST can boast of having developed an analysis and line for the whole recent period that have been proved correct in practice.

Fact Number One: Our party said that the Cordobazo³ opened a stage of big mass struggles (a "prerevolutionary" situation, we said); and that the bourgeoisie would not respond with more repression but, on the contrary, with a turn toward constitutional institutions, rule by law, granting some democratic rights, including the right to choose the country's rulers by vote. From that analysis we took a line. We said that besides participating in mass struggles, the party must win legal political status in order to oppose the system in the arena of legal political activity as well.

Conclusion: Our party was the only one on the revolutionary-socialist left that won legal status, opened public headquarters throughout the country (more than sixty), and participated in the elections, exposing all the parties that support the system, especially the Peronists.

Fact Number Two: We said that Campora's victory closed the pre-revolutionary stage, but that the workers and people's struggles over the cost of living would not end. There would be no Cordobazos but there would be strikes. It was inevitable that the Peronist government would soon go into

2. The PST named the Peronist right turn as "political force of the year," since the right turn was the most pervasive political presence in the country.

3. The 1969 semi-insurrection.

crisis, since its plan was to cut back and circumscribe democratic rights. From this analysis, we took a line: We would accompany the workers movement in these struggles, putting forward a firm position of working-class opposition to the government.

Conclusion: Our party participated in almost all the workers' conflicts, in several cases played a leading role. The *compa˜eros* at Matarazzo, Saason, Frigorifico Minguillon, Corni, Del Carlo, Propulsora, Ingenio Ledesma, FOTIA, the teachers union, Villa Constitucion, Santa Rosa, and many others remember well the socialists who from the front lines of the struggle polemicized fiercely against isolated acts of guerrilla warfare and the opportunism of the left Peronists of the JP⁴ and of the CP.

When these groups acted as agents for the government, the socialists raised the banner of working-class independence. This polemic assumed still greater forcefulness in the universities, where these currents proved incapable of organizing a mass defense against the clearly impending blow.⁵

Fact Number Three: At the same time as we denounced the right turn that developed as we had anticipated, we noted the approach of a major social and political crisis. We explained that as the instrument for carrying out this turn, a sector was shaping up within the government and the ruling apparatus that had a fascist plan going further than the reactionary course the government itself had charted.

We pointed out that alongside this development, the crisis of the Social Pact⁶ produced by the workers' struggles had also opened up a possibility for the growth of pro-oligarchical, pro-imperialist currents intent on promoting a military coup d'etat. From this, we took our line. Without ceasing to expose the government's direct responsibility for the reactionary turn, we

4. Juventud Peronista—Peronist Youth.

5. The regime has carried out a systematic campaign of repression in the universities during the past year. Schools were closed down. Administrators and professors were fired and replaced with notorious reactionaries. Student organizations were harassed and admissions restricted.

6. The antilabor wage-freeze policy of the Peronists.

1. Ho and Cayetano Bollini are *Avanzada Socialista's* cartoonist and humorist.

had to warn of the greater danger represented by a fascist coup and the activity of the fascist gangs. At the same time, it was necessary to condemn the guerrillas sharply since objectively they were only giving aid and comfort to the fascists.

Conclusions: Our party was one of the promoters of the specific, limited agreements by the group of the "Nine," for opposing this development. At the same time, we continually criticized and exposed the procapitalist parties included in this bloc. When the Pacheco massacre took place, our party built the only mass antifascist action that has been built so far. For this we used the tactic of the united front, a tactic that we have used consistently to confront the wave of criminal fascist attacks that followed Pacheco and inflicted losses on all the left organizations.

However, there are also certain signs that indicate clearly the growth of our party. On page 7 we gave a picture of the results of the university elections in the interior of the country.⁷ That picture is quite important in assessing the growth of the revolutionary-socialist movement throughout the country. In all areas there is a minority of 2 to 15 percent that voted for socialism and our party.

In the first place, this shows a minority extending *throughout* the republic. But the importance of the fact increases if you consider that in most areas where our youth fielded a slate, they were only able to campaign for a few days before the vote. This shows that a current had already formed that was sympathetic to the revolutionary party.

Another sign, which we need not dwell on, is the systematic attacks and harsh persecution to which we have been subjected. The fascists and repressive elements attacked all currents, but within the socialist camp our party has been the hardest hit.

Finally, there is the open and frank dialogue that we have established with broad sectors of the masses: Peronists, Communists, Radicals, and independents; workers, students, housewives,

7. The Juventud Socialista (Socialist Youth, youth group of the PST) came in ninth in the elections with 2,011 votes. The left Peronists received 20,832 votes; the youth group of the Partido Socialista Popular (Popular Socialist party), 11,283; the youth of the Union Civica Radical (Radical Civic Union), 9,942.

white-collar workers, professionals, and intellectuals have all come to respect the PST as an organization worth discussing with and to which they bring many of their ideas and opinions. The broadest and most general of our slogans, the most important of our appeals is simply our explanation of the need to build a new, mass revolutionary-socialist workers party. This appeal is being given serious consideration by thousands of *compañeros*, some of whom are already participating in one way or another in our organization.

This is why the two party campaigns carried out during the year—the subscription campaign for the newspaper and the fund drive at the end of the year—have been so successful. Between June and November we gained 20,000 subscribers and between December and mid-January we will collect 150 million old pesos. The response, your response, is what has made this success possible. You have to take into account also that because of the peculiarly difficult conditions of persecution that we have worked under since the middle of 1974 and the especially hard blow we suffered at the end of the year, these figures, while very substantial, are a pale reflection of what they could have been if we had been able to talk to all our friends and sympathizers.

What do these facts and signs show? That we are already the mass revolutionary party of the Argentine workers? No. This is still not the case. But, on the other hand, they indicate that the PST is the most advanced attempt to build such a party, the one that is politically best endowed and that has the basic human material for achieving this goal. To sum up, the present PST is the nucleus of the future mass revolutionary party.

What does the leap to becoming a mass party depend on? Not only on your aid and efforts, although they are essential, but on something beyond our control—the speed, pace, opportunities, and experiences of the class struggle. There will not be a mass party until social mobilizations reach a high level. Meanwhile, this essential basis has been laid. It represents victory all along the line. The comrades who have been imprisoned, the women comrades who have been brutally treated, the comrades who had to go into hiding, the comrades

who were shot in the back, kidnapped, or threatened, and those comrades who are re-laying the bricks of our dynamited headquarters—have won up and down the line. That handful of persecuted individuals and you, our readers, friends, and supporters of the PST, are building the revolutionary party for a socialist Argentina, and you are succeeding. Why not smile! Why not be optimistic!

A little before her death, our beloved Rita Moreno⁸ said that if she could live again, she would be more Marxist and Trotskyist than ever. That is, that she would fight for the party with still more dedication. We did not get a chance to hear the last words of the comrades murdered by the fascists, but we are sure that they had the same idea and the same dedication. In the names of these comrades in particular—Indio, Tano, Hijitus, Tony, Juan Carlos, Rubén, and César—we thank you, *compañeras* and *compañeros*, for all your efforts and support, and we urge you to remain more steadfast than ever. □

8. A twenty-nine-year veteran of the revolutionary movement in Argentina, who died August 24, 1974, of cancer, at the age of forty-three.

Trotsky in Welsh

A series of television biographies in Welsh of the great rebels of history will include a portrayal of the life of the Russian revolutionist Leon Trotsky, the Cardiff weekly *Welsh Nation* reported January 16.

"'Y Gwrthwynebwr [The Oppositionists],' which started from HTV Wales last Tuesday, is a series of eight 45-minute plays, the brainchild of North Wales writer Emyr Humphreys, who is editor and co-producer of the series. The series concerns heroism—and the frequent need for heroes to fight alone. Each play is about a historical figure who opposed the 'establishment' of his time. The subject of the first drama was the German anti-Nazi Dietrich Bonhoeffer.

"In addition to Bonhoeffer, characters portrayed in the series include Trotsky; the Spanish Civil War poet Lorca; Welsh 16th century religious rebel John Penry; Colonel John Jones of Maesgarnedd, who signed the death warrant of Charles I; Bertolt Brecht; Irish republicans Padraig Pearse and James Connolly; and the 19th century nonconformist militant Emrys Ap Iwan."

Tasks of Portuguese Student Movement

[The following article was published in the *Aliança Socialista da Juventude* (Young Socialist Alliance) section of the January 9 issue of the Portuguese fortnightly newspaper *Combate Socialista*. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

It is a fact that today the political situation in our country is distinguished by a *relative* ebb in the struggles of the workers. Thus, attention has shifted naturally to the sector of Portuguese society that in the last two months has shown itself most intransigent in the fight for its demands—the students.

However, these struggles have been systematically misrepresented and slandered in an attempt to turn the population, and particularly the workers, against the students. It is essential to expose this false view of the student movement that has been demagogically drummed in by the official news organs and not by them alone.

The student struggles are an important contribution to the fight against reaction and for the democratization of education. Many manifestations of fascist authoritarianism persist in the schools. For example, a lot of administrators and teachers who were closely tied to the old regime remain in their posts. The bourgeois "weeding out" process continues to operate at every stage in education, making it impossible for most youth from working-class homes to acquire even second-rate professional preparation.

