

# Intercontinental Press

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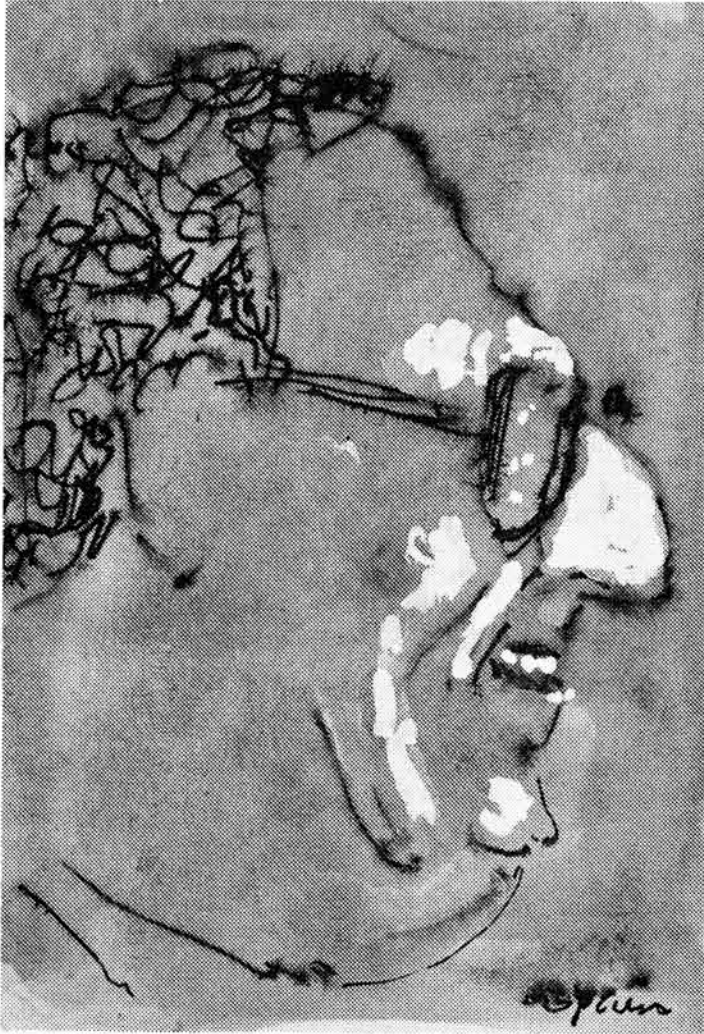
the Americas

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March 10, 1975

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DR. STRANGELOVE. Argues that best aid U.S. can provide Cambodians is to keep bombing them.

## The Battle Over Blame for 'Losing' Cambodia

**Arms Sales: The Only Business That Is Booming**

Ireland

**New Line Raises Difficult Problems for 'Officials'**

**La NAACP de Boston Llama a Marcha Antirracista**

# NEWS ANALYSIS

## Fanciful Reporting in Addis Ababa

The current fighting between Eritrean guerrillas and the Ethiopian army has been given sensationalistic handling in the bourgeois press. Nonetheless the reports have been contradictory, and what is really going on remains obscure. Caution in weighing the news accounts is therefore well advised.

In a dispatch from Addis Ababa in the February 26 issue of the *Washington Post*, David B. Ottaway reveals that much of the current reporting from the Ethiopian capital is based on rumors and even fabrications.

Ottaway places the chief responsibility for this unsatisfactory situation on the Ethiopian military government, which has refused to meet with correspondents, "barred all from the war zone, provided no reports on the military fighting and acted as if everything in this mountain kingdom were normal and the 'imperialist' Western press out to 'sabotage the Ethiopian revolution' with exaggerated and fabricated war stories."

The consequence, according to Ottaway, has been "a cacophony of all too often false or misleading war reports. . . ."

"The sad fact is," he continues, "that not a single correspondent here has witnessed a battle, seen a dead guerrilla or soldier, taken a picture of any fighting or been able to assess the situation in the province first hand outside the provincial capital of Asmara itself. (One Ethiopian journalist and three Americans did manage to spend one night huddled in an Asmara hotel listening to rocket, artillery and heavy arms fire outside, and a day touring hospitals and refugee centers however.) The Eritrean war is probably the first one in history covered almost entirely by long distance telephone calls to the battle front."

Some of the correspondents have not been beyond "resorting to their imaginations as to what may be taking place in the Eritrean war in the absence of hard facts and under the pressure of deadlines and fierce competition."

In addition, "we have the intriguing foreign powers interfering in the internal affairs of Ethiopia and perhaps even hatching some infernal plot to get their respective men into power." This can "either be the Arabs . . . or . . . the Americans with their Central Intelligence Agency. . . . One news agency even has 'Peking's little men in Mao tunics as habitual visitors to the government palace. . . .'"

Ottaway offers as an example of fanciful reporting the story published in the *Washington Post* of February 6 "of a large Ethiopian army convoy, including 52 tanks and 20 armored vehicles, toiling for days through the 'heavy fighting' in the province and making its way around a blown up bridge to reach the 'beleaguered' capital of Asmara.

"We now know that no such convoy of tanks and armored vehicles ever existed and that there was at that time no bridge destroyed on the road involved to hold up the imaginary convoy. Indeed, it is the judgment of Western military experts here that it is practically impossible to get a tank by road from Addis Ababa to Asmara because of the incredibly tortuous mountain terrain and passes between the two cities."

Among other examples, Ottaway cites the story of an Ethiopian air force plane being shot down by Soviet surface-to-air missiles. "However, both Western military experts

## The One Business That Is Booming

The sale of arms has been described as "perhaps the world's fastest growing commerce."

The rate of increase is indeed prodigious. The sales of arms by American companies in the year ended last June more than doubled to \$8.5 billion. The bulk of these sales was to countries in the Middle East—almost \$7 billion.

Left out of account are the gifts underwritten by the Pentagon to customers like Israel and South Vietnam.

The growth of this sinister commerce is all the more striking against the background of worldwide economic crisis and the decline in production of useful goods.

Recently alarm has been expressed in the United States over the briskness of the arms trade. The concern seems to have been aroused by the purchases made by countries faced with the encroachments of Israel, the spearhead of American imperialism in the Middle East. These voices call attention to the inconsistency of selling weapons to oil-producing countries that Kissinger and Ford have openly threatened with armed intervention.

Others have sought to express a broader view. For instance, in a January 27 editorial entitled "Merchants of Death," the *New York Times* pointed to various factors in the

and Ethiopians, including one whose plane had reportedly been shot down, say the Eritrean guerrillas do not yet have such missiles, or at least have yet to use them."

Ottaway's report was confirmed by Thomas A. Johnson in the March 2 issue of the *New York Times*. Recounting the difficulties facing correspondents, he added:

"It is obvious that some sources available to foreign journalists are intent upon providing information that supports or condemns one side or the other. All information has to be evaluated with this in mind."

This would seem to apply especially to the atrocity stories now being sent out on the wires. They offer the most detailed accounts of savage acts, yet are singularly devoid of broader reportage.

One of the most striking gaps is news about the famine. Several months ago Ethiopia was ravaged by hunger and this was reported in detail with photographs and substantiating material from responsible organizations engaged in relief work. What happened to the famine, which was one of the main causes of the present social unrest and civil strife?

Until better news comes out of Ethiopia, it is best to reserve final judgments on the developments there. □

arms boom, the main one being a directive issued by President Nixon on December 20, 1973, "creating an interdepartmental committee to spur exports, including arms sales, for balance-of-payments reasons."

The stepping up of such sales is thus ascribed to commercial rivalry with other arms-producing countries, including the USSR.

Additional factors mentioned by the editors of the *New York Times* included the Pentagon's interest in lowering the unit cost of weapons by stepping up the production run. The greater the sales abroad, the cheaper the costs at home.

A sentence was even devoted to the thirst for profits among munition makers: "American arms companies, when unrestrained by Government policy, naturally will sell for profit to any buyer." Naturally. You can say that again.

The editors of the *New York Times* note a prominent new feature of the arms boom. "The arms trade is no longer simply a hand-me-down business for getting rid of obsolete, second-hand weapons." The Joint Chiefs of Staff in Washington agreed to sell to Iran some of the "most advanced weapons—such as the Navy's new F-14 jet fighter—simultaneously with their introduction into the American armed forces."

*Intercontinental Press*

Moscow is following a similar policy. It "has supplied Syria with MIG-23 swing-wing interceptors before providing them to its Communist allies in Europe."

In this fierce struggle in the arms market, France and Britain are vying "not only to help oil payments, but to help their defense industries survive." More than half of France's output in air and space matériel now goes into the export trade.

What can be done about the takeoff in the arms business? The editors of the *New York Times* do not have much to offer. For them it's business as usual—"control and limitation of arms" in agreement with Moscow. They propose that the Ford administration should not abandon "moral leadership by becoming the leader in arms sales." They urge Congress to "revive an American policy of restraint and leadership by example. . . ."

The truth is that the editors of the *New York Times* are carrying out their customary chore of covering up the main factor in the spectacular growth of the arms trade. This is the instigation of that trade by the policy makers in Washington as a calculated part of their preparations to meet the rising social unrest visible in any number of countries. They anticipate that the deepening worldwide recession will push people onto the road of revolution. The signs are to be seen everywhere—not only in the Arab East and Southeast Asia, but in Europe.

The White House, of course, is prepared to attempt to divert revolutionary struggles by supporting radical-talking demagogues. It will even foot the bill for concessions here and there for a time. However, what the White House relies on in the final analysis is force of arms—preferably administered by local satraps, but in case of need, by the Pentagon.

Whatever the subsidiary reasons may be—and these of course exist—the main reason for Washington's interest in stockpiling arms in a country like Iran is to bolster its own position in that area in anticipation of the turbulent days ahead.

Something grimmer is involved. The stockpiling of "conventional" arms, massive as it is, does not count for much against the towering buildup of nuclear weapons. These are sufficient not only to wipe out all the users of conventional arms but all human beings and perhaps all higher forms of life on this planet.

Washington's policy of selling conventional arms at a frenetic pace in looking ahead to "brush-fire" wars like the one in Vietnam means in reality placing fuses around the globe, any one of which upon being lighted can set off a nuclear conflagration.

That is the basic meaning of the decision in Washington to make the arms industry in the United States the busiest and most profitable in the world. □

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### The Battle Over Blame for 'Losing' Cambodia

By Peter Green

The Lon Nol regime is on the verge of collapse. A creation of Washington from the start, it has throughout its existence been totally dependent on U.S. military and economic aid. But it seems even that is not enough to save it now.

A tricky problem thus confronts White House strategists—how to evade responsibility for what they consider an imminent disaster. President Ford, Kissinger, and other holdovers of the Nixon crew, recognizing that their Cambodian puppet has come to the end of the road, are attempting to throw the blame for “losing” Cambodia onto Congress with its huge Democratic majority.

By forcing Congress to vote on his request for \$222 million supplementary military aid for Pnompenh, Ford is presenting them with a dilemma. If they vote against the aid, Ford can claim that Congress and the Democrats were responsible for the “loss” of Cambodia. But to pass the buck back to Ford by voting for the aid would anger the great majority of the American people, who have shown they will not tolerate a new escalation of the Indochina war.

Pentagon chief James Schlesinger stated February 23 that Cambodia would “absolutely” fall into Communist hands if Congress declined to approve the additional aid. He added that in his opinion the “domino theory” had been “overly discredited.”

Ford chimed in February 25, saying that without the aid, Lon Nol would be forced to surrender “within weeks.” At a news conference the same day, Kissinger echoed these sentiments.

The editors of the *Wall Street Journal* argued February 27 that the main problem was to show no sign of “irresolution” to smaller countries around the world. They pointed to the “boldness” of the Arab governments in imposing an oil embargo as one consequence of past “irresolution.”

Pnompenh is “likely to fall,” they said, “but it will be one thing if it falls despite American efforts, and quite another if it falls because its army runs out of ammunition by vote of the U.S. Congress.

“... if the U.S. cannot supply funds to allies under attack, the rest of the world cannot but see it as a useless ally indeed.”

The *New York Times* reported February 27 that Schlesinger and Kissinger had privately given up on Cambodia, and were banking everything on saving South Vietnam. According to the account, Schlesinger



believes Cambodia will fall no matter what course Congress follows, while Kissinger estimates Lon Nol's chances of survival as wavering between zero and 50-50.

On March 1 Lon Nol made what appeared to be an offer to resign. At least, that was how John Gunther Dean, U.S. ambassador in Pnompenh, interpreted the following statement by the puppet ruler:

“I was brought to this high office by the institutionalized organization [the U.S.-backed coup], but for the peace of my country and for the welfare of my country I would do whatever is possible and necessary so that peace and the welfare of my people can be achieved.”

“This means,” said Dean, “the President will step aside if he is a barrier or stands in the way of a peaceful settlement.”

That, of course, raises the problem of finding a suitable successor. Washington appears to already have a candidate in mind.

Bernard Gwertzman pointed out in the March 1 *New York Times* that while Norodom Sihanouk, who was ousted by Lon Nol, has refused to negotiate with the Pnompenh regime, he has offered “reconciliation” with Washington if Lon Nol is dropped.

The following day, the *Times* ran in its editorial pages a statement it had solicited from Sihanouk himself. Sihanouk posed “only one condition to the United States”—

the dropping of Lon Nol.

The problem is becoming urgent for the White House and Congress, since the military position of the Lon Nol regime is deteriorating rapidly.

The Mekong River remains blockaded. A major amphibious operation to regain control over some of the river bank between Pnompenh and the South Vietnamese border was abandoned February 17, with Lon Nol's troops retreating in disarray. An attempt by the navy to run the blockade ended in disaster February 23 when two patrol boats and a larger gunboat were sunk by mines.

Neak Luong, the regime's last major post on the river, “is under increasing pressure and could fall,” the February 27 *New York Times* reported. Catholic Relief Services, the only agency trying to feed the town's starving population, evacuated its team February 24. According to relief agency officials, thousands of persons are in danger of dying of starvation in the town.

In addition to the insurgent successes on the Mekong, gains were also made in other parts of the country as the small Lon Nol enclaves were removed one by one. The district capital of Muang Russei was taken February 18. Along with the town, the insurgents captured 2,000 tons of rice. Oudong, the former national capital twenty-one miles north of Pnompenh, fell on February 25. Prek Luong, a town on the east bank of the Mekong less than five miles from downtown Pnompenh, was captured February 28.