Therefore, in many high schools the students are fighting to oust functionaries associated with the old regime, to establish democratic bodies to run the schools, to build representative organizations, and to root out the reactionary methods and content of the education given by a scholastic apparatus that serves the interests and needs of capitalism and never those of the workers. In this connection, we should note the struggles at the Padre António Vieira, Amadora, Pedro Nunes, and Almada high schools.

In the universities, all the assemblies of applicants for admission to the first year have expressed unequivocal opposition to the policy of the MEC [Ministério de Educação e Cultura—

Ministry of Education and Culture] and supported immediate matriculation for all. Continuing the tradition of the progressive struggles that developed in the years of fascist oppression, the students are fighting for real democratization of education. They are fighting for the elementary democratic right to an education.

At the same time, the MEC and the government also talk about democratizing education. But the only thing they do is try to drive back the struggles the students are waging and wipe out many of the democratic gains that have been achieved, because these compromise the class character of education. Besides being antistudent, the government's educational policy is antiworker. For the current year the government had denied the right to education of 28,000 applicants. Moreover, after a year's delay, it is highly unlikely that youth whose educational plans were already on a precarious footing, who because they work or come from working-class families face serious social and economic obstacles, will get a chance to matriculate at a later time.

What is more, this policy reflects a clear and conscious determination not to topple the essential pillars that guarantee the subordination of the schools to the interests of the capitalists. The postponement of the first year in the universities, which is a drastic enough step, is a repressive response to a struggle against the exclusivist character of capitalist higher education. This system admits no more than the number needed to meet the requirements for highly specialized labor power. It is designed to avoid spending money on educating an unlimited number and to keep the supply of graduates from exceeding the demand of the capitalist labor market.

By this policy, the MEC is striving to impose repressive government control over education, when the students have a more than democratic right to control over their own education.

The government and the MEC are refusing to change the structures of education because, in essence, they want to maintain its class character as an apparatus for training specialists for capitalist companies. At the same time, they are determined to "educate" these specialists to passively accept the exploitation of labor by cap-

ital. And this fact of exploitation can be easily observed by workers today when they consider that today they are still forced to work under the lash of the system, that they are still compelled to sell their labor power at a low price to bosses who extract exorbitant profits from them, bosses above all who are using these profits to finance putsches aimed at restoring the unchallenged class rule and exploitation that existed under the old regime.

Thus, the student movement, which has fought for many years for democratic rights, including the right to education, still finds itself far from having won a guarantee of these elementary rights. This has been shown very clearly by the abolition of the first-year classes in the universities this year. The high-school students also, after they took the first steps toward democracy in the schools by establishing general assemblies as the highest decision-making bodies, now find themselves robbed of this gain. We faced a grave political situation in which we are being denied the democratic rights won in the struggle following the fall of the old regime on April 25. There is a very acute need, therefore, for the students to close ranks and marshal their forces to achieve a democratization of education. And this involves a struggle for extending the right to education to the workers and to put the schools at the service of the working class.

We must increase the support for our cause throughout the population, especially on the part of the force that has the great stake in the defense of democratic gains—the working class.

We must make the entire student population conscious of the need for a socialist transformation of the country as the only way to get real education that serves the interests of the workers. Fighting for socialism today, in our opinion, involves an unavoidable obligation to put forward the alternative of working-class independence from all bourgeois sectors in the elections for the Constituent Assembly. This is necessary to

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press the Constituent Assembly to take immediate socialist measures as a means for impelling the process of social transformation that must be

spurred in Portugal. And one such measure, clearly, is creating a system of free education open to all sectors of Portuguese society. □

For a United Workers Front in Portugal

[The following editorial is from the January 9 issue of *Combate Socialista*, a fortnightly paper published in Lisbon.1 The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

The spectacular arrests of some capitalists staged by the MFA² on December 13 seem to have been reduced in a few weeks to their real dimensions—a show. Once the scenario was over, everything returned to the "normality" desired by the monopolies and the "realist" parties of the bourgeoisie, such as the PPD³ and the CDS.⁴ The imprisoned speculators were released or their cases were turned over to the legal bureaucracy, where lawyers well paid with money stolen from the workers will find a way to "prove" their clients' innocence.

Once the scare was over, a lot of financiers regained their composure, while the international news agencies and the big capitalist press gratefully noted the Provisional Government's prudent and moderate attitude, as shown by its respect for the laws regulating the activities of businessmen.

In the last analysis, the Emergency Economic Plan reveals the same respect for capitalism's economic and legal "principles," that is, for the right of those who own the big factories and landed estates to maintain and continually increase their profits and their exploitation of the working masses. At best, this plan provides some measures for keeping a check on the capitalists and pressuring them that may make it possible for a time to mitigate some of the outrages and voraciousness of the monopolies. But, when all is said and done, these measures will

1. Subscriptions cost 18 escudos (about US\$0.75) for six issues and 36 escudos for twelve. They can be obtained from the paper's temporary business office at Rua do Bom Jardim, no. 229, 3 andar-traseiras, Porto, Portugal.

2. Movimento das Forças Armadas—Armed Forces Movement.

3. Partido Popular Democrático—People's Democratic party.

4. Centro Democrático Social—Social Democratic Center.

not have any more teeth than the arrests of the exploiters, who did a brief tour of Caxias prison without losing their freedom to exploit us.

On many occasions, and especially in the recent period, representatives of the government and the MFA have tried to assume the role of arbiters or guardians standing "above" party and class conflicts. However, the fairness the government claims is not real. The fair play it advocates is the rules of the game in this society based on the exploitation and oppression of the broad masses. And the social conflicts have been so great that the adjustments imposed from the top have not sufficed to halt the struggles.

The attacks the authorities have launched against the rights and gains of the student movement are symptomatic of this situation. The same government that has taken a vacillating attitude toward the capitalists, seeking deals with those who hold the "economic power," is inflexible toward a section of the mass movement fighting to defend objectives that are legitimate and help to mobilize the Portuguese masses in general against reaction.

Once again, we are seeing confirmation of the fact that the most elementary demands of the working class and the people cannot be won without definitively breaking the power of the exploiters by a mobilization of all the oppressed sectors in a victorious struggle for socialism.

The workers parties participating in the government are not only afraid to organize struggles to defend jobs, wages, and the right to education; they have gone so far as to launch an overt, slanderous attack on those who are really fighting. The leaders and parties that are denouncing the student movement today are the same ones that yesterday condemned or sold out the strikes in the CTT,⁵ at TAP,⁶ and at the *Jornal do Comercio*. These people are the ones who talk about socialism off in the distant future in order to hide their meek acceptance of capitalism today. It could not be otherwise. The alternative posed by the reality of the class struggle is a cate-

5. Correios, Telegrafos e Telefones—Mail, Telegraph, and Telephone, the state postal system.

6. Transportes Aereos Portugueses—Portuguese Air Transport, the state airline.

gorical one. You have to fight for a workers and people's government and for a socialist Portugal, or betray the fundamental aspirations of the workers one by one and all together.

The capitalist offensive against the workers' standard of living and the gains achieved by the mass movement points up the urgent need for a broad and united counterattack by the working people. The strongest political and trade-union organizations of the working class have a duty to begin right away laying the groundwork for mobilizing the workers in a united front. The workers in the Socialist party, in the Communist party, and in the Intersindical⁷ have the right and the obligation to demand such unity in action. The starting point could be *resistance to unemployment*.

No difference can justify sabotaging this essential united workers front against the attacks that affect all of us! For our part, we are convinced that wherever we begin, in building a united front and carrying out its tasks, we will have to immediately confront the fundamental problem facing us today. This means getting rid of the monopolies and the latifundia once and for all, breaking all ties with imperialism, and promoting a full development of workers and people's organizations in the factories, villages, and neighborhoods. In other words, we will have to fight for a workers and people's government capable of taking the anticapitalist steps the masses need and that will lead us to a socialist Portugal. □

7. The national union federation dominated by the Communist party.

Rightists Blow Up Argentine Daily

The rightist murder gang that calls itself the Alianza Anticomunista Argentina (Argentine Anticommunist Alliance) blew up the presses of the major daily paper in Cordoba on January 23. The paper, *La Voz del Interior*, Jonathan Kandell reported in the January 24 *New York Times*, "has angered many policemen by detailing charges against 19 police officers accused of executing five farmers after mistaking them for leftist guerrillas in an incident exactly a year ago."

Employees of the paper told reporters that they recognized some of the goons as policemen.

The raiders rounded up the workers at gunpoint, shot up the premises with machine guns, and set off explosives. The managers estimated that it would take \$600,000 and two months to repair the plant and replace the destroyed equipment. One explained: "Pieces of the roof were blown up to 100 meters away."

Alan Thornett's Contribution to the Discussion in the WRP

[In our issue of January 13 (pp. 25-27), we published a document that was distributed by representatives of some 200 expelled members to delegates at a conference of the Workers Revolutionary Party held in London in December. The document, which included two letters sent to Gerry Healy, the general secretary of the WRP, protested the mass of arbitrary expulsions on the eve of the conference.

[The document also protested the "campaign of vilification" launched by the leadership of the WRP against Alan Thornett and other prominent members of the expelled tendency.

[The document reported some of the antidemocratic practices of the Healyite leadership. For example, Thornett asked for a Control Commission investigation of "the treatment received by Tony Richardson in his interview at the Centre on Tuesday October 1st." But the WRP leadership altered this to read "investigate the circumstances surrounding the absence from Party work of Comrade Richardson and Comrade Lister." The Control Commission was manipulated as a factional instrument in complete violation of the traditions of the Trotskyist movement.

"In this case," Thornett reports, "the Control Commission not only defined its function as one of supporting the leadership but has produced a highly factional report written as the centre piece of the leadership's bureaucratic moves to silence me, my document, and anyone who supports my views.

"When the Control Commission interim report was placed before the Central Committee, myself and Comrade Richardson voted against it because of its factional nature, its inaccuracies and omissions. Comrade Richardson, as you know, stated to the C. C. that he had given a complete report of the violence and intimidation he received at your hands on October 1st. All of this is left out of the Commission's report."

[The document described other antidemocratic practices of the Healyite leadership. A graphic instance is the

report of how the Oxford and Reading Sub District committees were ordered to London to appear before the "centre":

[The Reading comrades "were split up, abused, (one leading member called 'a potential fascist'), forbidden to speak to each other, and exposed to various forms of organised intimidation. They were asked to sign a statement of disassociation from all of Alan Thornett's views, or be expelled. All of the comrades involved refused to submit to such intimidation, and were subsequently expelled. During this time Comrade Alan Thornett was described by the General Secretary as 'a police agent'.

"When we arrived at the Centre, we were confronted with guards on the print shop gates, and guards approached our vehicles. The guards were directed by Cde R. Battersby. Our names were taken by Cde Jennings and we were instructed not to get out of our vehicles. We were then told that we were to be split up for the purposes of the interviews. This we refused to agree to. We made it clear that we were at all times prepared to meet the Political Committee, but initially as a Committee. Our reasons for this were A) We were not prepared to be subjected to the same treatment as the Reading Comrades, treatment which we consider to be a disgrace in a Communist movement. B) Before we could agree to individual interviews we require, as a Committee, a written retraction of the charge of 'police agent' levelled by the General Secretary at Comrade Alan Thornett, and a written assurance that the measures used today are not repeated."

[Such scenes sound like a caricature of the way General Secretary Stalin handled members of the Left Opposition in the 1920s. What could possibly cause General Secretary Healy to mimic the infamous Georgian? The explanation is to be found in Healy's incapacity to endure political criticism no matter how slight. As proof of this, we are publishing the following

document, the same document that led Healy to decide he had no recourse but to purge the WRP.

[The document, entitled "Correct the Wrong Positions of the Party — Return to the Transitional Programme," was submitted by Alan Thornett for consideration by the membership of the WRP at the organization's first annual conference.

[Concerning the position of *Intercontinental Press* on Thornett's contribution, we would say only the following at this point: Much of what is pointed out with regard to Trotskyist principles and the ultraleft, sectarian nature of Healy's deviations is excellent. We would, for example, recommend that every militant in the international Trotskyist movement consider Thornett's observations on the importance of *workers control* as a slogan and as a phase of the revolutionary process, the relation of workers control to *workers management*, and the necessity to clearly distinguish between the two as Lenin did.

[At the same time, the document contains hangovers of the peculiar ideology developed by Healy, which on the theoretical and political level matches his "contributions" on the level of practice.

[We should also like to make clear that we obtained the document through our own resources and are publishing it without consulting Thornett or any other member of his group.

[Finally, we would like to express our hope that Thornett, having undergone the experience of being arbitrarily expelled from the WRP under the pretext of charges that he knows to be a tissue of lies, will now feel it to be his duty to reexamine the reports and conclusions of others who found themselves placed outside the Healyite organization in the same abrupt way.

[As a preliminary, we suggest reading the compilation *Marxism Vs. Ultraleftism—the Record of Healy's Break With Trotskyism*. It is available from the National Education De-

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partment of the Socialist Workers Party, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N. Y. 10014. It can also be obtained from Pathfinder Press, 47 The Cut, London SE1 8LL.]

* * *

The following is a motion submitted to all Party members for consideration for the First Annual Conference of the Workers Revolutionary Party.

I submit this statement to conference both as a critique of the wrong positions of the party, positions which in my view threaten to liquidate the party, and as an attempt to create the conditions to direct the party back to the founding document of the 4th International—the Transitional Programme.

I began to develop differences involving the programme, method, and practice of the party and differences on a number of theoretical positions about a year ago. I passed through great hesitation and political crisis before taking the decision to bring these differences into the party and fight them through.

Firstly, I must make it clear that I have no differences with the founding principles of the 4th International. The British movement has established its present position through a basically correct appraisal of this epoch as one of wars and revolutions and of the advanced nature of the crisis of the capitalist system. The party upholds the basic proposition of the Transitional Programme that the crisis of mankind is the crisis of proletarian leadership. The movement is based on an understanding of the necessity to construct independent revolutionary parties in each country based on the struggle to develop the revolutionary theory of Marxism, dialectical materialism. It has been forged in an implacable struggle for international revolutionary perspectives against peaceful co-existence with capitalism, against various forms of revisionism, against social democracy and centrism.

On this basis the SLL and the WRP have carried forward the struggle for Trotskyism in Britain in the post-war period. I therefore take up the fight against the deviations from the Transitional Programme within the framework of this tradition of struggle and in defence of the theoretical and practical gains made in the struggle for Trotskyism. As Trotsky wrote in *In Defence of Marxism*:

The correct philosophical doctrine, that is, the correct method of thought, is of decisive significance to a revolutionary party just as a good machine-shop is of decisive significance to production. It is still possible to defend the old society with the material and intellectual methods inherited from the past. It is absolutely unthinkable that this old

society can be overthrown and a new one constructed without first critically analysing the current methods. If the party errs in the very foundations of its thinking it is your elementary duty to point out the correct road.

This is the purpose of this discussion document.

The Three Day Week

I was unable, during the oil crisis, to accept the party position that the three day week was a deliberate decision by Heath to crash the economy to defeat the working class in order to solve the crisis at their expense. Quote from *Workers Press*, December 31, 1973:

Tory sources admit publicly that Heath could stick to the three day week indefinitely—creating mass unemployment throughout industry. *It is the Tory government's way of crashing the economy and implementing a recession.*

This was backed up with the contention that the aristocracy had re-established themselves as the dominant section of the ruling class (in the persons of Whitelaw and Carrington) and that they would lead the way in crashing the economy because they would survive whereas the industrial capitalists would not. Quote from *Workers Press* January 9, 1974 crisis issue:

The new Whitelaw-Carrington axis reveals conclusively that the Tory squirearchy, which has the closest links with the military, has gained the ascendancy in the cabinet.

I could not accept this. In my view the three day week was introduced primarily to conserve oil. Later, as the oil was restored and the miners struck, it was continued in order to fight the miners. The damage inflicted on businesses and on the economic and political fabric of capitalism itself still has to emerge in its full force. The increased oil prices, which came out of the crisis, are central to the accelerating rate of inflation and the deepening crisis of the capitalist system.

During this period an imminent military coup was predicted by the party, and action taken organizationally in preparation. I think this prediction was wrong. It is true of course that a military or some other open dictatorship was and is the *requirement* of the ruling class. It is true that sections of the ruling class advocated this and that the troops at Heathrow were a preparation for the use of troops under civil war conditions. It seems to me wrong however to make a prognosis based simply on the *subjective intentions* of sections of the ruling class. What is involved in such an assessment is a study of the movement of all classes in society. We have to take account therefore that, in this sense, the predominant

feature of the three day week period was the emergent strength of the working class. They were never intimidated by the three day week. The CBI at one point approached Heath asking for the legal suspension of all agreements on the basis of the national emergency but Heath was unable to implement the proposal. In the event the working class took action and forced all agreements to be honoured during the period despite the crippling costs involved for the employers.

The three day week was brought to an end when the Tory government was forced to resign by the miners and the working class brought to power the minority Labour government. Internationally this offensive of the working class has continued unabated with the removal of military rule in Greece, and the ending of 40 years of fascism in Portugal. The Industrial Relations Act has been removed, along with the Industrial Relations Court. The working class has moved into a massive wage offensive and have replaced the minority Labour government with a majority Labour government. It is indisputable of course that this Labour government will betray and open the door to reaction. They were placed in office nevertheless by the strength of the working class. In such a period it is too simple to say that military rule is on the immediate agenda in Britain, with the most organized working class in the world, simply because the ruling class require it. When we look at class forces we have to take into account which class is on the offensive, and in this period it has been the working class.

It is true that this offensive drives the two main classes into confrontation and that this strengthens the drive of the ruling class towards dictatorship, but they still have to carry it out under prevailing objective conditions—which means taking on an undefeated working class which is on the offensive.