Pnompenh airport is under constant attack from rebel rockets, and the rapidly expanding emergency airlift run by Washington has become increasingly vulnerable. The government forces launched a drive February 28 to push the rocket emplacements out of range of the airport. But a preemptive attack by the rebels against the town of Tuol Leap, twelve miles from the center of Pnompenh, stopped that effort and the rockets are now even closer.

The continuing military setbacks heightened the unrest both among the troops of the puppet armed forces and the population of Pnompenh itself. Sydney H. Schanberg reported in the February 27 *New York Times* that there were “indications that a process of demoralization has begun. . . .”

“An air of haplessness can be detected from top to bottom in the Cambodian bureaucracy. . . . Meanwhile, Government and military corruption remains rampant, prices continue to rise at an annual rate of at least 250 per cent and hundreds of thousands of people are going hungry, with many of them, mostly children, dying of starvation and related diseases.”

Army morale is low in the field, according to a February 26 Associated Press dispatch. “They are told to fight, but their uniforms are torn. They have no shells,” said one



officer as his battalion retreated from a village in northwest Cambodia. Some of the soldiers are barefoot. "Our equipment is sold to rich villagers for their defense. The people do not support us. It is better to stop fighting," he said.

"We are losing the battle," a sergeant in the battalion said. "We have armor, artillery and airplanes, but we will lose the war because the high-ranking officers do not know tactics. They are busy making money."

Unrest is also increasing among sailors forced to undertake suicidal missions on the Mekong. Ten who refused were reportedly charged with mutinous conduct and put in jail. Others have deserted after receiving orders for service on the Mekong.

The rising discontent at soaring food prices found an initial outlet in attacks on Chinese merchants, who have often been made the scapegoats during past crises. In Battambang, Cambodia's second largest city, riots broke out February 21 after the

insurgents cut the city's road and rail links with Thailand. A crowd of 3,000, mostly students, attacked Chinese businesses and homes.

Sporadic violence also broke out in Pnompenh as students roamed through the streets, smashing Chinese shops and stalls. Pnompenh officials were fearful that the anti-Chinese rioting "could signal a more widespread breakdown of order in the cities," according to a report in the February 28 *Washington Post*.

On February 22, the right-wing president of the National Students Association of Cambodia issued a strong statement denouncing the regime as corrupt. He demanded that Lon Nol cease the repression against student and teacher associations.

Meanwhile, on February 14 the U.S. embassy, which had already evacuated dependents of embassy personnel from Pnompenh, urged some of the 350 remaining Americans to leave for their "own safety and welfare." □

offers from five independent sources for peace talks between themselves and the "Officials" but that the latter had not responded: "On the contrary they have publicly stated that 'more people have yet to die' and privately stated that the conflict may extend to the South."

For several weeks, the IRSP has claimed that the "Officials" were carrying out a systematic campaign in Belfast to destroy their organization by intimidation. They have issued repeated statements to the press listing incidents. If they had initiated the violence, it is hardly likely that they would try to publicize it and thus attract the attention of the police.

Furthermore, the statements of the IRSP opposing the "Officials" have concentrated on political principle, while those of the rival group have raised sweeping charges about "gangsters" who want to "provoke sectarian warfare," statements that were virtually appeals to the police to crush the new party.

In this latest incident also, the IRSP statements were moderate in tone, while those of the "Officials" were not.

Garland was already mentioned as a target of British secret-service assassins in the Littlejohn disclosures. With the outbreak of violence between the republican factions, he was bound to be a prime target for provocateurs. He is virtually the only leader in the "Officials" who has the stature, courage, and integrity necessary to stop the escalation of a suicidal war among republicans.

As the most conscious and intelligent of the socialist-minded republican leaders, he was also one of those Irish leaders whom secret-service agents tried to get purged in 1969. Besides this, Garland is one of the few real heroes of the last guerrilla campaign. An attack on him would be best calculated to infuriate not only the "Official" ranks but all republicans.

It is impossible to believe any Irish republican tried to murder Seán Garland. This assassination attempt has all the marks of a capitalist secret-service operation like the murder of Malcolm X.

This crime against a man recognized by both socialists and republicans as one of the finest leaders the struggle of the Irish people has produced should be a warning to the "Officials" of where their campaign against the IRSP is leading. And it should warn the IRSP of what will be the inevitable result of any violent response, no matter what the provocation. □

### **An Expensive Way to Travel**

A U.S. Air Force official reported February 20 that Washington has spent more than \$500,000 to transport Secretary of State Henry Kissinger's armored limousine on his various junkets around the world.

## **British Secret Police Involved?**

## **Seán Garland Gunned Down in Dublin**

Seán Garland, national organizer of "Official" Sinn Féin, was gunned down outside his home in Ballymun, Dublin, March 1. As he and his wife stepped out of their car, two gunmen opened up on him, wounding him seriously in the arms, legs, and stomach. Neighbors attracted by his wife's screams apparently frightened off the killers before they could finish their job.

At Richmond Hospital, where Garland was taken, he was at first reported not to be in critical condition. The police and family friends said that he had pulled through and was out of danger. However, the *Irish Times* of March 3 said that Garland was "critically ill."

The attempted assassination of a universally respected "Official" leader followed the murder February 25 of John Fox, a member of the "Official" movement in Belfast.

In a statement reported in the March 3 *Irish Times*, the "Official" standing committee in Dublin accused the Irish Republican Socialist party (IRSP) of attempting to assassinate Garland.

Its statement said: "The swelling wave of violence and Chicago-type shootings coincide with the formation of what is called the Irish Republican and Socialist Party by Seamus Costello and Bernadette McAliskey and stems directly from that source."

The "Official" IRA Belfast Brigade Com-

mand has accused the IRSP of the Fox murder. The March 1 issue of the *Irish Weekly*, published in Belfast, reported: "The command warned that they would use whatever means they considered necessary 'to protect our personnel and the long-suffering public from becoming embroiled in another futile, senseless round of sectarian killings.'"

The Dublin "Official" standing committee accused the IRSP of planning to destroy the cease-fire in the North and launch a new military campaign to woo the extremists in both "Officials" and Provisionals.

The IRSP denied any involvement in the Garland shooting. The National Executive of the new party condemned the act. Its statement said:

"The shooting was totally at variance with the policy and aspirations of the party, and in our view was carried out by persons with a vested interest in the promotion of conflict between Republicans and Socialists. The present confusion surrounding the conflict between both organisations provides fertile ground for the activities of enemy agents and in our view provides the most likely explanation for the Garland shooting."

In a statement issued immediately after the shooting, the IRSP claimed they were anxious to avoid violence between the two organizations. They said they had accepted

### The Struggle for Independence in Eritrea

By C. Levallon

[The following article appeared in the February 21 issue of the French Trotskyist weekly, *Rouge*. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

\* \* \*

For the last three weeks fighting has raged throughout Eritrea. By taking the initiative in Asmara, the capital of the country, the ELF [Eritrean Liberation Front] has pulled the rug out from under the blustering of the Ethiopian military regime, which was preparing to mount a general offensive against the liberation movements—one of those last-ditch efforts generally associated with colonial wars. Whatever the outcome of the present fighting, its political consequences are irreversible. The position of the ELF, of the two movements that emerged from the split in 1970, has been strengthened both internally and internationally.

As for the regime in Ethiopia, the ambiguity of its socialist claims has been shown by its acceptance of the expansionist and colonialist heritage of Haile Selassie's policies. It is digging its own grave, to the satisfaction of American imperialism which, in a region that remains of strategic importance for it, is undoubtedly preparing its own scenario.

An Italian colony until 1941, Eritrea was occupied by the British until 1950. In 1952, under the pressure of the USA, the United Nations denied independence to Eritrea and accepted the expansionist claims of Ethiopia. In this way Haile Selassie was repaid for Ethiopia's participation in the Korean war, and the Americans in turn obtained military bases in Asmara and Kagnaw, on the Eritrean coast.

In theory a federation was formed, with Eritrea retaining its own laws, flag, and language. These UN proposals were soon violated by Ethiopia: Eritrean parties and trade unions were banned. In 1962, Eritrea was annexed to the Ethiopian empire and thus became a colony subject to exploitation and domination by one of the most backward dictatorships on the globe.

The nationalist movement in Eritrea was formed during the period of Italian colonization. Until 1952, several bourgeois-nationalist parties made use of the existing constitutional framework to call for independence. The ELF was formed in 1961, independent of the legalist-oriented nationalist movement. While at the outset its

forces were very weak, the brutality of the exploitation and repression propelled its growth. A nationalist movement, its program in this period could almost be summed up in the formula "One goal, independence. One method, armed struggle." Important sectors of the peasantry and some elements from the cities and the poor strata rallied around the front; a section of the Eritrean bourgeoisie supported the Ethiopian government. Abroad, the ELF has the support of some Arab countries.

In 1967, the ELF asserted that it controlled two-thirds of Eritrea's territory. A substantial crisis then occurred within the leadership. Apart from personal clashes, the essential differences concerned the organization of the armed forces. In this period, Ethiopian military intervention became a more important factor. It was directed by the Americans, who "trained" the Ethiopian army, particularly the air force, and even participated in a certain number of actions.

The military apparatus of the ELF, organized in nearly autonomous *willayas* [military administrative regions], was ill suited to meet this offensive, but the unification of the ELF armed forces fell apart in 1969. Two organizations were formed: the ELF-People's Liberation Forces, whose leader best known abroad is Osman Saleh Sabbe; and the ELF-Revolutionary Command, which is led from abroad by Idriss Mohammed Aden. For a whole period, confrontations between these two organizations took an extremely violent turn.

Centralization within these two movements appeared to be very limited. The two leaderships located abroad were made up mostly of elements from the most right-wing sectors. Important political cleavages existed inside each organization. Leftist currents exist, though scarcely organized, in the ELF-PLF, and undoubtedly in a more structured form in the ELF-Revolutionary Command.

Bourgeois-nationalist currents are dominant inside these two movements, and programmatic questions have been left to the side. It is certain that independence would result in a redefinition of the political currents that would not be the same as the present differences between the two movements. The prospect of independence is today drawing toward the ELF a sizable number of bourgeois elements—it has recent-

ly been reported that the chief of police of Asmara has gone over to the side of the ELF—which makes the drawing up of a genuine class-struggle program an urgent task for the left. All the more so since in addition to these internal pressures, there is the external pressure of the Arab states.

The independence of Eritrea and the outcome of the class struggle in this country are questions that go beyond the national boundaries of Eritrea. The support given to the ELF by such states as Saudi Arabia and Libya, by the Soviet Union via Iraq, and the links that exist here and there across the Red Sea between the Eritrean nationalist movement and South Yemen provide the framework for a certain number of ambitions and struggles for influence.

The Sudan's offer of mediation is particularly significant. Nimeiry's anticommunist regime is worried by the presence of ELF liberation fighters on its borders. It is also worried by the links that may exist between these fighters and the Sudanese Communist party, which despite the repression continues to operate clandestinely. The Sudan is pushing for a rapid normalization of the situation.

As for American imperialism, on the scene through its bases in Eritrea, it is undoubtedly no stranger to the initiatives by Nimeiry and the sudden solicitude on the part of Saudi Arabia toward Eritrea. Its aim is to counterbalance possible Soviet influence in the Red Sea, and above all, to maintain its own influence in Ethiopia. On this level, the "destabilization" of the military committee in Addis Ababa and its replacement by a regime more favorable to the United States seem to be one of its high-priority objectives. □

#### Arabs Boycott Pro-Zionist Firms

Mohammed Mahgoub, the secretary-general of the Arab Boycott Office, said in Damascus February 15 that the boycott of foreign banks that have dealings with Israel had "never affected any bank because of the religion of its owners."

"We only boycott whoever supports Israel militarily or economically, regardless of religion or nationality," he said. "A number of Jewish-owned banks are boycotted because their owners have a confirmed position toward Israel and Zionism. Many of these banks helped establish the state of Israel and were supporting it economically and militarily."

The boycott has frequently been portrayed in the Western press as being based on whether a bank has Jewish owners.

The boycott is directed against about 2,000 concerns. In addition to banks, it includes companies that have dealings with Israel or with such Zionist fund-raising organizations as the United Jewish Appeal.



## India's Pro-Moscow Stalinists Hold Congress

By Sharad Jhaveri

Jamnagar

The pro-Moscow Communist party of India held its tenth congress in Vijayawada, in the state of Andhra Pradesh, in early February. The gathering marked the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Communist party in India.

The CPI has become the biggest tendency in the organized working-class movement since the split in 1964 that led to the emergence of the CPI (Marxist). It has more than 16,000 branches—an increase of 4,000 since the ninth (Cochin) congress in 1971. It has units in more than 300 districts, which means in more than 80 percent of India's administrative districts. It has twenty-two state-level organizations covering all the states except Nagaland and Mizoram.

The CPI has thirty-six members in Parliament—twenty-four in the Lok Sabha (Lower House) and twelve in the Rajya Sabha (Upper House)—and 162 members in the state assemblies. Among the national parties recognized by the Election Commission, the CPI has the second-largest voting bloc in the electoral college for presidential elections. Only the ruling Congress party has a larger number of votes.

The CPI reports it has more than 3,000 full-time and about 40,000 part-time cadres. Its more than 3.55 lakh<sup>1</sup> members represent a 50 percent increase since the ninth congress. Five lakh persons attended its concluding rally.

The CPI thinks that socialist revolution is not on the agenda. Instead, it believes that the tasks confronting India are merely of a bourgeois-democratic, anti-imperialist, and antifeudal character. Moreover, it considers it to be the duty of the Indian working masses to assist the "antifeudal" and "antimonopoly" bourgeoisie in carrying out these tasks. It therefore calls for a broad popular-front-type regime and for a "National Democratic Revolution."

Within this political perspective, which in essence subordinates independent working-class action to the needs of the bourgeoisie, the tenth congress assessed the situation in India.

According to the CPI, the most important factor is the economic crisis in India, which is part of the overall crisis of capitalism. The CPI sees some ray of hope, however, in the further strengthening of industries in the state sector, and in trade relations with the Soviet-bloc countries.



CPI CHAIRMAN DANGE: Wants more popular-front governments like one in Kerala.

The CPI thinks that there are divisions in the bourgeoisie, with some elements supporting Gandhi's ruling Congress party and others openly supporting what the CPI calls the "fascist movement" of Jaya Prakash Narayan.<sup>2</sup> At the same time, it notes that the Gandhi regime is pursuing increasingly undemocratic policies.

The central issue, as the CPI sees it, is how to combine the struggle against the rightists with the struggle against the anti-working-class policies of the Gandhi regime itself. It has therefore called for the formation of a broad national-democratic front of workers, peasants, intellectuals, and the "non-monopoly" sections of the Indian bourgeoisie.

It calls for a leftist government of democratic unity, favoring Kerala-type coalition governments with the ruling Congress party in all states. Such coalitions are to be based on a definite minimum programme. The CPI thinks the situation is

2. Narayan is a leader of the struggle against government corruption and high food prices in the state of Bihar. See *Intercontinental Press*, December 2, 1974, p. 1598.—IP

ripe for this type of government, and that this has been shown by the leftward shift of the masses. Press reports and news releases by party spokesmen indicate that there was intense discussion at the congress on the question of setting up this sort of government.

The CPI rejects the concept of a "non-Congress" or "anti-Congress" front. It believes that the CPI(M) and the other left parties either underestimate or completely ignore the importance of the mass support for the Congress party and the anti-imperialist and antifeudal sections of the Congress party. It also believes that they ignore the polarization taking place within the Indian capitalist class. Therefore, in the CPI's view, they underestimate the threat posed by the rightist forces. The CPI thinks that the rightist threat cannot be defeated without the cooperation of the left, democratic, and centrist sections of the Congress party itself.

The CPI's current strategy of building class-collaborationist coalitions to defeat what it calls "right reaction" has evoked great interest in bourgeois circles. All the leading newspapers gave front-page coverage to the proceedings of the congress. The Congress party has begun to hold public discussions of the CPI strategy.

CPI Chairman S.A. Dange focused his keynote address on what he said were the two main dangers confronting India: imperialism and Jaya Prakash Narayan's "fascist movement" to subvert democracy. He said that freedom and democracy were being threatened by the "two sinister arms of the counter-revolutionary Pincers"—the imperialist threat from abroad and Narayan's "total revolution" from within.

Addressing the 1,600 delegates, he called on the CPI to work actively for the broadest mobilization of all left and democratic forces, particularly those within the ruling Congress party, to fight these twin threats.

The CPI has made Narayan's movement its prime target, surpassing even the Congress party in its attacks on this struggle. At the same time, it never clearly defines what it means by "right reaction" and "fascism." The CPI has also failed to make any concrete evaluation of the emerging prominence of middle-class and petty-bourgeois elements in mass movements such as the one in Bihar.

The congress adopted the international report, the political report, the political resolution, and the organizational report—all unanimously. The vote for the new Central Executive Committee was also unanimous.

The CPI's popular-front programme serves as a useful left cover for the Gandhi regime. It will lead the CPI to side more and more with the Congress party and to continue to betray developing mass struggles. □

1. One lakh equals 100,000 units.—IP



## New Line Raises Difficult Problems for 'Officials'

By Gerry Foley

[Third of a series]

Since 1970 at least, and probably since the Provisional split in 1969, the "Official" republicans have tended to counterpose "class" issues to "national" ones. This tendency accelerated as the "Officials" began to become isolated and disoriented in mid-1972, and has now apparently reached a culmination after the December 1974 split, when the organ of the movement, the *United Irishman*, adopted a thoroughgoing Stalinist line.

The inevitable outcome of such a tendency is economism, the basis of the reformism of the Irish Labour party and the Communist party of Northern Ireland in particular. This route to reformism has been recognized by Marxists for three-quarters of a century. Lenin described it in his *Two Tactics of Social-Democracy* written at the time of the 1905 revolution in Russia: "From the correct premise of Marxism concerning the deep economic roots of the class struggle in general and of the political struggle in particular, the Economists drew the singular conclusion that we must turn our backs on the political struggle and retard its development, narrow its scope and reduce its aims."

In Ireland, where the economy is weak and distorted by overwhelming imperialist domination, any broad manifestation of the class struggle, either for economic or democratic demands, immediately raises the question of national liberation. Thus, the subordination of the national issue to economic ones has always been a quick and direct route to reformism first and then to "left" proimperialism, as shown by the Northern Irish CP during World War II and the Irish Labour party in the coalition government now in office in Dublin.

The same logic was apparent in one of the main programmatic points stressed in the January issue of the Stalinized *United Irishman*:

"The Republican Movement wants peace in Ireland. A peace within which the people can come to grips with the problem of taking over their own lives in all senses."

It is true, of course, and there can no longer be any doubt about it, that the Provisional military campaign has not advanced the mass struggle in Ireland but has isolated it and weakened it. But it is just as true that any significant struggle in Ireland will take on an explosive character. In this context, general appeals for "peace" clearly point in an economist direction, and

they are dangerously deceptive and utopian.

This economist trend was impelled by a one-sided and panicky response to the Provisional split. But it has been consistently promoted by Stalinist-educated and Stalinist-influenced elements within the "Official" leadership as well as by the pressure of international Stalinist forces, which has been brought to bear in the last year in particular. The Stalinist organizations and front groups that have shown a sudden interest in the "Officials" in the last year and a half have commended them especially for their line on the national question.

For several years, courting of the "Officials" has been a key element in the Communist party's efforts to gain a base. However, the turning of a republican organization toward Stalinism has apparently produced an explosive mixture more likely to endanger the CP itself than bring it any benefits. The logic of Stalinist dogmatism in an armed organization is a factor in this. But a more fundamental feature is the dilemma of reformism in the Irish context.

The "Officials" pushed the "class" approach hard in their struggle with the emerging Provisionals, which they regarded as an apolitical nationalist grouping manipulated by national-bourgeois politicians such as Fianna Fail leaders Neil Blaney and Charles Haughey.

### In Derry in August 1970

The implications of this line worried me when I heard one of the more sincere advocates of a socialist approach in the "Officials," Malachy McGurran, put it forward in a speech to a crowd in Derry city in August 1970. It was apparent even then that this stiff and simplistic "class approach" could not relate to the actual way revolutionary consciousness was developing among the masses.

Only a year before, the Catholic community in Derry had been the target of an attempted pogrom by the reactionary Protestant forces. Some ministers in the Dublin government, including Blaney and Haughey, had been accused of smuggling weapons to the reliably conservative nationalist elements in the Catholic ghettos.

McGurran told the crowd not to look for help from people like Blaney and Haughey. Blaney was not interested in improving the

lives of the working people, he said. If anyone doubted that, they could look at his constituency in the neighboring county of Donegal across the border and see that the workers there were worse off than they were in the British-ruled area.

This approach did not impress the people who had to face a massive, racist-like attack the year before. I noted this in an article in *Intercontinental Press* of October 12, 1970:

"Speaking openly as a representative of the outlawed Irish Republican Army, McGurran had a lot of authority for the militant youth. . . .

"McGurran got an attentive hearing. But the audience seemed unmoved. Did his line of attack on Blaney seem too factional, as if he were criticizing him just for not being a socialist or a supporter of the IRA? Did McGurran fail to combat the illusion that Blaney would support the Northern minority at least on a nationalist basis? Did the perspective of winning over the Protestant workers by economic agitation seem too remote and utopian for the youth?"

Reformists use economist demagogy to justify maintaining movements within limits they think are tolerable to the system. Their objective is to live off the organizations they control and to maintain them by bartering for small concessions from the capitalists. However, they are usually not very effective even within their own reformist terms, since the rulers of society are not so inhibited and pursue their class interests in a bolder and more decisive way.

Obviously, on the other hand, the "Official" leadership did not start off from a simple reformist position. They were reacting to the sterility of a nationalist movement that had been frozen in a strictly bourgeois and conservative mold. They were reacting to decades of hypocritical nationalist demagogy from bourgeois politicians. They feared that bourgeois nationalists would co-opt, divert, and shatter the movement as they had in the past. In some cases, the "Officials" even showed signs of accommodating to the pressure of sectarian ultralefts, who claimed the mantle of Trotskyism.

Some of the "Official" leaders were groping toward the concept of a revolutionary working-class leadership, a revolutionary party. They had taken only one small step from their traditional populism to workerism, the romantic idealization of

economic struggles and of workers as workers under capitalism. But if they had moved this far, perhaps some of them at least would progress further.

Despite their workerist notions, the "Officials" had proved able to lead a mass movement of the Catholic population against discrimination, which in essence was the beginning of a revolt of the oppressed people. It was this struggle that for the first time in history had mobilized the masses of the Northern Catholics against their national oppression and created a situation that threatened the imperialist mechanisms of control throughout the island, which were also the foundations of capitalism in the country.

### Gap Between Theory and Practice

There was a contradiction between the conceptions of the revolutionary-minded "Officials" and their actions that would have to be resolved. And some of them were interested in learning about Marxism and trying to improve the program and practice of the organization, as well as raising the political level of the membership.

The layer of the leadership that had participated in the 1956-62 guerrilla campaign and drawn some lessons from it included capable and experienced individuals. They were a force in the situation that was politically open and that might, as an educational process developed, provide a leadership that could rise above the confused political outlook of the "Officials" and go on to form a revolutionary party, as well as overcome the dangerous split in the anti-imperialist movement.

Stalinist influence, the inflexibility of the republican structures, and the growth of dogmatism prevented this.

The sterility of the conception of class struggle held by the "Officials" quickly became evident. When the mass pressures generated by the resistance to the August 1971 internment raids led to a sharp split between the imperialist authorities and the national-bourgeois elements, the "Officials" were unable to take advantage of it to deepen the mass mobilization.

Consistent with their workerism, they underestimated the political hold of the bourgeois nationalists on the masses of the Catholic population. They thought that since the bourgeois parties did not have a force of activists in the ghettos, the militants could simply go over their heads.

In a special broadsheet published after the August 9, 1971, explosion, the *United Irishman* said: "Opportunists like the SDLP [Social Democratic and Labour party, the bourgeois nationalists linked to the Dublin government] must not be allowed to assume a leadership on the backs of interned men. They must be forced to accept the discipline of the mass movement of the CRA [Civil

Rights Association], for only by such mass involvement of the people through a rent and rates strike to hit the pockets of the Unionist overlords and through street demonstrations to apply political pressure and expose the failure of internment as a policy to curb the people can we hope to be in a position to prevent a final sell-out by Jack Lynch [then premier of the Dublin government] or by the Haughey/Blaney group."

The "Officials" dogmatically misjudged both the real relationship of forces and the nature of the CRA. The latter was a united front, essentially an anti-imperialist front of the oppressed Catholic population. The bourgeois-nationalist political parties could not be forced to accept its "discipline" as long as they retained their political positions.

As an action front, the CRA could mobilize masses of people and use this pressure to force the bourgeois nationalists further than they wanted to go, and thus undermine their political control. But it could not do this by going directly against the politicians and counterposing itself to them.

As a result of their approach, the "Officials" could not come up with a political formula that seemed realistic to the masses. Their call for an "assembly of democratic organizations" was a purely propagandistic slogan with no relationship whatever to the real development of the situation. It could have taken on reality only if the "Officials" had been able to exploit the contradictions of the bourgeois nationalists in order to open up the way for a thoroughgoing mobilization. In effect, the "Officials" counterposed the end of the process to its concrete unfolding. The result was that they fell into a position of political passivity and propagandism, constant harping on the general truths of socialism.

### Two Struggles Combined

It was obvious where this line was leading the "Officials." I pointed this out in an article in the September 13, 1971, issue of *Intercontinental Press*:

"The failure of the IRA in the 1930s was not simply that it failed to denounce De Valera hard enough and to keep its supporters from backing Fianna Fáil on the political front. The failure of the IRA was that it had no scientific understanding of society. It did not understand the dynamic of a phenomenon like Fianna Fáil; it did not understand the limits within which an opportunist 'nationalist' party could respond—and not respond—to the pressures of the nationalist people. That is, the IRA did not understand the pressures that were at work in society and how to take advantage of them. Such an understanding is, among other things, essential for using the

tactic of critical support successfully. You must know what an opportunist leadership can and cannot do and the *real* direction in which the masses are moving.

"In the Irish case, this means two things. First: The fighting capacity of the Northern Catholic establishment and the Southern bourgeoisie is extremely limited. It can expect nothing from a head-on collision with British imperialism but total ruin. Secondly: The struggle of the Irish people is essentially a national one and is taking this form more and more clearly.

"But the indigenous bourgeoisie has no interest in a national revolution; no section of the Catholic bourgeoisie has the capacity for carrying out such a struggle. Only the workers and the poor strata have the capacity for such a struggle. Since they will have to wage this fight independently in the last analysis, the battle will be for national liberation and socialism at the same time.

"When the working class and the poor strata fight by and for themselves, they must inevitably fight for socialism. That is what socialism is, the workers acting by and for themselves. Otherwise it would be only a utopian scheme."

The logic of the "Officials" refusing to recognize the actual form in which the class struggle was developing in Ireland and their trying to force it into a preconceived schema was to lead them not only to lose their opportunity to carry the process forward, not only to political isolation and impotence, but eventually to trying to impose their line by indoctrination and intimidation. They eventually came to rely on alliances with international Stalinist forces in place of the nationalist-minded people in Ireland and the Irish colonies abroad.

### Were Willing to Discuss

But for a period of about two years, many of the "Official" leaders were not completely hardened in this line. They were willing to discuss in a frank and comradely way with revolutionists from more developed socialist organizations. However, their traditions and the pressures they were under made it difficult for them to understand where they went wrong and how to change.

Even some Stalinist-influenced types were not yet totally hardened. Unfortunately they based themselves on republican myth, saying that you cannot have a national liberation struggle before unity is achieved between Catholics and Protestants. Until that day the struggle can be waged only for "civil rights" and for "democracy" within the imperialist structures.

Even some of the most left-wing leaders had difficulty in understanding the nation-



al struggle as a process. To them a national struggle is by definition guerrilla war. They still seemed to be thinking in traditional republican rather than Marxist terms. There were basically two types of activity—constitutional agitation and military struggle, as they saw it. The purpose of constitutional activity was to prepare the groundwork for a military campaign, which was politically a completely different thing. The relationship between the two stages of struggle was viewed in a very rigid and formalistic way. In conformity with this, building the “people’s army” was also a process separate from, although linked to, the mass struggle.

Like many other republican “traditions,” such conceptions reflected rather recent habits of thought that had become ingrained enough to be regarded as eternal principles. The original IRA was in fact the product of a different type of process. It was built out of a mass mobilization based on a defensive program, as a militia to guarantee the security of the country under the conditions of the first world war.

The present “secret army” concept in the direct sense is an outgrowth of the defeat of the militant wing of the independence forces in the 1922 civil war. The leaders of this section of the old IRA expected a renewal of the war against England at any moment and devoted themselves to preparing militarily for it. While the leftists in the “Official” leadership were critical of such “traditions,” they obviously had not really broken from them. An indication of this was their attitude to the Catholic militias that did tend to develop in the North. They were regarded simply as competitors.