When the news broke, last November, of the Arab decision to slash Middle East oil production by 25 per cent we were forced in Oxford, as the direct leadership of a section of the motor industry, to develop policy and to move quickly in defence of jobs. The key decision to be made was an assessment of the possibility of the oil supply being restored. There had been a bloody war in the Middle East ending only a month before in the defeat of the Arab forces at the hands of Imperialism—through Israel. It seemed feasible that the Arab nationalist leaders would attempt to extend that war using oil. On the other hand the Arab nationalists need to sell oil in order to survive and, through oil and the oil companies, are intimately connected with the major capitalist countries.

The party put forward the position that

the oil would not be restored under any conditions. One of the theories advanced was that Faisal would not retreat until all Arab lands were returned including Jerusalem with its religious significance. Irrespective of this it was clear that advanced oil-based economies were in grave danger. Even if the oil was restored no-one could tell at what point the connection between the specific factor oil and the general factor of the crisis of the system would make recession inevitable. We took the decision therefore to prepare for a full-scale occupation of the plant in the defence of jobs. There is no doubt, in hindsight that this decision was absolutely correct. By the end of December we had every single trade union body in the town, connected with the motor and engineering industry, committed to occupation in the event of closure or redundancy. We went on to lead two sit-ins which whilst having a definite limited objective of their own (defence of agreements) were a preparation for full-scale occupation.

When the oil was restored and the three day week brought to an end, the pull back from this policy left us inevitably vulnerable. This vulnerability was however compounded by the wrong positions of the party during that period, particularly the military coup positions and Heath crashing the economy with deliberate intent. The effects of this continued throughout the struggles which followed in Cowley. I raise this in order to illustrate the damage which can be inflicted by wrong positions to struggles conducted by the party, particularly where we are in the leadership positions and thousands of workers daily follow closely our analysis and prognosis in deciding to support our policy and programme.

It was primarily my differences during this period, which were known by the leadership at the time, plus my experience on the national trade union committee of the party which led me to a serious critique of the party practice throughout the summer and autumn of this year.

Trade Union Work

At the founding conference of the Workers Revolutionary Party in November last year a number of workers were brought onto the Central Committee from various industries to strengthen the work of the CC. They reflected the new layers which had come into the party in the period of expansion which preceded the conference. (Most of these workers have left or no longer attend the Central Committee for one reason or another).

At the CC meeting following the conference a trade union committee was elected from the CC to direct the trade union work nationally. This committee met a week later under the direction of

comrade Mike Banda to start its work. It was clear that faction work both on an industry basis and in individual unions must be an indispensable part of our trade union work. The committee therefore mapped out a series of faction meetings covering December, January-March. With the exception of car workers and engineers these faction meetings were overruled by the Party leadership and never took place. The committee was never consulted on any of the cancellations.

This raised for me two questions (which I raised at the time). Firstly, it struck a blow at our trade union work in a crucial period; secondly, it raised the issue of the authority of the trade union committee itself. I fully accept of course that the TU committee is subordinate entirely to the CC in all matters and that the party leadership, through the Political Committee, speaks for the CC between meetings—but this is not the issue at stake.

In my view, a committee must have, whilst working under the direction of the party leadership, authority to function. If its decisions are consistently overruled, without the knowledge of members of the committee, the committee will become ineffective and will die. This happened. From December until August the committee never met.

At the July meeting of the CC the TU committee was reconstituted with a smaller number of members. It met in early August. I again expressed my view that if the committee was to do its job it must have the authority to function. I was assured that on this occasion it would. The item discussed at this meeting was whether to hold a national conference of the All Trades Union Alliance in October or November or alternatively industrial conference of car workers, engineers and miners.

I pressed strongly for a national ATUA conference (the last one was in October 1972) on the basis that we badly needed not only a national conference but a national campaign in the unions. I argued that many sections of workers who had been in struggle during the summer would be left out if we went ahead with the three industrial conferences proposed. After this discussion it was agreed unanimously that we should have a national conference in October. Two weeks later comrade Banda informed me that it had been cancelled. In the event no conferences were held at all. The TU committee has not met since.

I raised this as an important issue for this conference not simply in the context of its impact on the TU work in the period between the founding conference and now, but because it raises questions on the method employed by the party leadership when dealing with the essential de-

partmentalization of the party work and the delegation of authority. This is related to the fact that the National Committee of the ATUA has also ceased to function and that major policy decisions on TU work are taken without discussion of any of the TU committees of the party. These methods in my view cannot be separated from other aspects of party practice and are an additional factor in isolating our comrades in the factories through ill-prepared and uncoordinated practice.

The non-functioning of party TU committees has meant that wrong policies have been pursued with no opportunity for the TU comrades to fight to change them. The call for a triple alliance of power engineers, engine drivers and miners campaigned for last December created a difficult situation in the factories because all three sections were only banning overtime. The difficulty of calling for support for a triple alliance of overtime banners was immense. The party made no call for a miners' strike prior to the ATUA Miners conference on January 20th by which time the overtime ban had been 9 weeks in existence, was almost ineffective and represented an avoidance of struggle with the leadership.

The non-functioning of the party's TU committees has also meant that there has been no organization for TU elections—most of which have passed by without party intervention.

I am convinced that over the past year the conditions were favourable for the recruitment and training of decisive cadres in the factories. These conditions are even more favourable today. But this penetration into the factories and the unions has not taken place. In my estimation the cadres in the factories are weaker today than they were a year ago and this is the most decisive area of party work and should be recognized as such.

Economic Crisis

One of the main strengths of our movement has been its continuous defence, throughout the boom period, of Marxist economics, the theory of the laws of motion of the capitalist system itself. The party struggled for the materialist theory of the law of value and showed its working through in the form of developing world monetary crisis in the years from the Bretton Woods agreement in 1944 to Nixon's ending of the convertibility of the dollar into gold in 1971. Only our party therefore was able to understand the world significance of this development and take it into the struggle to build an independent revolutionary leadership for the working class, correctly pointing to a massive sharpening of the contradictions

of the capitalist system which underly every development of the class struggle. This struggle had to take place against the idealist impressionist conceptions of 'neo-capitalism' and the 'permanent arms economy' developed by the revisionist groups and the reformist perspective of the Stalinists' British Road to Socialism. This analysis and perspective of the economic crisis was the main motive force for recruitment into the party and for the development of the party. This of course is insufficient, because recruitment should also be to a *programme*. This one-sided recruitment has compounded the problems in the party.

The enormous increase in the price of gold against paper money indicates the working through of the law of value. In the last analysis, only gold can serve as money under capitalism, because only gold embodies value, necessary labour time, in sufficient concentration to serve as a universal equivalent in the process of exchange. In this period capitalist trade staggers on on the basis of paper currencies separated from gold and floating each day against each other.

The fourfold increase in the price of oil, at the beginning of the year, forced on western capitalists by the combination of the erosion of the value of paper money and the offensive of the oppressed Arab masses, reflected through the Arab nationalist leaders, poses the capitalist world with an insoluble problem. Every non-oil producing country will be massively in deficit to the oil producers, in Britain to the tune of £ 4,000m. This poses the prospect of state bankruptcies on a large scale with Britain bankrupt now apart from crippling loans which make the situation worse. Since oil is a basic raw material in manufacturing industry as well as a fuel the capitalist class is caught in this dilemma: do they slash consumption of oil in order to balance imports with exports—but cut off raw material from which the exports are manufactured? Or do they print more paper money to pay the bill, recognizing that as inflation accelerates oil prices will rise simultaneously? In other words there is no solution by peaceful means. The only possible way out for the bourgeoisie is to step up the exploitation of the working class and extract more surplus value from their labour. As Trotsky wrote in *The First Five Years of the Communist International*, this is not a simple question:

Each measure to which capitalism is constrained in order to make a step forward in restoring equilibrium, each and all of this immediately acquires a decisive significance for the social equilibrium, tends more and more to undermine it, and ever more powerfully impels the working class to struggle.

The first task in achieving equilibrium is to set the productive apparatus in order, but to do so it is indispensable to accumulate capital. But to make accumulation possible it is necessary to raise productivity of labour. How? Through an augmented and intensified exploitation of the working class. . . To reestablish world economy on capitalist foundations it [is] indispensable to dispose again of a world equivalent—the gold standard. Without it the world economy cannot exist, inasmuch as there cannot be any production while prices dance their dance of death, increasing 100 per cent in the course of a single month as happened in Germany, contingent on the fluctuations of the German currency.

In this passage, Trotsky then goes on to bring in the other major contradiction of capitalist relations which now works through as a material force in the class struggle—the contradiction between the *use-value* of a commodity (its usefulness to the consumer) and its *value* (the amount of necessary labour time required to produce the commodity).

Trotsky points out:

A capitalist is not interested in production. For he is being lured from afar by speculation, which tempts him by much greater profits than can be gained from slowly developing industry.