### **Bloody Sunday**

The dead-end logic of the “Officials” was revealed with tragic force after the Bloody Sunday massacre in Derry in January 1972. They were confronted with a real revolutionary mobilization, with a spontaneous development toward a general strike. While they were able to organize the largest civil-rights demonstration in the history of the Northern struggle, they let the opportunity to lead the fight into a new stage slip completely through their fingers.

The only political slogan they could offer the masses was a call to vote against Irish membership in the Common Market in a referendum two months in the future. Not only were they unable to grasp a historic opportunity, they acted in the way best calculated to dissipate the mass mobilization that was developing. They tried to “avenge” the victims of the Derry massacre by bombing an English military base. The bombing misfired, as such things tend to do, and killed some cleaning women and a Catholic priest.

The limited guerrilla campaign of the “Officials” quickly led to a crisis. On May

19, 1972, members of the “Official” IRA in Derry city executed an off-duty British soldier as a spy. He was, however, a Catholic and local boy. The popular reaction was overwhelmingly negative and left the “Officials” dangerously isolated for a period of some weeks.

It was inevitable, in fact, that such an incident would occur, when for many months small armed groups had been operating under the illusion that they were the effective power in the Catholic ghettos, although in fact they had little organized or political support.

The more conservative and Stalinist-influenced elements in the “Official” leadership naturally used this incident to push a gradualist approach. But the revolutionary-minded types also realized where it was leading. However, apparently they felt they could not explain this rationally, because this would have meant a break with republican tradition. It would in fact have meant explaining the Marxist conception of the need for arming the masses instead of building small armed units separate from the mass movement.

What they said was that they were calling a cease-fire on an appeal from the Executive of the Northern Republican Clubs:

“The executive proposed to the I.R.A. that in view of the growing danger of sectarian conflict the I.R.A. should immediately suspend all armed military actions.”

The Derry incident that most directly prompted this decision had no effect on the Protestant community. The whole scenario was played out within the Catholic ghetto. In a broader sense, the pressure on the republicans at this time came from a “peace movement” within the Catholic community and from illusions among the Catholic population that the abolition of the Protestant-dominated parliament was a victory for them.

The leadership decided to fight fire with fire by invoking a nostrum, the need for “national unity” with the Protestants, the idea that the national revolution must repeat the “dynamic of 1798” when, according to republican myth, Catholic and Protestant were united.

### **Tradition of 1798**

The tradition of 1798 is supposed to be the “progressive” tradition in Irish nationalism, as opposed to the clerical communalism of the mass movements led by Daniel O’Connell in the first part of the nineteenth century. In fact, the development is more complex. But this is the ideological context in which republicans think. Moreover, this conception and the attitude toward the Protestants it implies are interesting in particular because they are the most petty-bourgeois threat in republicanism. And it is on these conceptions that the “Official”

notion of “working-class unity” is based.

There is little connection between the character of republicanism today and the movement in the 1790s except literary analogies. The republicanism of the United Irishmen leaders was an organic outgrowth of capitalist development in the Protestant colony in Ireland. It was a projection of bourgeois aspirations. That was its class nature.

However, the rising bourgeoisie could not achieve its class objectives without emancipating the majority of the population, the descendants of the natives and older settlers who had been reduced to serfdom by the English conquest. On the other hand, the aspirations of this population conflicted fundamentally with those of the Protestant bourgeois revolutionists. The Catholic peasants wanted to regain the land, to undo the conquest, to destroy the very bases of bourgeois property in Ireland that were rooted in the conquest.

As a result of this contradiction, the 1798 uprising was abortive. It became essentially another native rebellion, terrifying to the Protestant republicans and repugnant to their French allies. The nascent Protestant bourgeoisie opted for a path of development subordinate to Britain, and abandoned republicanism and nationalism forever. This episode definitively ended the possibility of a successful bourgeois-nationalist revolution in Ireland. It removed the class base for such a development.

The Catholic middle class that took the leadership of the nationalist movement in the nineteenth century was a feeble formation, deformed at birth. It was incapable of carrying out a genuine bourgeois revolution. Its aspirations were much more limited than those of the Protestant nationalists. But it did have to wage a strong fight against imperialist interests even to achieve limited objectives. In order to do that, it had to rely on a mass movement of the Catholic peasantry. Again there was a contradiction between the bourgeois and popular element in the movement, but it was not so sharply defined.

There was also an intermediate element that played an important role and helped to confuse the class realities. The urban intelligentsia, naturally mostly Protestant in origin, did not directly represent any of the fundamental classes in Irish society. It came to the national movement essentially because of the influence of general ideas that had been diffused internationally. At the same time, lacking roots in the privileged classes, it was more sensitive to the revolutionary logic and needs of a mass struggle.

It was this petty-bourgeois intellectual element that became the leadership of the left wing of the Catholic movement and came together under the name “Young Ireland.” It is from this tendency in fact



that present-day republicanism actually descends. And it bears the mark of its origin in all its "eternal" principles.

### O'Connell Vs. Young Irishmen

Reflecting the limited aims of the Catholic middle class, O'Connell adopted pacifism as a principle. In order to justify this, he pointed to the failure of the 1798 rebellion and the repression it had led to. In reaction, the Young Irishmen tried to rehabilitate the episode that O'Connell pointed to as a horrible example of violent revolution. They made it into a myth. Whereas O'Connell had made nonviolence an absolute principle, they made violent methods an abstract criterion of revolutionary seriousness.

As regards the strongest obstacle to revolution, the Protestant colony as imperialism's mass base in Ireland, the Young Irishmen dealt with this problem in a typically petty-bourgeois way. They tried to conjure it away with romantic and literary appeals to a common Irish tradition and a mystical common interest of all people living in Ireland. They made little attempt to examine the concrete interests of the Protestant community or the material interests its attitudes reflected.

The same method was followed by the republicans in the period leading up to the war of independence. They hailed the formation of reactionary Protestant militias as an expression of Irish nationalism, even though the purpose of this arming was to maintain the subjection of the Catholic people.

The reaction of the "Official" leadership, as well as of some elements in the Provisionals, to the creation of ultrarightist Protestant terror gangs in the North after the 1969 pogroms was the same. It was a petty-bourgeois attitude in the scientific meaning of the term. It did not reflect the consciousness or real historic interests of either of the fundamental classes in society. It was an attempt to conjure away essential contradictions by romantic notions.

If the "Official" republicans had been determined to examine their history scientifically and move forward to a working-class approach, these conceptions should have been the first to come under scrutiny. If the method of military conspiracy had proved inadequate to achieve the republicans' goals, no position ever taken by the movement had been so totally refuted by history as the notion that the "dynamic of 1798" could be repeated.

However, the "Officials" did not cut themselves loose from this petty-bourgeois utopianism; they followed its logic to the bitter end, when the contradictions exploded and threatened to destroy both their organization and their revolutionary outlook. They became fixed in this course for several reasons.

In the first place, the petty-bourgeois side of the "Officials" was reinforced and reinterpreted in "Marxist" and "working class" terms by Stalinist advisers. Also, the "Officials" made their turn to the left on a pragmatic and uncritical basis, and so they tended to absorb all the clichés that were in the air.

But these influences did not come from nowhere. They reflected general problems in developing a revolutionary approach, and found an echo in the problems the "Officials" themselves faced as they tried to grope their way forward pragmatically.

The connection between the political struggle and the economic one is complex. It is easy to be misled by a reaction to one or another aspect of it, to fall into a one-sided approach. This is what happened to the "Officials." They discovered that abstract nationalism was too superficial a philosophy, saw the underlying economic factors, and fell headlong into economism.

### The Case of Fintan Lalor

This is not the first time such a thing has happened to leftward-moving elements in the nationalist movement. The father of Irish socialism also went through such an experience. In his biography of Fintan Lalor, Tomás Ó Néill observed: "But it is clear from what Fintan wrote in the years 1842-3 that he was against the Repeal Association on the basis of another principle, that is, that the fate of tenant farmers had to be improved before thinking about home rule."

He quoted a letter from Lalor to the British chief secretary for Ireland, Robert Peel, whose message was summed up in the following passages:

"I have long seen and felt—what every man who retains, in this most contagious country, the use of his own mind, and of his own senses, to see, to hear and to judge for himself, perceives—the absolute necessity which exists, that *all* agitation for political objects should entirely cease, before any improvement can be effected in the condition of the Irish people. I am most anxious that the present Repeal-movement should be speedily and safely suppressed—not imperfectly and for a period, but fully and for ever. To effect that object I wish to contribute whatever little aid it may be in my power to give."

In a postscript, Lalor said: "I was, myself, at one time something *more* than a mere Repealer, in private feeling—but Mr. O'Connell, his *agitators*, and his series of wretched agitations, first *disgusted* me into a conservative in point of *feeling*, and reflection and experience have *convicted* me into one in point of *principle*. I have been *driven* into the conviction, more strongly confirmed by every day's experience, that it is only to a Conservative Government, to

her landed proprietors, and to *peace* that this country can look for any improvement in her social condition." (Emphasis in the original.)

Lalor was concerned first and foremost with the poor masses of peasants. He was disgusted by the hypocrisy of the bourgeois Catholic leaders he saw using the people for their own purposes. He knew that they would betray their followers. But he could not see that for historical reasons the struggle against the economic consequences of the conquest, landlordism, would have to take the form of a national struggle involving the Catholic middle classes. He could not see the concrete form the class struggle was taking. Thus, he had no concept of how to fight effectively to cut the masses free from bourgeois control. He lost confidence in the masses themselves and had to look for some outside agency to solve the dilemma.

Lalor's attitude was typical of utopian socialism, the petty-bourgeois socialism that preceded the scientific variety based on an understanding of class struggles. But such utopianism can also be expressed in the name of the working class, as the evolution of the "Officials" shows. For them, the outside agency, the *deus ex machina*, that is to bring the actual struggle into line with what they see as the real interests of the people became more and more a disciplined organization strictly controlled by rigid dogma and an all-powerful leadership, supported by alliances with Stalinist apparatuses.

### Search for Magic Formulas

As the "Officials" lost touch with the national struggle and became more and more helpless to prevent it from taking primitive and self-destructive forms, their desperation produced a poisonous growth of dogma and paranoia: It was all the Provisionals' fault, and they were being manipulated by diabolic capitalist interests, assisted by ultraleftists, who metamorphosed into the archfiends of the Stalinist imagination, "Trotskyists." Lalor's hatred of O'Connell's nationalist "agitators" is mirrored in the cries of the "Officials" about the "Provo/Trots."

It is clear also that from an early stage in the development of the "Officials," the idea that appealing to workers as workers on economic issues directly concerning them was accepted as a magic formula for overcoming the obstacles to progress. This "open sesame" would not only conjure away Orangeism but the repressive forces themselves, through an appeal to the police on a "trade union" basis. Left Catholic moralism was apparently a factor in this.

Like most petty-bourgeois radical groups, moreover, the "Officials" showed a strong tendency to take their wishes for the reality

and to become even more confused as a result.

One indication of how illusory the "working-class orientation" has been is the insistence of the "Officials" on regarding their British affiliate as a "general workers movement that favors a united Ireland." In fact, it is an organization made up mainly of young radicals who may be mostly workers but who were recruited because they were affected by the youth radicalization and the national question and not because of industrial actions.

In Ireland itself, the "Officials" are basically the same type of organization. They did not develop within the framework of the organized workers movement but gained their first influence there as a result of their youth recruitment. They have not yet been able to lead a single workers struggle of any significance or been able to offer an alternative within the labor movement.

There are good reasons for this, and what the "Officials" achieved in other fields could have been a basis for building a base in the workers movement, if they had not deceived themselves about the actual process.

This sentimental identification with the working class was exactly the opposite of a working-class orientation in the scientific sense, which starts by accepting the realities of the process by which a revolutionary organization can win leadership of workers.

Most of the "Official" membership come from working-class backgrounds, since there is not much of a petty bourgeoisie in Ireland. But this has not, as it could not, by itself save them from the prescientific conception of class struggle that is the major barrier to their achieving their objectives.

On the other hand, there does seem to be significant pressure from petty-bourgeois elements, especially in Dublin. This undoubtedly helps to transmit an antinationalist form of radicalism typical of the petty bourgeoisie in colonial countries.

This frustrated and fearful stratum is particularly susceptible to Stalinism, since the Kremlin offers a credible ally against the imperialist pressures they resent, and the Soviet government and local Stalinists can be relied upon not to go "too far."

#### Line of the BICO

In Ireland, where the dilemma of this petty-bourgeois layer is especially acute, this tendency has taken particularly bizarre and virulent forms. The strangest is the ultra-Stalinist British and Irish Communist Organisation (BICO), which has produced an impressive volume of propaganda designed to prove that the demand of the Protestants for their own state is progressive.

The "Officials" regard this group as an abomination, and the Stalinists in the organization complain bitterly about its distortion of Stalin's position on the national question. But the fact is that the BICO's line and the line the "Officials" have now firmly adopted on the national question lead in the same direction.

The formal difference over the nature of the Protestant population, whether it can be categorized as a nation, is not the essential thing. What is essential is saying that as workers the Protestants have good reasons for being suspicious of nationalists, and therefore the emphasis should be placed on "working class" or economic issues.

That can only be a left route for surrender on the national question. This is shown, among other things, by the way Dillon and Lehane linked the "Officials" and BICO in their book, *Political Murder in Northern Ireland*, which I quoted in the previous article in this series.

The fact is that in Ireland today, socialism is a less dangerous idea than national liberation, because it has less immediate and explosive implications. There is nothing surprising about this. In the pioneer days of socialism in the United States, for example, the bosses of company towns were far more prepared to permit socialist electoral activity than trade-union organizing. Some socialists concluded from this that it would be easier to win socialism through elections than to organize trade unions. The actual development of the class struggle was too dangerous, and besides trade unions were not that revolutionary.

The "Official" leadership understands quite clearly that the most explosive issue in Ireland is the national one. It has realized that because of this, mobilizations must start off from issues that directly affect the people and do not immediately raise the question of revolution.

What it, as a whole, has not understood, or is unwilling to understand, is that no significant agitation can be kept at a safe level for very long in a country like Ireland, where any deepgoing struggle for democratic or social change runs up very quickly against the imperialist domination of the country. If they start campaigns and are unable to carry them forward, they will lose control of the situation and risk being destroyed by the very forces they have unleashed.

That has been the experience of the "Officials" with the civil-rights movements. It is an illusion on their part to think that after the Provisionals "run out of steam" they can go back to building a civil-rights movement that will stay in the limits they apparently want.

The Civil Rights Association has been led into a graveyard by its Stalinist leadership and buried there. In two years, the "Officials" have been able only to follow the

Communist party lead. Now they have opted for a consistently Stalinist approach, that is, for reformism. But reformists could never have built the movement that touched off the explosion in Northern Ireland. They were not able to do it before and they are even less able to do so now.

Reformists face a real dilemma in Ireland. The very fact that so many individuals with such limited aspirations for social change find themselves in armed organizations is an indication of this. As in other colonial and semicolonial countries, moderate progressives are forced to resort to violent methods in the hope of gaining a few reforms.

Naturally, most persons who begin fighting one or another unjust or backward aspect of Irish society have a reformist outlook. Few are prepared to face the implications of revolution. And the obstacles to success seem too great.

The most formidable barrier is the reactionary Protestant caste, which threatens a war of extermination against any movement endangering imperialist control of the country. It is easy to think that since pursuing major changes is so dangerous it would be better to stick to small-scale agitations, and to move forward one cautious little step at a time.

However, the forces that dominate society are more conscious than most rebels themselves about where demands for reform will lead. That is especially true in Ireland, where control by imperialism is so tight, and agitations are so explosive, as they have once again proved to be in recent years.

The political contradiction is that while mobilizations have to begin on issues that seem reasonable within the context of the existing society, they quickly become explosions that can be carried to victory only by a revolutionary leadership. Any leadership that does not realize this, or is unwilling to accept the consequences, is only preparing the way for disaster and profitless sacrifices.

The dilemma of reformists in Ireland is that they either have to accept subordination to imperialism, like the Social Democrats and the Stalinists, or adopt a revolutionary perspective. The only intermediate position is represented by the demagogic and impotent form of bourgeois nationalism that exists in Ireland. There is no room for any other type of political organization.

The "Officials" had one foot on each side of the fence. They were militant enough to touch off a revolutionary process, but not revolutionary enough to understand how to carry it through to victory. So, they lost control of the situation and took refuge in dogmatism, putting all the blame on the Provisionals for the course of events.

Instead of learning from experience that the resistance of the Protestant caste could



only be broken by a profound revolutionary process mobilizing all the force of the anti-imperialist majority against it, the "Officials" began more and more to make not alienating the "Protestant workers" their paramount principle. The primary task for revolutionists became to prevent a "sectarian civil war."

This "sectarian civil war" took on the role of the kind of bogeyman typically used by Stalinists to frighten their followers into accepting a reformist perspective: "If you push too fast, you'll provoke a fascist reaction."

There is danger of a civil war in Northern Ireland, just as there is always the danger of a violent rightist reaction in the processes of reform led by Communist parties. However, as seen in Chile, the Stalinists' reformist strategy has had notably little success in warding off such reaction. Instead it has disarmed the masses.

For at least three years, the "Officials" have been saying that the British authorities want to provoke a civil war and that the country is on the brink of the ultimate disaster. The fact is that it is either petty-bourgeois panic or deliberate reformist alarmism to claim that British imperialism wants a civil war for its own sake. It wants to break the will of the Catholic population by the most inexpensive and safest means possible. It is not likely to encourage or permit such a civil war unless it is sure that the Catholics can be easily crushed and that there is no possibility the process can get out of hand.

Whether or not the British tops can get the conditions they need for a successful campaign to break the will of the nationalist-minded people depends on the capacity and determination of the Catholic people in the North and throughout the island to resist. Obviously the "Officials" are not helping matters any by constantly wailing that the ultimate disaster is just around the corner. If the Provisional military campaign has tended to frighten the Catholic people into passivity, the "Officials'" prophecies of doom can only accentuate the process.

### **Economism Laced With Stalinism**

Now after four years and another split in the organization, a rightward-moving bloc has imposed a clear economist line. It was expressed as follows in an editorial entitled "Forward" in the January issue of the *United Irishman*:

"In retrospect 1974 can be seen as the year in which the Republican Movement consolidated its claim to be the only party capable of representing the Irish working class in the North or South."

This has been the objective of the economist tendency. It has been expressed in the following way by Tomás Mac Giolla in

March 10, 1975

particular: The Labour party and the SDLP have moved so far to the right that no political party is representing the immediate interests of the workers. There is a vacuum on the left that we can move into.

This is the general strategy of the Communist parties in Western Europe, to move into the territory vacated by the Social Democracies. It reflects an understanding of a general political principle. It is necessary to have some revolutionary prestige in order to get started as a reformist party. The small Communist parties in Northern Europe have gained some successes recently by presenting themselves as a more militant reformist alternative to the Labour parties, which are more deeply integrated into the system.

Moreover, the "Officials" could hope to have a broader appeal than the CP. They have a few figures who are well known and respected in their communities, and they have gotten a substantial minority vote in a number of parliamentary and local elections.

This strategy, however, is as utopian as the general political conceptions of the "Officials." They do not have a sufficient program of their own for consistent trade-union work. They have not won an independent base.

Furthermore, the layer of radicalized petty-bourgeois and skilled workers on which the North European CPs and left Social Democratic parties have built their successes does not exist in any strength in Ireland. The realities of the class struggle there are simpler and more violent.

The very process by which the economist line has been imposed on the "Officials" precludes any success as an economist party. In the process of trying to defend utopian positions and suppress any criticism of them, the leadership has generated such an atmosphere of dogmatism and dictatorship that it has driven away most of its following of young activists, the one thing that made it appear a force in the eyes of the left trade-union bureaucrats on whom it has pinned its hopes.

Furthermore, the "Officials" seem to have been swept along by this process to the point of trying to suppress political differences by physical violence. Young people are not likely to find such an organization very attractive. And this is exactly the sort of thing best calculated to fighten away the moderate left voter the economists want to draw in.

The combination of strong-arm methods and dreary, dogmatic propaganda enlivened only by Stalinist historical fantasies such as the recent issues of the *United Irishman* have featured, is hardly likely to impress radicalizing layers as an inspiring new alternative.

To carry out an electoralist strategy, the "Officials" face still more basic problems.

Their populist electoral propaganda, even spiced up with a dash of socialist perspective, has not been sufficient to really change the outlook of the people who vote for them. They have not sufficiently educated the layers they reach to achieve solid organizational gains. They have not created a base for socialism. Their electoral position is built on sand.

Furthermore, a decline in the struggle in the North will enable the traditional reformist and "progressive" parties to adopt more radical positions. That is particularly true of Fianna Fáil, the bourgeois-nationalist party, which, as in most colonial countries, is the primary reformist alternative in the minds of the people, not the Social Democracy.

Throughout the past five years, the "Officials" have proved too rigid to deal effectively with this kind of opponent. The extreme dogmatism on the national question they have developed in the last year seems certain to make them still more powerless against reviving bourgeois nationalism and populism.

In their attempt to get the movement on a reformist course, the Stalinist-influenced leaders of the anti-Costello bloc have poisoned the organization's political life and led the "Officials" into an impossible position. If this drift is not halted, the most likely result will not be the kind of moderate, "practical" party that they and probably many of the membership desire but an ultra-Stalinist sect of a violent and unstable type.

It is not surprising in this context that the physical attacks on the "Officials'" opponents have come in Belfast. The contradictions of reformism are particularly acute there.

One or two of the Belfast "Official" republicans, who are defeated and embittered young guerrillas, have apparently embraced Stalinism as a power they think can avenge them against the forces that overpowered and humiliated them, as well as a kind of secular religion that offers escape from seemingly hopeless realities. This type has developed a brand of reformist dogmatism that combines an opportunist softness toward the right with a frenzied hatred of everything to the left. For such a person, the real objective has become not revolution but the purge.

As a natural consequence of the kind of factionalism that began developing in the "Officials" when they started retreating into dogmatism, this type seems to have tended to become dominant. Its imprint is clear in the sentence of the December *United Irishman's* defense of the Soviet invasion of Hungary that said it was the "socialist power of the workers of Eastern Europe" that prevented the imperialists from coming to the aid of the "counterrevolution."



To talk of the "socialist power" of the workers in connection with Soviet tanks mowing these very workers down and intimidating their class comrades into terrified passivity is the expression of a dangerously distorted outlook.

It has become tragically obvious that the alleged working-class orientation of the "Officials" is an illusion that is not based on the underlying realities of the class struggle in Ireland. With such an orientation, they cannot educate the workers and lead them to take control of their lives. This course has led them to try more and more crudely to impose a utopian political per-

spective on their members by indoctrination and intimidation. The result is not revolutionary consciousness but a peculiarly virulent form of petty-bourgeois fanaticism.

Some figures in the "Official" movement are leaders of stature and proven courage. They can stop this suicidal course by demanding a return to reason and political persuasion. If they stop it in time, they will be remembered by history as was Fintan Lalor, a pioneer who made some mistakes, and not as deluded followers of a cult of bureaucratic power and murderers of revolutionists. □

*Q. And what about the Gruppi Comunisti Rivoluzionari?*

*A. The growth of the Gruppi is quite significant at present, particularly in the high schools. We are the only ones really fighting against the "restoration of order" in the educational system, calling for a boycott of the elections to the "Joint Councils."*

*Concretely, we are trying to bring together the broadest possible sectors of the workers vanguard around two axes: strategically selected struggles on the question of unemployment; and trade-union democracy.*

*Q. What positions do the different groups have on the economic crisis?*

*A. Only a few months ago Avanguardia Operaia was denying that there was any crisis, claiming it was an "invention of the bosses." Lotta Continua had a "catastrophe" perspective that led it to an orientation toward struggle outside the factories, in the "social" sector (housing, health care, and so forth). Today their positions have noticeably evolved in a more correct direction.*

*Q. And on the trade unions?*

*A. Their tactic of rooting themselves in the unions, which in practice meant not posing themselves openly as an alternative pole to the bureaucratic leaderships, led to the rise of two currents in each of the three main far-left groups: those who wanted to go further along this path, and those who understood the necessity, at this juncture, of putting forward a series of demands in opposition to the strategy the unions are now following. This is how the slogan "thirty-five hours of work with no cut in pay" began to be put forward officially by Avanguardia Operaia and Lotta Continua. That is what has enabled us to take the initiative around this theme in the unions, along with a number of militants from these organizations.*

*Q. In France, we've heard reports of a campaign to reopen the contracts. What's involved there?*

*A. This is a slogan put forward by centrist groups that think the fight against rising prices has been a failure because it's been taken up by the trade-union bureaucracy. So they have "found" something else: "reopening the contracts." What this means is demanding that the collective-bargaining agreements be negotiated before the date they are now set to expire—in the fall of 1975. This is not a very effective axis of mobilization when 70,000 Fiat workers are laid off for eighteen days, in February alone, or when the loss of purchasing power has risen to 0.5 percent a month.*

## An Interview With Edgardo Pellegrini

### The Italian Left and the Economic Crisis

[The following interview appeared in the January 31 issue of the French Trotskyist newsweekly *Rouge*.]

\* \* \*

The events of the last few months in Italy—such as the referendum on divorce; the increase in unemployment, particularly the partial unemployment of tens of thousands of auto workers; the "restoration of order" in the schools; the civil-disobedience movement against increases in fees for social services—have demonstrated a clear political evolution on the part of the main far-left groups in Italy, above all *Lotta Continua* [The Struggle Continues] and the PDUP-*Manifesto*.<sup>1</sup> We interviewed Comrade Edgardo Pellegrini about these developments. He is a member of the Political Bureau of the Gruppi Comunisti Rivoluzionari [Revolutionary Communist Groups], the Italian section of the Fourth International.

\* \* \*

*Question. What is the situation in the Italian far left, six years after the "hot autumn"?*

*Answer. There are three main groups today, each of which has its own national daily newspaper and several thousand members. Lotta Continua, the largest of the groups, has its main strength among the least skilled workers, which they portray as the "vector of the revolution." The PDUP has a number of trade-union delegates, and even an occasional union cadre of national stature. Avanguardia Operaia [Workers Vanguard] has its main strength in the Milan area, where it has a strong*

influence in a certain number of unions. These three groups have made a clear turn toward tail-ending the union bureaucracy. This is all the more serious now that the PCI<sup>2</sup> and the Christian Democrats are launching a campaign to denounce their militants, particularly in the CISL<sup>3</sup> (the Christian trade union).

*Q. What is left of the Maoist current?*

*A. There are only two groups that strictly speaking could still be called "Maoist": the PCIML,<sup>4</sup> which made a "third-period" turn and is branching out into terrorist activities, and Avanguardia Comunista [Communist Vanguard], which despite its Mao-Stalinist positions has a relatively correct analysis of the present crisis.*

*And then there is Autonomia Operaia (Workers Autonomy), a phenomenon that is worth analyzing. It is made up of rank-and-file groups with no national coordination and has around it many vanguard worker-militants we can work with. Autonomia Operaia is actually the result of the breakup of Potere Operaio (Workers Power) plus a left-wing split-off from Lotta Continua.*

*I should also mention the rise of militarist groups, the best-known of which are the Red Brigades and the Armed Political Nucleus.*

2. Partito Comunista Italiano—Italian Communist party.

3. Confederazione Italiana Sindacati Liberi—Italian Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

4. Partito Comunista d'Italia Marxista-Leninista—Italian Communist party Marxist-Leninist.

1. Partito d'Unita Proletaria—Party of Proletarian Unity.

**Q.** How has the far left responded to the situation at Fiat?

**A.** We believed, in contrast to other groups, that the crisis was not only structural but also conjunctural, and that therefore the big companies would also be hit by unemployment. So we were not surprised to see what happened at Fiat and Alfa-Romeo. What should be pointed out is that the situation varies a good deal, depending on the plant. Some have completely laid off their work force, others continue production, sometimes even with overtime. This poses a problem for uniting all workers in struggle. The call for a reduction of the workweek, for a slower pace on the assembly line, and for a refusal to work overtime should therefore be put forward under this perspective.

Because of their analysis of the crisis, which led them to believe that the small- and medium-sized companies would be hardest hit, and because of their tail-ending of the union bureaucracy, the other groups have not yet been able to put forward very effective demands.

Nonetheless, at Alfa-Romeo an amendment on the question of demands against layoffs put forward by the trade-union "left wing" won 40 percent of the vote at a union congress.