When we see today the role of the banks and finance houses in bringing about the bankruptcy of major firms such as Court Line and Ferranti we see the beginning of a relentless move by finance capital to pull away all support from firms which make an inadequate return on their capital—rate of profit. Warnings have been given by spokesmen in the food industry that the return on capital is insufficient, after replacement of plant and equipment and raw materials at inflated prices, to give a basis for continued business. This makes it clear that the working class are facing not only a crisis of unemployment as these firms go to the wall, but a real danger that production of commodities essential for life will be disrupted by the anarchic workings of capitalism. These material forces dictate the need for a *programme* which will involve the class in struggles through which it can be brought into conflict with the real face of capitalism as a vital stage in the preparation of the working class for taking power, in a situation when:

. . . every serious demand of the proletariat and even every serious demand of the petty bourgeoisie inevitably reaches beyond the limits of capitalist property relations and of the bourgeois state. (*Transitional Programme*)

The world inflationary crisis therefore hits the capitalist class in the form of the

falling rate of profit which then reflects through the stock markets, and through the rise in interest rates as banks attempt to compensate for the rate of inflation, which poses liquidity problems for major firms and drives the smaller to the wall. Within this situation is the drive to slump exacerbated by the inability of capitalism to expand into new markets. The influence exercised over the capitalist class by the banks which now have the power of commercial life and death in their hands becomes more clear daily. The working class as Trotsky points out in the *Transitional Programme* confronts a prospect of company bankruptcies bringing mass unemployment and accelerating uncontrolled inflation which slashes the value of wages. To quote Trotsky from the article referred to earlier:

On the basis of this economic depression the bourgeoisie will be compelled to exert stronger and stronger pressures upon the working class. This is already to be seen in the cutting of wages which has started in the full-blooded capitalist countries. . . This leads to great struggles over wages. Our task is to extend these struggles, by basing ourselves on a clear understanding of the economic situation.

Or from the *Transitional Programme* dealing with these questions:

Neither monetary inflation nor stabilisation can serve as slogans for the proletariat because these are but two ends of the same stick.

The relationships between the working class and the ruling class are shattered within each nation state as the result of the sharpening drive of the capitalist class for exploitation. This is met by its opposite, the defensive struggle of the working class for wages. On an international scale relationships are disrupted between ruling classes, and the crisis asserts its international character.

Thus although in every country it is clear that preparations for dictatorship must be made by the bourgeoisie if the working class is to be held back and driven to increased exploitation, there is not an even or a mechanical relationship between economic and political crisis. For example the requirements of the bourgeoisie in Greece were to combat inflation running at a higher level than anywhere in Europe: yet the international movement of the working class reflecting through the Greek working class in the Cyprus struggle toppled the Greek military junta and intensified the contradictions posed for the Greek capitalists. Likewise in Portugal the struggles of the Portuguese workers against the Caetano dictatorship connected with the struggles of the Angolan workers and peasants to produce the contradictory movement which

removed the fascists from power. In both these countries of course renewed dictatorship is posed continuously, but this requires the right balance of class forces—it does *not* flow automatically from the development of the economic situation.

As I have said in the first section of this statement I think the party has underrated the class questions posed in the military suppression of the working class in Britain, and through a mechanical conception of the direct relationship between the economic crisis and politics has put forward some wrong positions—military coups, etc. in a defeatist manner. Let us be clear on the question. Marxism does not start from the conception that economics alone furnishes the key to political development. As Engels wrote:

According to the materialist conception of history the *ultimately* determining element in history is the production and reproduction of real life. More than this neither Marx nor I have ever asserted. Hence if somebody twists this into saying that the economic element is the *only* determining one, he transforms that position into a meaningless abstract, senseless phrase.

Trotsky also spoke against formal, mechanical connections between economic and political developments of the crisis. In the article on 'The Economic Crisis and the Tasks of the Communist International' already quoted, he wrote:

It might be asked whether the great struggles over wages, a classic example of which is the miners strike in England will automatically lead to the world revolution, to the final civil war and the struggle for the conquest of political power. *However, it is not Marxist to pose the question in such a way. We have no automatic guarantees of development . . . (. . . .)* In general, there is no automatic dependence of the proletarian revolutionary movement upon a crisis. There is only a dialectical attraction. *It is essential to understand this.*

In such pamphlets as *Through What Stage Are We Passing?* Trotsky explains the contradiction between the advanced stage of the development of the crisis of capitalism and the backwardness of the working class organisations in Britain. This is contrary to mechanical relationships starting *only* from the economic base. To quote once more from 'The Economic Crisis':

Economic development is thus not an automatic process. The issue is not restricted solely to the productive foundations of society. Upon these foundations there live and work human beings and the development occurs through these human beings.

Therefore in putting forward an economic perspective, I have attempted to

do so in the opposite way to that put forward of late by the party. Although I consider the party to be basically correct on the fundamental nature of the epoch, as one of wars and revolutions, the party has in my view departed from the detailed Marxist economic and political analysis which must take into account the movement of both classes in society—as I set out to show in my introduction to this statement. Correctness on the strategic task for the epoch—the need to prepare the working class politically to take state power—does not necessarily ensure a correct approach to the daily developments of the struggles of the masses. As Trotsky says in the Transitional Programme:

The achievement of this strategic task is *unthinkable* without the most considered attention to all, even small and partial, questions of tactics.

I believe that the method of economic analysis employed by the party obscures these important questions. As a result the party has an over-estimation of the strength of the bourgeoisie in this period and a corresponding underestimation of the strength of the working class which despite its treacherous leaderships is on the move leftwards. At the same time the party in its practice abandons the characterisation of this period in the Transitional Programme as:

A pre-revolutionary period of agitation, propaganda and organization

and therefore abandons what is the strategic task in such a period—again from the Transitional Programme:

Overcoming the contradiction between the maturity of the objective revolutionary conditions and the immaturity of the proletariat and its vanguard.

This has in my view led the party into propagandizing a maximum programme on the basis that the revolutionary situation has grown so sharp that any other programme does not apply. It leads to the conclusion (rationalization) that the working class has broken from reformism and Stalinism. The mechanical link between economics and politics, which has become central to the party's theoretical position over the recent period, is in essence the abandonment of the basic conception of the Transitional Programme in which Trotsky says:

It is necessary to help the masses in the process of their daily struggle to find the bridge between present demands and the socialist programme of the revolution.

Instead of this approach, we have predominating the sectarian conception condemned by Trotsky that 'revolutionary

events inevitably push the workers towards us. This passive expectancy, under a cover of idealistic messianism, has nothing in common with Marxism.' Trotsky insisted that 'to grow more rapidly during the period of flux, during the preparatory period, one must know how to find points of contact in the consciousness of wide circles of workers. It is necessary to establish proper relations with the mass organisations.' (*Situation in the Labour Movement* c. 1934)

According to the Party Election Manifesto, which put forward a full maximum programme of socialism, and the *Workers Press* over the last year, the working class has already reached the stage of the 'Socialist Programme of the Revolution.'

Transitional Programme

The election manifesto produced by our party for the recent election is the antithesis of the Transitional Programme—it is a maximum programme of revolution. To quote:

The Workers Revolutionary Party is the only party fighting this election on a socialist programme. We say the right to a decent standard of living for millions of workers and their families can only be defended by *nationalizing the banks, the land and basic industry* without compensation and under workers' control. *Nothing short of that.*

And further on:

In this situation *nationalization of basic industry* without compensation and under workers' control does not arise as some far off, abstract question. *It is immediate. An historic imperative.*

When the manifesto lists the points of the programme nationalization is posed first rather than being preceded by a series of demands transitional to it. This shows in each case that the demands are just part of a maximum programme of socialism—providing no bridge with the demands and struggles of the working class today. Trotsky in the Transitional Programme takes up Social Democracy on this basis:

Classical Social Democracy functioning in an epoch of progressive capitalism, divided its programme into two parts *independent of each other: the minimum programme* which limited itself to reforms within the framework of bourgeois society, and the *maximum programme* which promised substitution of socialism for capitalism in the indefinite future. Between the maximum and the minimum programmes *no bridge existed*. And indeed Social Democracy had no need of such a bridge, since the word socialism is used only for holiday speechifying.

There is no doubt that the concept of a bridge (which came under heavy attack at the CC when I raised these questions) is the heart of the Transitional Programme. The key section says the following:

It is necessary . . . to find a bridge . . .

This bridge should include a system of transitional demands, stemming from today's conditions and today's consciousness of wide layers of the working class and unalterably leading to one final conclusion: the conquest of power by the proletariat.

The bridge, of course, is not simply demands, but is a method resolving itself in the practice of the party. The thread of sectarianism which runs through all aspects of the work of the party is itself the antithesis of the bridge. It is not sufficient, as the Workers Press has done since these questions were raised on the CC, to throw a few transitional demands in here and there as if this represented a return to the Transitional Programme.

The only conclusion which can be drawn from the election manifesto is that we do not need 'the bridge between the present demands and the socialist programme of the revolution', because the working class has already reached the maturity necessary to accept a maximum programme—the social revolution. The line of the party implies that the gap, between the present levels of consciousness of the masses and the ripeness of capitalism for revolution, has already been closed, consequently, there is no need for a bridge (the Transitional Programme) but simply a propaganda machine armed with a maximum ultimatum programme, waiting for the working class to make the 'leap', and assume the leadership. Real life is, however, more complex than this.