**Q.** What is the GCR doing to bring together the broadest sectors of the workers vanguard in the struggle for jobs?

**A.** We do not think it is enough to merely denounce the mistaken ideas of *Lotta Continua* or *il Manifesto*. On the contrary, we are trying to push the centrist groups toward correct axes of struggle around the sliding scale of wages and the reduction of the workweek. We can reach agreement on specific points with these groups. An important gain was made at Alfa-Romeo, for example. The second sort of agreements possible today are those around the question of trade-union democracy. Bureaucratic repression has really run wild against anything with a "leftist" tinge.

These agreements can provide the basis for a trade-union tendency. But this cannot be either a formation of far-left militants or something indistinguishable from the so-called trade-union left wing, a "left-wing" that is really no different from the bureaucratic apparatus. At the CGIL5 trade-union congress of university professors, for example, there was a possibility of forming a revolutionary tendency. However, *Lotta Continua*, *Avanguardia Operaia*, and the PDUP made rightist concessions on demands, which enabled them to gain access to the leadership. What we

are trying to build at the moment are strategically determined regroupments around clear bases, the embryos of a

future revolutionary tendency that is not just the sum total of centrist currents tail-ending the bureaucracy. □

## Had Applied for Emigration to U.S.

### Soviet Dissident Anatoly Marchenko Arrested

By Marilyn Vogt

Soviet dissident Anatoly Marchenko is reported to have been arrested February 26 after KGB agents conducted a four-hour search of his home. He had been living in Tarusa, about 100 miles south of Moscow, under heavy police surveillance since his release from prison camp in 1971.

Marchenko is best known abroad for his book *My Testimony*,\* a stark account of life in Soviet prisons and prison camps based on his own experiences from 1960 to 1966. The manuscript of the book was circulated widely in the Soviet Union in samizdat form.

Following his release in 1966, Marchenko was arrested for a second time. In September 1969 he began serving a term of two years in strict-regime camps after being convicted under Article 190-1 of the Russian Criminal Code ("anti-Soviet" activity). His crimes included having sent his camp and prison memoirs abroad for publication and having protested against the 1968 Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia.

The *Chronicle of Current Events*, Issue No. 16, dated October 31, 1970, had this to say about his second term of confinement: "In spite of the medical certificates attached to Marchenko's case about the grave state of his health, and of his assignment to light work, in February and March [1970] in a temperature of 45-50 degrees centigrade of frost [around 50 degrees below zero] he was made to live in a tent and detailed to work on the unloading of fire-wood for trains. He was subsequently transferred to construction work—digging foundations on the territory of the camp. As a result of this Marchenko (suffering from deafness and headaches caused by meningitis, which he had contracted in previous camps) developed a hypertonic disease."

Marchenko was released from camp on July 29, 1971, and placed under what is called administrative surveillance, a condition that was supposed to have ended February 17, 1972. However, official harassment has continued.

In December 1974, according to a report

in the February 28 *New York Times*, Marchenko issued a statement formally rejecting his Soviet citizenship and applying for emigration to the United States. He declared that being an émigré "would suit me much better than my position without rights in my homeland." He was still being compelled to report daily to the local police.

The day before his arrest he had handed in the last of the forms necessary for applying for emigration.

According to the January 9 *New York Times*, Marchenko had received a formal invitation to emigrate to the United States from the American Federation of Teachers. The invitation was issued by labor bureaucrat Albert Shanker, who is striving to make political hay by hypocritical displays of concern over the repression of democracy in the Soviet Union.

Pavel Litvinov, a Soviet dissident who was forced to emigrate and is now living in New York, told *New York Times* reporters that Marchenko had declined an opportunity to emigrate to Israel and insisted that he be allowed to go to the United States.

Although the official explanation for Marchenko's new arrest is not yet clear, the February 28 *Times* report stated that "dissident sources" believed it to be "connected with [Marchenko's] refusal to report daily to the local police under the conditions of his forced residence."

Marchenko, who is thirty-six years old, has already served nine years in camps and prisons and his health has deteriorated severely as a result. A further term could seriously jeopardize his life. □

#### PRG to Open Office in Australia

The Federal Conference of the governing Australian Labor party, meeting February 3-7, decided to permit the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam to establish an information office in the country. Washington is said to have "reacted strongly" to the decision.

"The timing of any recognition of the Vietcong—particularly by a former ally of South Vietnam—could not be worse," said one U.S. official.

5. Confederazione Generale Italiana del Lavoro—General Confederation of Labor.

\*Anatoly Marchenko, *My Testimony*. Translated by Michael Scammell. (New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., 1969), 415 pp. \$8.95.



# AROUND THE WORLD



## 15 Croats Sentenced in Yugoslavia

Fifteen persons accused of favoring the secession of Croatia from the Yugoslav federation were sentenced to prison terms ranging from eighteen months to thirteen years on February 17 in the Adriatic port city of Zadar. Foreign correspondents were banned from the trial, which lasted two months.

Zelimir Mertovic, 49 years old, a history professor in Zadar, was sentenced to twelve years. Davor Aras, 42, another professor, got six and a half years. Two students—Josip Bilusic, 29, and Marko Dizdar, 24—got thirteen and eleven years respectively.

The prosecution had charged that the defendants formed a guerrilla group as early as 1970, which was allegedly called the Croatian Liberation Revolutionary Organization. The defendants reportedly admitted that they intended to create a Croatian nationalist formation but denied having actually done so.

Several were accused of being responsible for a forest fire in the Zadar area in 1973. But other than this, the only offenses charged against the fifteen were distributing leaflets and having contacts with Croatian nationalists outside Yugoslavia. Among those sentenced, reportedly, were three private-restaurant owners who were supposed to have provided the money for the group's operations. They were not named, however, and apparently were not among the principal defendants.

The Zadar group was reportedly uncovered by police three years ago during the investigations that followed raids by ultraright terrorists from outside Yugoslavia. They were arrested in June 1974.

## 100 Arrested in Spanish Protests

More than 100 persons were arrested during demonstrations in Spain February 20 protesting the rising cost of living and the university shutdowns ordered by the Franco regime. They involved students, workers, and housewives.

The majority of the arrests took place in Madrid, where ninety demonstrators were detained, but arrests were also reported in Bilbao, La Coruña, Lugo, Orense, Santiago de Compostela, and Vigo.

The Dirección General de Seguridad (General Security Office) credited the Communist party, the Liga Comunista Revolucionaria (Revolutionary Communist

League, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International, the Basque nationalist Euzkadi ta Azkatasuna (Basque Nation and Freedom), and other left groups with having organized the demonstrations.

## Green Berets Practicing 'Mock' Oil-Field Attacks

The Green Berets, the Pentagon's Special Forces unit, are carrying out exercises in the southwest United States involving attacks on a mock oil field and pipeline held by "enemy sheiks." Although everyone in authority formally denies that the Green Berets, the three newly formed Ranger battalions, or any other U. S. military units are rehearsing for a landing in the Middle East, no great effort is being made to hide the preparations.

Green Beret teams at Fort Bragg, North Carolina, say they are boning up—often at their own initiative, they claim—on antitank tactics and other techniques used in desert warfare and survival. Green Beret troops with oil-field backgrounds are being singled out by some units for special attention.

One officer was asked by an Associated Press reporter whether the Special Forces have specific contingency plans drawn up for the Middle East similar to the mock oil-field take-overs they practice in the American desert. "It would be foolish to think we do not," he replied.

## West Berlin Mayoral Candidate Kidnapped by 'June 2 Movement'

On February 27, three days before the West Berlin municipal elections, Christian Democrat mayoral candidate Peter Lorenz was kidnapped by three persons who later identified themselves as members of an ultraleft anarchist group called the "June 2 Movement."

As the candidate of the main bourgeois party in a generally conservative and anti-Communist city, Lorenz had centered his campaign on attacking his Social Democratic opponents for "toleration of dangerous leftist radicals." The elections following the kidnapping showed a marked shift to the right, with the Social Democrats falling from 50.4% of the vote to 42.7% as against 43.9% for the Christian Democrats.

The kidnapping also came within the context of a witch-hunt against the left. It immediately began to be compared in the capitalist press with the assassination of

West Berlin Chief Judge Günther von Drenkmann. Von Drenkmann was shot to death in November by unknown assailants linked by police to protests against the treatment of imprisoned ultraleft anarchists.

One of Lorenz's kidnappers was reportedly identified as Angela Luther, a fugitive linked to the ultraleft terrorist Baader-Meinhof group.

The commando team threatened to execute Lorenz unless authorities released two demonstrators held in prison on minor charges since November, as well as six urban guerrillas convicted for felonies.

The demonstrators were released March 1. Two of the six guerrillas refused to accept freedom under such conditions, although one changed her mind later. The five were flown to Frankfurt March 3 for transfer to a plane that would take them to exile. The guerrilla who did not go was apparently the most prominent, Horst Mahler, a political defense lawyer. Mahler has reportedly become a supporter of a Maoist group that opposes terrorism.

## Kissinger Hints White House Ready to Shift Stance on Cuba

Secretary of State Kissinger said March 1 that Washington was "prepared to move in a new direction" in its relations with Cuba. Such a move would be determined by two factors: "If the O.A.S. [Organization of American States] sanctions are eventually repealed," he said, "the United States will consider changes in its bilateral relations with Cuba." A move to lift the sanctions was narrowly defeated at an OAS foreign ministers conference in Quito last November. A motion to remove the sanctions is thought to have a good chance of passing at the organization's next meeting.

Kissinger's second prerequisite was couched in the form of a warning to Havana. He said that the possibility of Washington's resumption of relations with Cuba "will be heavily influenced by the external policies of the Cuban Government," and by its "military relationships with countries outside the hemisphere."

## Martha Mitchell Was 'Kidnapped,' Watergate Conspirator Admits

James W. McCord Jr., a convicted Watergate conspirator, admitted February 19 that Martha Mitchell, wife of fellow Watergate

conspirator John Mitchell, was "basically" kidnapped to keep her from learning the details about the June 1972 Watergate break-in. He said that she was drugged and locked up in a hotel in Newport Beach, California, on the weekend of the break-in.

### **5,000 Protest Marcos Regime**

In the first large antigovernment demonstration since President Ferdinand Marcos imposed martial law in September 1972, about 5,000 persons marched through Manila February 21. The protest grew out of a religious procession organized by a Roman Catholic group that advocates boycotting the February 27 "referendum" on whether to retain martial law. Speakers at the protest denounced the harassment of union activists and continued detention of 5,000 political prisoners.

### **President of Malagasy Assassinated**

Following the February 11 assassination of Malagasy head of state Colonel Richard Ratsimandrava, a nineteen-member military junta led by General Gilles Andriamahazo took power and declared a state of siege.

Progovernment military forces are reported to have crushed a rebellion of the paramilitary Mobile Police Guard, which was accused of being behind the assassination. The headquarters of the Socialist party in the capital, Tananarive, where some of the rebel police were said to have taken refuge, was attacked and burned February 14, and Socialist party leader Andre Resampa was arrested.

Ratsimandrava had taken office February 5 after Major General Gabriel Ramantsoa resigned.

### **Mihajlo Mihajlov Sentenced to 7 Years by Yugoslav Court**

Mihajlo Mihajlov, a critic of the Yugoslav and Soviet regimes, was sentenced February 28 to seven years in prison for "spreading hostile propaganda." He had served three and a half years in the late 1960s on similar charges, and as a politically suspect element, had been denied both employment and permission to leave the country.

Presiding Judge Dragomir Cvetkovic explained the sentence this way:

"He is not a writer. He is not a scientist. He is not a professor. He is simply the author of political pamphlets against Yugoslavia. In the belief that he needs a long time to correct himself, this court sentenced him to seven years of strict imprisonment, which should be a warning to him."

Mihajlov's articles in the Western capitalist press and Russian émigré publications have expressed a right-wing Social Democratic point of view, hostile not only to Stalinism but to the abolition of capitalism in Eastern Europe in general. However, he has pointed up many violations of demo-

cratic and basic human rights that are indefensible from a socialist point of view. For example, he said in his own defense:

"According to our constitution, a Yugoslav has a right to express his own opinion. But if that were so, I would not be here now."

It is obviously this contradiction between its professed principles and its actual bureaucratic dictatorship that has led the "liberal" Stalinist regime in Yugoslavia, more than a quarter century after the abolition of capitalism, to impose such draconian penalties on an eccentric, solitary writer.

### **South African Regime Cracks Down on Black Student Organizations**

The white administration of the University of the North at Turfloop, one of South Africa's three Black universities, banned all campus activity by the South African Students Organization February 18. The administration also dissolved the remnants of the student representative council. At least one of the student council's members has been arrested by the regime, and the administration's excuse for dissolving the council was that its remaining members "did not form a legal quorum."

On the same day at a second Black university, the Fort Hare University at Alice, rector J.M. De Wet told first-year students that they "must not take part in any subversive activities. . . ."

"Steps only will be taken," he warned, "against students who take part in any subversive activities—by which I mean activities directed against the efficient operation of the university and actions aimed at destroying racial harmony and peace."

### **Thousands in West Germany Protest Ban on Abortion**

West Germany's highest court has declared unconstitutional a law allowing abortions on request during the first three months of pregnancy. In a 6-to-2 decision February 25, the court ruled that the measure legalizing abortions (approved by parliament last June but never put into practice) violated the constitution's guarantee of the right to life for everyone. The court declared that abortions could be performed in the first three months only in cases of rape, of dangers to the woman's health, when there was a prospect that the child might be born deformed, or when the birth could cause "grave hardship."

The judges noted that abortion laws in other European countries were generally more liberal but said that the "bitter experience" of the Nazi period in Germany provided historical ground for determining that protection of human life should receive absolute priority. Perhaps the irony

of the situation escaped the learned judges, but the Nazis were vigorous opponents of the right to abortion as well.

As the court decision was being announced, 1,000 abortion rights demonstrators held a protest march in the city center. Thousands of persons demonstrated against the decision the same day in Munich, Hamburg, and many other German cities.

### **Ziegler: Watergate Was Just a Bad Public-Relations Job**

Former White House press secretary Ronald Ziegler—the man who dismissed the Watergate break-in as a "third-rate burglary," and who made it a practice to refer to earlier lies as "inoperative" statements—still continues his whitewash job.

"We conducted probably the worst public relations and press program in the history of the United States in the way we handled Watergate," he said in a television interview February 13. "I did not have the facts, only those I could find out about or that I was told."

Ziegler parceled out the blame even-handedly: "Of course I made mistakes," he conceded. "But a press secretary is only as good as his source of information."

### **Chilean Junta Links Rise in 'Crime' to Deteriorating Economic Situation**

The economic crisis in Chile has become so severe that the junta has been compelled to admit some of its consequences. In a February 19 interview with the Chilean magazine *Ercilla*, General Ernesto Baeza, head of the detective division of the Chilean police, drew attention to the "crime wave" hitting the country.

"People have to eat," he said, "and there isn't enough work. So unemployment leads to robbery and antisocial behavior of all sorts."

Unemployment is estimated at 15 percent at present, and there is no sign that the economic situation will improve in the near future. The Finance Ministry has pointed out that the low price of copper—Chile's main export—will have a major effect on the country's revenues. Income from copper exports may be cut by \$800 million in 1975.

### **Number of Strike Days Doubles in West Germany**

Just over one million working days were lost in West Germany last year because of strikes, Bonn's Federal Office of Statistics reported February 13. This is twice the number of strike days lost in 1973.

A total of 250,300 workers took part in strikes last year, compared with 185,000 the year before. Most of the strikes occurred in the steel industry and in public services.



## Marcha Antirracista en Boston el 17 de Mayo

Por Michael Baumann

[La siguiente es una traducción del artículo "The NAACP's Call for a May 17 Antiracist Demonstration in Boston" publicado en *Intercontinental Press* el 3 de marzo de 1975.

[La traducción es de *Intercontinental Press*.]

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Desde que se inició el ciclo escolar en septiembre del año pasado en Boston, la comunidad negra de esa ciudad ha sido el centro de una creciente ofensiva racista.

Los racistas han concentrado sus ataques en la transportación de estudiantes, ordenada por las cortes para integrar las escuelas. La ofensiva racista ha desatado intimidaciones físicas a nivel casi cotidiano, a veces llegando a intentos de linchamiento. (Ver *Intercontinental Press*, 28 de octubre de 1974, p. 1418.) A los racistas de Boston los apoyan desde los funcionarios locales, tanto del Partido Republicano como del Partido Demócrata, hasta el mismo Presidente Ford, que ha expresado públicamente su oposición al transporte de estudiantes.

En este contexto la National Association for the Advancement of Colored People [Asociación Nacional para el Progreso de la Gente de Color] llamó a una manifestación en esa ciudad para el 17 de mayo en apoyo del derecho de los niños negros a una educación justa, el derecho a asistir a la escuela de su preferencia. Thomas Atkins, presidente de la NAACP de Boston, anunció la marcha el 14 de febrero en el "teach-in" [asamblea con el propósito de politizar] que se llevó a cabo en la Universidad de Boston, patrocinado por la National Student Conference Against Racism [Conferencia Estudiantil Nacional Contra el Racismo].

"Para la manifestación del 17 de mayo," declaró, "les pediremos a miles de personas en todo el país que vengan a Boston a apoyar la integración en las escuelas. Les pediremos a las secciones regionales de la NAACP, 1,800 en todo el país, que nos ayuden a organizar una demostración nacional de apoyo a la integración escolar, y a organizar la campaña nacional en contra del intento de borrar a la comunidad negra de la Constitución de los Estados Unidos."

Se espera que el llamado de Atkins sea escuchado por mucha gente en los Estados Unidos. La NAACP es la organización

defensora de los derechos civiles más antigua, más numerosa y más influyente en el país. Fue fundada en 1909 por personajes tales como el erudito negro W.E.B. Du Bois y tiene 400,000 miembros.

Es una organización que tradicionalmente se ha centrado en luchas de defensa legal (entre otras el proceso legal que trajo como resultado la orden judicial de transportar a los estudiantes en Boston), la NAACP ha respondido a veces a la presión de la comunidad negra para llevar a cabo acciones directas. Entre otras acciones está, por ejemplo, el apoyo que dieron a los "sit-ins" [protesta por medio de permanecer en un lugar e interrumpir su funcionamiento] en los comedores de Woolworth al principio de la década de los sesenta, la manifestación masiva por los derechos civiles en la que participaron 250,000 personas en Washington, D.C., en 1963 y las marchas por la libertad en Selma, Alabama, en 1965.

Estas acciones son consideradas como los acontecimientos más importantes de la lucha por los derechos civiles que se han dado en los últimos años en los Estados Unidos.

Para instar a la conferencia estudiantil a que diera su apoyo a la organización de la manifestación, Atkins dijo, "Espero que la concentración del 17 de mayo sea el resultado de una coalición amplia de organizaciones e individuos trabajando juntos, cada quien a su manera, para llevar a cabo un objetivo común."

Los 2,000 participantes en la conferencia respondieron votando en abrumadora mayoría a favor del llamado a la acción de la NAACP. Las comisiones y las sesiones plenarias planearon todo una campaña para la primavera encaminada a movilizar una respuesta nacional a los ataques racistas. Adoptaron las siguientes demandas: "¡Integremos las escuelas de Boston ahora! ¡Qué sigan circulando los autobuses escolares! ¡Alto a los ataques racistas contra los estudiantes negros!"

Para llevar a cabo estas demandas, aprobó formar una nueva organización, la National Student Coalition Against Racism [Coalición Nacional de Estudiantes en Contra del Racismo], y empezó el 4 de abril (aniversario del asesinato del dirigente defensor de los derechos civiles Martin Luther King) una campaña de acciones locales y actividades educativas durante seis semanas en todo el país que culminen con la acción del 17 de mayo.

Una lista impresionante de oradores hablaron en el "teach-in" del 14 de febrero. Además de Atkins hablaron:

Jonathan Kozol, autor de *Death at an Early Age*, libro que recibió el National Book Award [Premio Nacional del Libro] por sus revelaciones detalladas de la discriminación racial en el sistema educativo de Boston.

James Meredith, el primer estudiante negro que asistió a la Universidad de Mississippi.

Dr. Benjamin Spock, dirigente del movimiento antibélico en los Estados Unidos y pediatra mundialmente conocido.

Willie Mae Reid, candidato a la vicepresidencia por parte del Socialist Workers party [SWP—Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores].

Se recibieron mensajes de Coretta Scott King, viuda de Martin Luther King, y Shirley Graham Du Bois, viuda de W.E.B. Du Bois. Kathy Kelly, presidente de la National Students Association [NSA—Asociación Nacional de Estudiantes], también envió un mensaje en el que prometía el apoyo de los dirigentes y afiliados de la NSA a la manifestación del 17 de mayo. La NSA es una organización nacional de consejos estudiantiles.

El informe sobre las credenciales que se distribuyeron, da una idea de la dimensión de la conferencia. Un total de 2,009 personas, incluyendo alrededor de 500 negros y puertorriqueños, se registraron para la reunión. Vinieron gentes de 27 estados y de la capital, de 147 universidades, de 58 escuelas de educación media y de 113 organizaciones. Estuvieron presentes miembros de 50 grupos negros estudiantiles; el 45 por ciento de los asistentes fueron mujeres. Vinieron autobuses alquilados de lugares tan lejanos como Houston (más de 1,900 millas), Atlanta y St. Louis, Missouri.

### Un Debate Animado

El papel de los blancos y de los estudiantes en la lucha contra el racismo, y la relación entre la lucha por buena calidad en la educación en general y la lucha por el derecho de los negros a una educación justa, fueron dos tópicos que generaron un importante debate en la conferencia.

Miembros de la Young Workers Liberation League [YWLL—Liga de Jóvenes Obreros para la Liberación], organización juvenil en solidaridad política

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con el Partido Comunista, apoyaron la proposición de una acción para el 17 de mayo pero propusieron tres enmiendas. Una era que se tomara el 4 de abril como punto de partida para realizar acciones locales que culminaran con la marcha del 17 de mayo. Esta proposición obtuvo el apoyo general.

Las otras dos enmiendas eran (1) reconocer la "responsabilidad especial" de los blancos para llevar la lucha contra el racismo entre los blancos, y (2) reconocer que los estudiantes "no están en la dirección de las fuerzas progresivas pero pueden jugar un papel" si se "subordinan" a "la comunidad."

Muchos de los participantes en la conferencia se confundieron con las dos últimas enmiendas. Por ejemplo, una persona preguntó si la segunda enmienda quería decir que esta conferencia estudiantil no podría tomar sus propias determinaciones sino que tendría que pedirle el consentimiento a una vaga fuerza "comunitaria."

Otro orador señaló el papel dirigente que jugaron los estudiantes en el movimiento antibélico y recordó que las grabaciones de Watergate mostraron el miedo que le tiene la clase dominante al movimiento estudiantil.

Al final el que hizo la proposición de enmienda por parte de la YWLL aceptó que la palabra "subordinar" era mala y debía de ser cambiada. Dijo que la moción sólo quería decir que los estudiantes deberían trabajar en consulta con la comunidad negra.

El significado de la enmienda sobre el papel de los blancos parecía ser confuso para muchos de los participantes. Algunos de los que argumentaron en su favor hicieron tales declaraciones: "No se puede simplemente tachar a gente de racista y negarse a tener nada que ver con ellos," y "Nadie en esta sala puede decir que no es un racista."

Andrew Pulley, dirigente negro de la Young Socialist Alliance [YSA—Alianza Juvenil Socialista], tomó la palabra desde la audiencia y dijo que pensaba que "La gente blanca que está aquí no debe autoflagelarse con sentimientos de culpa liberal. Este parece ser el tono de la enmienda. Ustedes los blancos aquí presentes son de los mejores, y deberían ir a sus áreas locales a involucrar a *todo* tipo de gentes, para hacer la acción del 17 de mayo lo más masiva posible."

Peter Camejo, candidato presidencial para 1976 por parte del SWP, también habló desde la audiencia, diciendo que él creía que podría haber acuerdo en las tres enmiendas si éstas se clarificaban.

Dijo, "Obviamente, estamos todos en contra de trabajar con racistas como los de los grupos que excluyen a la gente negra. Es totalmente cierto que queremos que el

mayor número posible de blancos, negros y chicanos vayan a la manifestación del 17 de mayo. No importa si un negro o un latino le entrega un volante para la marcha a un blanco. Estoy seguro que la YWLL está de acuerdo con esto, que todos nosotros queremos intentar llegar a toda la población para organizar esta acción.

"Tampoco estarán en desacuerdo, estoy seguro, que la comunidad negra dirige su propia lucha, y que los estudiantes están trabajando y consultando con ellos en la lucha."

Después de estas aclaraciones, las tres enmiendas de la YWLL fueron aceptadas por la conferencia.

#### **Como el Derecho a Ser Atendido en Woolworth**

Dos puntos de vista divergentes surgieron sobre cuál sería la mejor manera de luchar por una buena calidad en la educación.

Una proposición hecha por Robert Harper y Ray Sherbill, dos de los coordinadores de la conferencia, insistía en la necesidad de definir claramente el significado de una buena calidad en la educación y demandaba "mejor equipo educativo, mejor instrucción y mejores instalaciones inmediatamente después, si no al momento mismo de la integración de las escuelas de Boston."

Sin embargo, la proposición Harper-Sherbill dejaba claro, que la demanda por "una buena calidad en la educación" no estaba *contrapuesta* a la lucha por una educación justa sino que pretendía sugerir que la lucha para integrar las escuelas era tan sólo el principio de la lucha para mejorar la educación.

Otros oradores, inclusive algunos de los que apoyan a los grupos con influencia maoísta tales como el Party for Workers Power [Partido para el Poder Obrero], Revolutionary Student Brigade [Brigada de Estudiantes Revolucionarios] y Progressive Labor Party [Partido Progresista Laboral], sostenían que la demanda por una buena calidad en la educación debería tener prioridad sobre, o debería substituirse por, la demanda de que se aplique la orden judicial para que se integren las escuelas.

Argumentaron que los estudiantes negros deberían abandonar la lucha por la transportación de los estudiantes negros a las vecindades blancas. Opinaron que esta transportación sólo conducía a que los estudiantes negros fueran atacados por los racistas. No les pueden dar una educación decente, ya que las escuelas de los blancos tampoco sirven. Una proposición exigía que se cerraran las escuelas blancas tales como South Boston High School y se abandonara la defensa del derecho de los negros a asistir a éstas.

La conferencia votó casi unánimemente por la proposición Harper-Sherbill. Varios oradores señalaron que aunque es verdad

que las escuelas, inclusive las de las vecindades blancas, necesitan ser mejoradas bastante, el punto más inmediato es el derecho de los estudiantes negros a asistir a la escuela que ellos quieran.

Retroceder en esta demanda, señaló, equivaldría a la capitulación ante los racistas. Los racistas usan la demanda de "una buena calidad en la educación" para contraponerla a la lucha por la integración de las escuelas. La usan para esconder su verdadero punto de vista que es el de mantener su posición privilegiada en un sistema educativo racialmente segregado.

En una de las comisiones un participante, recordando la lucha para integrar la cadena nacional de comedores en Woolworth, preguntó qué hubiera pasado si, cuando la oposición racista se acrecentó, los estudiantes hubieran dicho simplemente, "Bien, quizá deberíamos buscar algún otro lugar para comer. Al fin de cuentas, ¿qué tipo de comida se come en Woolworth? No nos interesa el derecho de comer esa pésima comida."

#### **Se Llegó a un Acuerdo en la Estructura Organizativa**

Otro punto que se debatió fue la demanda hecha por los dirigentes de la comunidad negra de Boston de que las tropas federales deberían enviarse para imponer la orden judicial de integración escolar en contra de los racistas. La mayoría de la conferencia estaba claramente a favor de la demanda de que se empleara toda la fuerza necesaria para parar las turbas racistas, inclusive el llamar a las tropas federales.

Sin embargo, cuando este punto se planteó desde la audiencia, se decidió que la conferencia no debería tomar posición al respecto de esa demanda por el momento. Varios oradores pidieron que continúe la discusión dentro del movimiento estudiantil sobre este importante punto. Mientras tanto, se consideró, que todos podían trabajar juntos bajo las tres consignas adoptadas para la marcha del 17 de mayo.

Las proposiciones para la nueva estructura organizativa fueron discutidas a fondo en la última sesión plenaria el 16 de febrero. La conferencia votó un acuerdo entre las dos proposiciones. Mantenía la proposición de los coordinadores de que el comité directivo de la nueva organización fuera un organismo ampliamente representativo, abierto a los delegados de los comités locales. También incluyó una proposición de la YWLL de que todos los grupos nacionales nombraran una persona para trabajar tiempo completo en las oficinas nacionales de la nueva organización.

No obstante, los oradores de la YWLL, inclusive el secretario de organización de ese grupo, Matty Berkelhammer, insistió que los comités locales deberían ser



excluidos del comité de dirección. Berkelhammer pidió que esta parte de la proposición de la YWLL fuera votada como una enmienda a la proposición conjunta.