Workers' Control

A key section of the Transitional Programme is the concept of workers' control which is wrongly posed by the party. Workers' control, as Lenin and Trotsky explained over and over again, is essentially control exercised by workers over a private owner, the control or supervision by an elected committee of workers over the decisions of an employer. Once the demand for nationalization is raised we should not then talk of workers having control over a state manager but that such a committee would exercise direct *workers' management*. Workers' control is a stage *transitional* to workers' management.

Trotsky—Transitional Programme:

The working out of even the most elementary economic plan—from the point of view of the exploited, and not the exploiters—is impossible without work-

ers' control, that is without the penetration of the workers' eyes into all open and concealed springs of the capitalist economy. Committees representing individual business enterprises should meet at conference and choose corresponding committees of trusts, whole branches of industry, economic regions and finally, of national industry as a whole. Thus, workers' control becomes a *school for planned economy*. On the basis of the experience of control, the proletariat will prepare itself for direct management of nationalized industry when the hour for that eventually strikes.

Lenin is very clear on this question. Writing in 1917 and 1918 he said the following: (It should be remembered that the first nationalizations apart from the banks and land under Soviet rule dated from June 1918, one year *after* workers' control was established.)

Vol. 24: . . . the proletariat and the peasantry established, on their own initiative . . . workers' control over the factories, and the 8 hour day has been introduced and wages have been increased, production is being maintained, and workers' control over the distribution of food . . .

(p. 29, April 1917)

. . . the only way to avert disaster is to establish effective workers' control over the production and distribution of goods . . . Workers' control, which the capitalists in a number of cases have already accepted, should . . . be developed into full regulation of the production and distribution of goods by the workers . . .

(pp. 513-514, May 1917)

Vol. 25: The main idea . . . is to indicate the conditions for actual control over the capitalists and production in contrast to the empty phrases about control used by the bourgeoisie . . . to prevent the actual preservation of capitalist profits, to tear off the veil of commercial secrecy, to give the workers a majority in the control agencies . . .

(p. 43, July 1917)

We Pravda people are said to be deviating from Marxism to syndicalism (because we support this policy). What we do suggest is workers' control which should develop into complete regulation of production and distribution by the workers, into nationwide organization etc. . . . Is commercial secrecy to be left intact? Yes or no? Are the workers to be enabled to exercise control? Yes or no? . . . Not regulation of and control over the workers by the capitalist class, but vice versa . . .

(pp. 44-45, July 1917)

In reply to compromisers' demagoguery about seizing 100 percent of capitalist profits, Lenin replies:

Isn't it too much to try to break the resistance of the capitalists? Shouldn't

we rather try to expose before the labour unions . . . the fantastic profits made by the capitalists? Shouldn't we try to abolish commercial secrecy? Isn't it too much for us to speak of the dictatorship of the proletariat . . . shouldn't we rather try to expose embezzlement and misappropriation?

(pp. 65-66, June 1917)

Vol. 26: . . . it may even be possible, by means of workers' control, over the capitalists, to make all resistance impossible. The important thing will not even be the confiscation of the capitalists' property, but countrywide, all-embracing, workers' control over the capitalists and their possible supporters. Confiscation alone leads nowhere, as it does not contain the element of organization, of accounting . . .

(p. 107, October 1917)

Draft Resolution on Workers' Control, first day after Bolsheviks take power:

Item 5 . . . The decisions of the elected representatives of the workers . . . are binding upon the owners of the enterprises. . .

(p. 264, October 1917)

Lenin at Third Congress of Soviets:

The transition to confiscation of the factories after workers' control had been introduced, was . . . very easy.

(p. 467, January 1918)

Same Speech:

In introducing workers' control, we knew that it would take much time before it spread to the whole of Russia, but we wanted to show that we recognize only one road—changes from below, we wanted the workers themselves, from below, to draw up the new, basic economic principles.

Vol. 27: Until workers' control has become a fact, until the advanced workers have organized and carried out a victorious and ruthless crusade against the violators of this control, or against those who are careless in matters of control, it will be impossible to pass from the first step, from workers' control, to the second step towards socialism, to pass on to workers' regulation of production.

(pp. 254-255, April 1918)

We have to expropriate them (the trusts). That is not where the hitch lies . . . I told every workers' delegation with which I had to deal when they came to me and complained that their factory was at a standstill:

You would like your factory to be confiscated? Very well, we have blank forms for a decree ready. They can be signed in a minute. But tell us, have you learned how to take over production and have you calculated what you will produce? Do you know the connection between what you are producing and

the international market? Whereupon it turns out that they have not learnt this yet. . .

(p. 297, April 1918)

Trotsky is equally clear, take this section from *Workers Control of Production*:

The workers need control not for platonic purposes, but in order to exert practical influence upon the production and commercial operations of the employers. This cannot, however, be attained unless the *control*, in one form or another, within such and such limits, is transformed into direct *management*. In a developed country, workers' control thus implies a sort of economic dual power in the factory, the bank, commercial enterprises and so forth.

These quotations make clear the difference between workers' control and workers' management. It is important that we do not confuse the two. If we substitute workers' control for what should be workers' management we are unable to understand and develop those movements towards workers' control which are transitional to workers' management. Full workers' control of course can only be achieved in a pre-revolutionary situation and constitutes, under those conditions, dual power at factory and then at national level. Prior to this the demand for workers' control, carefully used, educates the advanced layers and tests out the class itself.

Trotsky again from *Workers Control of Production*:

Under the influence of crisis, unemployment, and the predatory manipulations of the capitalists, the working class in its majority may turn out to be ready for the abolition of business secrecy and for control over banks, commerce, and production before it has come to understand the necessity of the revolutionary conquest of power.

Trotsky goes on to take up how this demand should be advanced:

However, it (workers' control) must be approached correctly. Advance without the necessary preparation, as a bureaucratic command, the slogan of workers' control may not only prove to be a blank shot, but even more, may compromise the party in the eyes of the working masses by undermining confidence in it even amongst those who today vote for it. Before officially raising this very crucial slogan the situation must be well ready and the ground well prepared.

What is shown clearly from these quotations is that not only does the party pose the demand wrongly, but it is not a demand which should be tacked on mechanically to point a programme without proper political assessment. The wrong position of the party on workers' control again is part of the sectarian position of the party and results from the

departure from the Transitional Programme.

Corporatism

In his fight to defend Bolshevism against Stalinism, Trotsky had to contend not only with right-wing deviations from Leninism but also ultra-left ones. The most important of these was the Stalinist theory of social fascism. Between the Congresses of the Comintern in 1928 and early 1934, the Stalinists designated social democracy as social fascism, and social democratic and trade union leaders as social fascists. In Germany this theory cleared the road for Hitler, by dividing the working class. The Fourth International was born out of the lessons surrounding that massive defeat.

It now appears to me that a very dangerous form of sectarianism which has similar outward features to social fascism is developing inside the Workers Revolutionary Party. For some time now almost the entire leadership of the trade unions and the Labour Party have been designated as 'corporatists'. I cannot accept this. The Corporate State is the incorporation of the working class into the state which necessarily involves the *destruction* of all independent organizations of the working class—in other words fascism.

A corporatist is therefore an advocate of corporatism. What the trade union bureaucracy is involved in is *class collaboration*. This of course *opens the door* to the corporate state, but there is a vast difference between opening the door to fascism and being an advocate of it. We are not of course just talking about words here. The corporate state was introduced into Italy, Germany, Spain, Portugal and Chile. In each case *all organizations* of the working class were *smashed*. The party is clear about this. In article after article it is spelled out—yet still the trade union leaders are called corporatist.

The statement of the International Committee published in *Workers Press* December 29, 1972, speaks of the 'destruction of their (i.e. the workers') organizations and the drive towards the corporate state.' Portugal under Salazar and Caetano has been correctly described as a corporate state: 'Like his predecessor Salazar who *destroyed* the trade unions in Portugal and set up a *corporate state*.' (*Workers Press*, October 3, 1972). Spain has also correctly been called a corporate state, like Portugal modelled on the ideals of Mussolini: 'The cardinal feature of Franco's fascism is *corporatism*.' (*Workers Press*, August 14, 1973). And again on Portugal: 'Portugal is a totalitarian country. All the workers' trade unions were *destroyed* from 1933 onwards by the Salazar dictatorship. They were *replaced* by vertical unions *integrated* with the ma-

chinery of the *corporate state*.' (*Workers Press*, September 20, 1973). The same article speaks of a fascist regime in Portugal thereby equating fascism with corporatism.

Tom Kemp's recent article on Vichy France (*Workers Press*, October 21, 1974) says that under Vichy 'trade unions were *abolished* and with them the right to strike . . . Vichy's social and industrial policy can be summed up on one word: "corporatism".' Kemp goes on to say that 'employers (in Vichy France) knew all about class struggle and saw in corporatism a way of waging it because it *stripped workers of any means of defence*. This was the meaning of the *Charte du Travail*, the labour charter, which established official syndicates to *replace* free trade unions. . .'

A similar definition of corporatism was offered by Stephen Johns when he wrote in *Workers Press*, September 22, 1973, that the 'Tory government and the employing class cannot rest *until every single union is smashed* and every single worker is a prisoner of the *corporate state* with no independence to protect basic democratic rights and living standards.'

These examples show that in the estimation of the leadership the corporate state is a fascist state and that in order to establish such a state the trade unions must first be *destroyed*. More than this. Even the most reactionary elements of the reformist bureaucracy become victims of the corporate state. And this even though they might seek an accommodation with the corporate state, as they did in the early days of Hitler's rule. The German trade union leaders marched with the Nazis on Hitler's 'May Day'—and the next day they were thrown into prisons and their unions wound up. If this had not happened then the Stalinists would have been shown to be correct on the question of social fascism.

Now let us go back to the other side of this issue and state cases where *Workers Press* has specifically designated trade union and Labour leaders as not simply 'tending towards' the corporate state, but actually *desiring* indeed preferring the corporate state. On September 8, 1972, Stephen Johns wrote in *Workers Press*, under the headline 'The TUC heads for the Corporate State', that at the TUC Congress 'A whole section of the trade union movement *has virtually declared itself for the corporate state*.' He concludes his article thus: 'Brighton 1972 was not the year of the left but the year of the new corporate state TUC. . .'. Yet the corporate state is fascism, the total destruction of the trade unions, *the TUC included*.

Alex Mitchell then wrote on September 29, 1972, that the TUC had 'entered still deeper into Heath's plan for constructing the corporate state.' This begs the question not only of whether the TUC

leaders are corporatists, but also the nature of the Tory Party and whether it is capable of establishing the corporate state with or without the TUC. In my view the establishment of the corporate state in Britain requires a mass fascist party that smashes the trade unions by physical terror, as they did in Italy and Germany. I do not see Heath as the possible leader of such a movement.

But this is not all. We read in *Workers Press* that the TUC leaders actually favour the corporate state: 'Obviously men like Victor Feather . . . are fully persuaded that corporate state control of the economy, where unions lose their independent role, is a good thing.' And just to put things in their correct historical setting, an article carried in *Workers Press* on November 2, 1972, on the 50th anniversary of the fascist march on Rome, described to perfection corporatism and what it does to unions: 'Within three years the unions were crushed, the workers' organizations driven underground and the fascist state was fully operative'. Yet two days later Stephen Johns wrote that 'the essence of the corporate state (the British version?) is control over wages and the unions by the ruling class and these are now the two main planks of the Tory offensive.'

So in Britain the fascist corporate state will not destroy the unions, simply control them by collaboration with their corporatist leaders. Is this what we should be telling the working class? If it is true the corporate state is just the control of wages, then the corporate state can be introduced peacefully, by an act of Parliament. This became the position of the party with the passing of the counter inflation act of the spring of 1973.

On February 20, 1973, *Workers Press* said 'Tory Pay Board is Corporatism' and that corporatist controls over pay will be introduced into Britain by reformist leaders giving the Pay Board acceptance and credence . . .' On February 27, *Workers Press* said 'Pay Code Law is Corporate State.' On March 3 Roy Bull wrote that 'corporatism would make Jones' life easier by ironing out many of the clashes he now has to deal with.' But in Germany all the Joneses were crushed and imprisoned. Yet again on March 5 we have 'The TUC chiefs are co-operating in the abolition of fundamental trade union rights . . . secretly they welcome the corporate state in order to deal with any revolutionary mass movement that the crisis engenders.'

We give nothing to the reformists in saying they are not corporatists. Trotsky did not make any concessions when he answered Stalinist claims that the Social Democrats were social fascists. We have to get this right, in order that our party has clarity on the role of the reformist trade union leaders. We must distinguish,

as Trotsky did, between a reformist, whose treachery opens the door to fascism, and fascism itself. This important difference has been obliterated in the concept of corporatism.

The party leadership have declared that the party has never said that the reformist leaders actually support the corporate state, saying simply that they 'tend towards' it. Yet on May 9, 1973, Roy Bull wrote under the headline 'Feather Boosts the Corporate State', that Feather had 'opened a campaign in favour of the corporate state.' And moreover, in doing so, he had enunciated 'the principle of the German Labour Front under fascism.' Is this 'tending towards'? Or is Feather a fascist?

From this we can see why the party leadership set out to make a semantic distinction between 'corporatist' and 'corporatism'. Were they to admit the obvious, that a corporatist is an advocate of corporatism, they would admit that when the *Workers Press* calls a trade union leader a corporatist they are calling him a fascist. It is just as logical to argue that a Communist is not an advocate of Communism, a fascist only tends towards fascism, a social democrat does not advocate social democracy, etc., etc.

The leadership are forced to make this impossible distinction not, of course, because they support social fascism, but from the extreme sectarian position of the party of which 'corporatism' is one aspect. It crept in two years ago unannounced and undisclosed, and represents a major danger in terms of the isolation of our cadres and the liquidation of our trade union work.

The 'corporatist' position distorts the party's understanding of social democracy and therefore undermines the effective fight against social democracy which is central to the struggles of the working class. Central to Trotsky's analysis of social democracy was his assertion, confirmed by events, that social democracy and fascism were antagonistic political systems. One is based on the existence of an independent workers movement—the other on its destruction. He says in *The Turn in the Communist International*:

No matter how true it is that the social democracy prepared the blossoming of fascism by its whole policy, it is no less true that fascism comes forward as a deadly threat primarily to that same social democracy, all of whose magnificence is inextricably bound up with parliamentary-democratic-pacifist forms and methods of government.

And in *What Next?*

Fascism is not merely a system of reprisals, of brutal force, and of police terror. Fascism is a particular governmental system based on the uprooting of all elements of proletarian democracy

within bourgeois society. The task of fascism lies not only in destroying the Communist vanguard, but in holding the entire class in a state of forced disunity. To this end the physical annihilation of the most revolutionary section of the workers does not suffice, it is also necessary to smash all independent and voluntary organizations, to demolish all the defensive bulwarks of the proletariat and to uproot whatever has been achieved during three quarters of a century by the social democrats and the trade unions. The social democracy has prepared all the contradictions necessary for the triumph of fascism. But by this fact it has also prepared the stage for its own liquidation. It is absolutely correct to place on the social democrats the responsibility for emergency legislation of Bruning as well as for the impending danger of fascist savagery. It is absolute balderdash to identify social democracy with fascism. And in *Are There No Limits to the Fall?*

The perspicacious leaders of the Comintern took note of 'parliamentary forms', but they forgot about the political and economic organizations of the proletariat. Not by a single word do they recall that the Social Democracy can neither live nor breathe—that is, can neither exploit democracy nor betray the workers—without leaning on the political and trade union organizations of the working class. Thus it is precisely along this line that the irreconcilable contradiction between social democracy and fascism takes place, precisely along this line does there open up the necessary and unbridgeable stage of the policies of the united front with the Social Democracy. Its attempt to leap over this stage cost the Comintern its head.

I think the material above establishes the party's wrong position on this question. It is a position which in my view must be corrected with great urgency, but which cannot be separated from the other questions I am raising in this statement.

In the debate on the CC on this question the following quotation was produced from Trotsky's *Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay*:

By transforming the trade unions into organs of the state, fascism invents nothing new, it merely draws to their ultimate conclusion the tendencies inherent in imperialism.

This was selected to show that Trotsky was a supporter of the 'corporatist' theory but it does nothing of the sort. Firstly the quotation says nothing about the Trade Union leaders being drawn into the service of fascism, which is the theory of the party leadership. Secondly Trotsky says the following in the same book:

Monopoly capitalism is less and less willing to reconcile itself to the inde-

pendence of the trade unions. It demands of the reformist bureaucracy and the labour aristocracy who pick up the crumbs from its banqueting table that they become transformed into its political police before the eyes of the working class. If that is not achieved the labour bureaucracy is driven away and replaced by the fascists . . . all the efforts of the labour aristocracy in the service of imperialism cannot in the long run save them from destruction.

Social Democracy

Since I have raised differences within the party the charge has been consistently levelled that I have gone 'soft on reformism'. This is not only false, it is a diversion.

My differences with the leadership are not about whether social democracy and Stalinism are counter-revolutionary—they indisputably are. This Labour Government will seek by every means available to it to betray those workers who voted it into office. Our task is to warn continuously of this. Social Democracy is the principal agency of the ruling class *within the working class*. There are no differences on this score and anyone who seeks to introduce artificial differences on this question is diverting the discussion and doing the party a disservice.

What is at issue between myself and the leadership is the way in which the party should *combat* social democracy, and whether the methods at present used were those advocated and developed under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky. It seems to me that the party has deviated from this path, as shown for instance in the theory of corporatism, which says that under pressure from the ruling class the bureaucracy becomes transformed into an instrument for introducing and administering the corporate state. This is a revision of the Marxist analysis of bureaucracy from the ultra-left. Pabloism, on the other hand, which says that bureaucracy can be forced under pressure from the masses to a revolutionary position, revises Trotsky from the opportunist right. Both of these theories are wrong. As I said in the previous section, social democracy will open the door to the corporate state, but this is different from being part of it. Both these theories in different ways help to protect the bureaucracy, which can only be fought effectively and defeated by a revolutionary party with a correct theory and a correct programme.

By overestimating the extent to which the working class as a class has broken from social democracy, we prevent the party from making the interventions necessary to break them in practice from reformism. By seeing no difference between the right and the left in the Labour Party,

the party is unable to exploit the divisions within it to further expose reformism. Trotsky points out in the Transitional Programme that the party has to intervene in the 'inner struggles' within reformist organizations. This was the essence of the 'Make the Left MPs fight' campaign waged by the SLL which was a powerful campaign in the trade unions and did intervene in such a way. Today, by failing to adopt this method and tactic developed by Trotsky, we repeatedly let the reformists off the hook. We should be campaigning on issues where the maximum possible conflict is generated between the reformist bureaucracy which is defending its own privileges by serving capitalism, and the mass movement of the working class. We must build a leadership in the factories based on an implacable struggle against bureaucracy to carry this out.

Today's position has not always been the party's position on reformism, and I would find complete agreement with the points made by Cliff Slaughter on the Labour Party in 1972 in the pamphlet *Why a Labour Government: A Reply to Some Centrist Critics*, where he writes the following:

In Britain, the working class took a step in 1906, welcomed by Lenin, to form their own parliamentary party to represent trade union interests. This Labour Party is not simply a bourgeois imposition on the working class. It expressed a profound development towards political independence of the working class, and it has been necessary for the ruling class to devote gigantic resources to the corruption of its leaders.

This corruption has had dire consequences for the working class, but it will not throw away its three quarters of a century of experience of these betrayals on the basis of a series of impressions such as those which motivate the IMG petty bourgeois.

For the working class to move from the Labour Party is a *dialectical* change, proceeding on the basis of definite internal contradictions within reformism, and not a process of individuals reflecting on the need for change; that is the petty bourgeois impressionists' idea of how history changes (as Tariq Ali's immortal words put it in his recent book: 'Marxism (!) maintains that consciousness determines history')!

The working class will fight capitalism, i.e. fight the Tory government and its attacks with every weapon at its disposal, and in the first place the Labour Party and the Trade Unions.

Such a position, seeing the Labour Party as a weapon in the hands of the

working class—even though an imperfect one—would today be considered as 'soft on social democracy'.

Election Campaign

Aside from my differences on the question of the Manifesto, which I have discussed earlier in this statement, there are other aspects of the election campaign to which I wish to refer. The party took the decision to stand candidates and did so in 10 constituencies. I carried through this decision and fought for the campaign in Swindon on the line laid down by the central leadership. It became increasingly obvious, as this policy was taken into practice, that standing candidates in this particular election was wrong.

The standing of candidates in an election is clearly a question of tactics, and not one of principle. Lenin in *Left Wing Communism* fights against abstentionism from parliamentary elections, but at no point insists that the new Communist Party must stand candidates. For Trotsky also it was a tactical question, to be determined by the actual development of the working class, and, centrally, the development of the party. This means in my view that the party would require a definite base in the working class where it stood candidates. It should have the capability of winning the support of important sections of the labour movement to our candidates. The party should be seen by advanced workers a serious contender. If these conditions are not met then the campaign does not rise above the level of a propaganda intervention.

The party has of course every right to stand candidates as and when it decides to do so, but this step should be fully and freely discussed in the movement, taking all these factors into account, and not imposed from above as a binding principle. It is wrong for the leadership to argue, as it has, that the transformation of the League into the Party turned the standing of candidates from a tactic into a principle. At the same time important trade union elections have gone unchallenged.

In this election neither the constituencies nor the candidates were properly discussed in the party, let alone the question of standing or not standing candidates. The campaign was not based on a proper analysis of the stage of development of the party or the movement of the working class who were moving to the left and clearly were going to vote strongly for a Labour Government, hoping that such a government would protect their standard of living. The role of the party therefore had to be to warn that the opposite would be the case. The Labour Government would be caught in the crisis of the system and would come into conflict with the working class as the defender

of capitalism. The question of leadership of the working class under these conditions through the party stood central to this election, and had to be the cornerstone of the party's intervention.

The most effective way for the party to fulfil this role was not by standing candidates and concentrating the entire national and regional resources of the party in 10 towns, but to launch a national campaign with public meetings, factory gate meetings, leafletting and canvassing while the party programme was tuned towards the election, giving workers a perspective, and posing the question of leadership to the working class. This could have strengthened the work in *all* areas, brought in important recruits, and provided the opportunity to break in to new areas of work. In the event the campaign resulted in ineffective lopsided work, and over-stretched the branches in the areas involved, turning the political work into a quantitative question.

The election campaign opened with the announcement, again after no discussion in the party, of a campaign for 3,000 new members in 10 days. This seemed to me to be a panic move, and impossible to achieve. I think this decision was an attempt at an organizational answer to what is a highly political question—the decline of the party's forces. This decline is due in my view to the sectarian positions and wrong conceptions which I take up in this discussion document, and there is no answer simply in recruiting campaigns.

In order to attempt to achieve figures in the recruiting campaign the basis of recruitment had to be revised. Members were now recruited after a few minutes discussion, with no idea of the politics involved, to a section of the Fourth International. The vast majority of these recruits will never come in to the party, and the impact on the branches in trying to bring them in under impossible conditions will be considerable. Thus the 'drive outwards' which is so vital to the party and which could have been so powerful in different circumstances, became a drive towards liquidationism. It will be said of course that in making these points I am opposed to rapid recruitment and to building the party. I am not. I simply think that membership of our party requires a minimum agreement on the programme and perspectives of the movement and some degree of involvement in some aspect of the work of the party. This would include sufficient political agreement to vote for our own candidate where we were standing, which was not the case with the majority 'recruited' during the campaign.

Constitutional Changes

I was very much opposed to the con-

stitutional changes decided upon by the Special Conference. I accept the changes of course as unchallengeable once Conference had taken the decision. But they still have to be examined against the trends in the party which I have outlined above.

I opposed the changes on the CC before they came to Conference, because I think the 10 day rule and circulation of written material to members was a good one, and the right to appear direct and in person to Conference on the question of expulsion was an important right. I could not accept, as was claimed by the leadership, that we had a Menshevik constitution—15 years with a Menshevik constitution is a long time. My view was that these changes were a preparation for a period in which the contradiction in the party must emerge, and they would then provide an organizational answer to the political questions involved.

Sectarianism

As I have said in previous sections the thread running throughout this critique is the thread of sectarianism. It paralyses the work in the trade unions, it makes an effective fight against reformism impossible. It leads us towards wrong interventions in elections and to crash recruitment programmes, to impossible targets, and above all, through the combination of all these factors, it threatens the Workers Revolutionary Party with liquidation. As Trotsky wrote in the Transitional Programme in the section on sectarians:

At their base (the sectarians) lies a refusal to struggle for partial and transitional demands, i.e., for the elementary

interests and needs of the working masses, as they are today. Preparing for the revolution means to the sectarians convincing themselves of the superiority of socialism . . . They remain indifferent to the inner struggles within reformist organizations—as if one could win the masses without intervening in their daily strife! They refuse to draw a distinction between bourgeois democracy and fascism—as if the masses could help but feel the difference on every hand! . . . However sectarian influences are to be found also in our own ranks and display a ruinous influence on the work of the individual sections . . . A correct policy regarding trade unions is a basic condition for adherence to the Fourth International. He who does not seek and does not find the road to the masses is not a fighter but a dead weight to the party. A programme is formulated not for the editorial board or for the leaders of discussion clubs but for the revolutionary action of millions.

I think this passage must stand as a warning to the party of the consequences which could result from a failure to break from the wrong positions of the party and its dangerous trends towards sectarianism. It is for this reason that I place this motion before this conference. I am asking delegates to support it on the basis that, following a full discussion in the party on the points I have raised, a special conference be convened in order to concretize the programme, taking the method of Trotsky's Transitional Programme into the living practice of the party.

A. T.

1st November, 1974

Chalidze, Litvinov Appeal for Release of Moscow Amnesty International Member

[The following appeal was printed in the letters column of the January 11 *New York Times*.]

We are very disturbed by the reported arrest of the Moscow biologist Sergei Kovalev,* who has combined important scientific work with his activities in defense of human rights in the U. S. S. R.

Sergei Kovalev, together with other Soviet citizens, including Academician Andrei Sakharov, has for some years spoken out in defense of political prisoners. Now he has been arrested by the Soviet authorities allegedly for providing assistance to Lithuanian Catholics.

In connection with this same case, several apartments in Moscow were searched

recently, including those of the geologist Malva Landa, of Galina Salova (wife of astronomer and political prisoner Kronid Lyubarsky) and of the physicist Andrei Tverdokhlebov (a founding member of the Moscow Human Rights Committee).

We fear that Kovalev's arrest may signal the beginning of a new wave of repressions. Sergei Kovalev is a member of the recently organized U. S. S. R. Group of Amnesty International and his arrest causes concern for the safety of the other members of the group.

The International League for the Rights of Man sent a telegram in defense of Kovalev to N. V. Podgorny on Dec. 27. We hope other organizations, scientists and individuals will intervene on behalf of Sergei Kovalev.

Valery Chalidze, Pavel Litvinov
New York, Jan. 2, 1975

Intercontinental Press

* Also spelled Kovalyov, in an alternate system of transliteration.