La enmienda se rechazó por amplio margen, y se aprobó la proposición conjunta habiendo votado en contra alrededor de una docena de personas.

Una vez votadas las principales proposiciones para la acción, como también la proposición conjunta de estructura organizativa, todos en el auditorio aplaudieron. El sentir general fue que la conferencia logró una gran victoria al discutir democráticamente la confección de un plan para una acción conjunta, y mantener unidas tantas fuerzas de diferentes puntos de vista y procedencia.

Además de los grupos estudiantiles y de la comunidad negra que estuvieron presentes, casi todas las tendencias organizadas que tienen influencia en el movimiento obrero estaban representadas en la conferencia. Sin embargo, no todos hablaron. El punto de vista del Partido Comunista tendía a ser expresado por un contingente bastante grande de la YWLL, mientras que el PC limitó su participación directa a organizar una mesa de literatura y distribuir el *Daily World*.

Unos cuantos individuos de la Workers League [Liga de los Trabajadores] de Healy se les vio vendiendo su periódico el *Bulletin*.

La secta ultraizquierdista *Workers World* [Mundo Obrero], y el grupo juvenil que se asocia con ella, Youth Against War and Fascism [Juventud en Contra de la Guerra y el Fascismo], de la misma manera limitaron su participación a vender su literatura, como también lo hicieron otros grupos.

#### **Derrotado el Intento de Desbaratar la Conferencia**

Algunos participantes en un momento dado, intentaron desbaratar la conferencia. Cuando se inició la sesión plenaria de la noche el 15 de febrero, un grupo de treinta o cuarenta personas se amontonó en los pasillos, gritando y burlándose. Se apoderaron de uno de los micrófonos de la audiencia y exigieron hablar por todo el tiempo que se les antojara.

Esta maniobra se había planeado en una reunión cerrada en la que participaron principalmente los miembros de la secta maoísta de Nueva York llamada "Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization" [Organización de Trabajadores Revolucionarios Puertorriqueños]. Su principal punto político fue articulado en el cargo "antitrotskyista" de que el SWP y la YSA "dominaban" la conferencia. Aunque los saboteadores utilizaron frases que sonaban muy radicales, uno de sus dirigentes era Lawrence Elliot, un demócrata negro que

encabeza la comisión municipal en Detroit.

Los saboteadores trataron de provocar una confrontación física. Uno de ellos blandía un cuchillo. Durante la confusión, gentes esparcidas en diferentes lugares del auditorio tocaron silbatos en un intento aparente de crear pánico. Los miembros de la sectaria Spartacist League [Liga Espartaco] gritaron para alentar a los saboteadores.

Los participantes de la conferencia votaron dejar hablar a los saboteadores. Los oradores atacaron a la conferencia, la lucha para integrar las escuelas, al NAACP y la transportación ordenada por las cortes. Cuando fue claro que la audiencia no daba la bienvenida a tales puntos de vista, y que los guardias de orden de la conferencia que rodeaban a los saboteadores estaban listos y dispuestos a defender el derecho democrático de más de 1,900 participantes a proseguir con la discusión, los saboteadores terminaron su actuación llamando a que todos abandonaran la conferencia.

Pusieron el ejemplo: uno de ellos al irse gritó, "¡Demandamos que se le ponga fin al transporte escolar, a las tropas federales, y a toda esta jodida conferencia reaccionaria!" De los pocos que salieron con ellos, algunos regresaron a la conferencia después de haber asistido por un breve periodo a la contra reunión de los saboteadores.

Malik Miah de la YSA hizo uso de la palabra para contestar los ataques contra la YSA. "Es totalmente falso que esta conferencia esté dominada por la YSA o el SWP," dijo. "De las 2,000 gentes que se han registrado aquí, la abrumadora mayoría no están afiliados a ninguna organización política en especial. Los ataques antitrotskyistas que se han hecho aquí son ataques contra todos los que estamos aquí."

El ataque antitrotskyista contra el SWP y la YSA, dijo, era tan sólo una pantalla para acometer los objetivos de la misma conferencia. Remarcó el papel positivo que ha jugado la YSA al propagandizar y organizar la conferencia, e instó a todos los demás grupos a hacer lo mismo para organizar la manifestación del 17 de mayo. "Estamos comprometidos," dijo, "porque apoyamos los objetivos de esta conferencia, apoyamos la integración escolar, apoyamos que sigan circulando los autobuses escolares y apoyamos que se les ponga fin a los ataques racistas contra la gente negra."

Cuando la conferencia estaba por terminar, el sentir de muchos de los participantes pareció haber sido recapitulado con bastante fidelidad por una estudiante del San Francisco State College. Dijo desde la audiencia que había sido enviada a la conferencia por su consejo estudiantil, y que había sido "la conferencia más estimuladora en que he participado."

La conferencia fue la primera reunión de

importancia de activistas estudiantiles desde las asambleas para planear las acciones antibélicas en la lucha contra la guerra que forzó a Nixon a retirar a las tropas de Vietnam. Se realizó en un periodo en que las crecientes crisis económica y social han golpeado con particular fuerza a la comunidad negra.

Los racistas han hecho de Boston el punto central en su lucha por revertir los logros que han obtenido los negros en las luchas por los derechos civiles de las décadas de los cincuenta y los sesenta. Por esta razón, la atención de todas las fuerzas políticas en toda la nación se centrará en la movilización con que se responda a esta embestida. La dimensión de la contraofensiva se tomará como indicador de lo que se puede esperar cuando se ataque en el futuro los derechos de los negros y de toda la gente trabajadora en general. La conferencia por lo tanto representó un paso muy alentador en la estructuración de las fuerzas necesarias para una respuesta poderosa y unificada en contra de los racistas.

La iniciativa tomada por la NAACP de Boston tiene un significado especial. Representa el reingreso de la NAACP a la arena de la acción de masas. Debido a su tamaño, su enraizamiento popular y recursos, la NAACP puede atraer a muchas otras fuerzas en apoyo a la manifestación del 17 de mayo.

De la misma manera es significativo el apoyo total que obtuvo la NAACP por parte de la conferencia estudiantil. Entre los 2,000 participantes había muchos veteranos del movimiento antibélico. Ellos sabrán como exponer a las universidades norteamericanas la necesidad de movilizarse masivamente para la marcha del 17 de mayo.

Una amplia movilización de estudiantes y trabajadores, tanto negros como blancos, que acudan al llamado de la NAACP, pueden hacer del 17 de mayo una fecha verdaderamente histórica.

Como dijo Thomas Atkins en su llamado para la manifestación, "Si la integración escolar no puede realizarse en Boston, entonces no se llevará a cabo en ningún lugar en el norte."

"Es por eso que esta lucha debe continuar. Y es por eso que debemos triunfar." □

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# La Amenaza de la Intervención Americana en Portugal

[La siguiente es una traducción del artículo "The Threat of U.S. Intervention in Portugal" publicado en *Intercontinental Press* el 3 de marzo de 1975.

[La traducción es de *Intercontinental Press*.]

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En un editorial del 17 de febrero, el *New York Times*, vocero reconocido de los círculos gobernantes de los Estados Unidos, amenazó con una intervención norteamericana a Portugal.

Los editorialistas sostuvieron que había aumentado el peligro de que el Partido Comunista tomara el poder en Portugal ante la perspectiva de las elecciones del próximo mes de abril:

"Si se realizan, tal como se han prometido, éstas serán las primeras elecciones libres en 50 años y las encuestas indican que el Partido Comunista no tendrá muchos votos. Al haber fracasado en sus esfuerzos para posponer las elecciones, hay indicios de que alentarán más violencia e intimidaciones izquierdistas para alterar el resultado de éstas inclusive preparar un golpe de estado."

Sin embargo, al mismo tiempo que hacen un escándalo al respecto de la supuesta posibilidad de un golpe de estado apoyado por el Partido Comunista, el *New York Times* le dio su bendición al verdadero intento de golpe de estado del General Spínola en septiembre de 1974:

"Cuando se efectuó la revuelta militar que derrocó la dictadura de Salazar-Caetano el pasado mes de abril, los comunistas como eran la única fuerza política organizada de oposición en Portugal, aseguraron puestos claves como consejeros de algunos de los dirigentes militares rebeldes. Tuvieron éxito en influir a las administraciones locales y lograron posiciones de control en los medios de comunicación, las organizaciones estudiantiles y los sindicatos, que han venido fortaleciendo.

"En septiembre, el General António de Spínola fue obligado a abandonar la presidencia cuando intentó detener esta tendencia."

Desde que se expulsó a Spínola, prosigue el editorial, los parlamentarios conservadores, y aun la "izquierda democrática" han sido aplastados por la aplanadora comunista. "El mes pasado, en la segunda crisis de importancia, los comunistas prevalecieron sobre los militares—sobre la oposición socialista—en la aprobación de una ley que estipula una sola confederación obrera. Su dominio se asegura de antemano, ya que controlan a la mayoría de las federaciones que se van a fusionar.

"Por medio de las maniobras de los comunistas, han sido prohibidas las manifestaciones de protesta de los socialistas; la violencia callejera izquierdista ha sido utilizada para desbaratar las convenciones organizativas del principal partido conservador del país."

Una publicación que tiene la capacidad de obtener noticias y con los recursos del *New York Times* no pudo haber ignorado que las manifestaciones en contra del llamado Centro Democrático Social en Oporto no fueron respaldadas por el Partido Comunista sino que, al contrario, se opusieron a ellas. Aparentemente, es por eso, que se usa la frase vaga "violencia callejera izquierdista." Sin embargo, ésta se puso en un contexto tal que daba la impresión de que estas manifestaciones eran parte de la ofensiva del Partido Comunista.

El hecho es, tal parece, que los métodos burocráticos y colaboracionistas de clase del Partido Comunista que usa para defender su posición en el movimiento sindical les dan una buena oportunidad a los capitalistas para pintarlo como una máquina peligrosa de poder.

Lo que en realidad piensan los capitalistas norteamericanos del Partido Comunista Portugués se refleja con más fidelidad en el *Wall Street Journal*, que está escrito específicamente para los círculos financieros. En un artículo aparecido el 20 de febrero, el corresponsal Ray Vicker escribió:

"En Portugal, Italia, Francia y Grecia los comunistas ya no amenazan con hacer la revolución, promover la violencia o vindicar huelgas políticas. Hoy en día cuando la violencia viene de la izquierda, por lo general proviene de las fracciones maoístas o de los grupos que se han escindido del Partido Comunista y que han roto su contacto con la línea de Moscú. El PC mantiene una imagen moderada para no causar ninguna oposición de los religiosos o de la clase media que se pudiera sentir amenazada por el radicalismo. . . .

"Algunas veces el Sr. Cunhal [Secretario General del PC] parece tan moderado que uno tiene que revisar su historia para cerciorarse de si no pertenece a ningún partido de la clase media. Afirma que la empresa privada tiene un lugar en el futuro de Portugal. Desalienta las huelgas, acalla cualquier crítica a la NATO, evita la propaganda corrosiva y le da la mano a los Estados Unidos.

"Aún más, no adopta una posición dogmática al respecto de la nacionalización de la industria. 'Algunos sectores tales como el transporte ya están nacionalizados,' dice, 'y quizá en el futuro la industria básica también deberá ser

controlada por el estado. Por el momento, sin embargo, la política del gobierno es la de buscar la estabilidad económica, y esto significa la continuidad en el funcionamiento del sector privado en las fábricas. Apoyamos esa política en estos momentos porque estamos a favor de la estabilidad económica.'"

En cuanto a la influencia del Partido Comunista en el movimiento sindical, Vicker indicó que sus efectos no eran malos desde el punto de vista capitalista:

"Actualmente el Partido Comunista inclusive predica la moderación en los sindicatos. La tasa de inflación actual se calcula en un 30 por ciento, y las demandas de aumentos por lo general han sobrepasado ese nivel. Los comunistas dicen que las demandas deben de ser mantenidas por debajo del 30 por ciento, pero no se comprometen con ninguna cifra en específico. El Sr. Cunhal les dice no a las demandas que puedan lesionar a la economía. 'El arma de la huelga,' dice, 'es mucho más eficaz si no se usa muy a menudo.'"

Sin embargo, las referencias vagas de los editorialistas del *New York Times* acerca de la violencia callejera "izquierdista," indican que cualquier acción de masas que "vaya demasiado lejos" será interpretada por los círculos gobernantes de los Estados Unidos como parte de un "golpe de estado" planeado por el Partido Comunista para bloquear las elecciones. Y aunque se lleve a cabo la votación no se tranquilizarán:

"La junta militar, con el apoyo de los comunistas, se muestra cada vez menos deseosa de ceder su actual papel de supervisores y está extendiendo su poder. Esta tendencia ha llevado al dirigente demócrata popular, Francisco Sa Carneiro [Carneiro], a argumentar que si los centros del poder están 'ocupados' de antemano, las elecciones serán una formalidad."

Tal influencia del Partido Comunista en la junta, dijo el *New York Times*, estaba creando "peligros intolerables." Invocaron la conocida "teoría del dominó":

"Estos [peligros] van más allá de la evidente amenaza estratégica de un aliado soviético contrapuesto a las arterias vitales de la marina norteamericana al mediterráneo y al NATO en Europa. Una toma del poder violenta por parte del Partido Comunista alentaría una tendencia similar en Italia y Francia; crearía problemas en Grecia y Turquía, afectaría la sucesión en España y Yugoslavia y conmocionaría a toda Europa Occidental."

De esta manera el editorial hace eco de los temas que emplearon los representantes capitalistas cuando iniciaron la guerra fría y de nuevo cuando Washington intervino en países como Corea y Vietnam.



“La distensión, por supuesto, sería la primera víctima, cosa que Moscú debe saber, si las relaciones estrechas entre el Partido Comunista y la Unión Soviética—que sostiene una embajada grande y activa en Lisboa—se convierten en un factor que promueva una toma de poder violenta. *No servirían a los intereses ni del pueblo ruso ni del pueblo portugués que a la voluntad popular en Portugal se le negara la libre expresión.*” (Subrayados nuestros.)

En las condiciones actuales, los círculos gobernantes de los Estados Unidos no están dispuestos a reiniciar la guerra fría. Sin embargo, la intervención directa o indirecta en Portugal es demasiado posible. Una advertencia mucho más suave hizo el *New York Times* al gobierno de Allende después de las elecciones de marzo de 1973 en las cuales la derecha fue derrotada. Sin embargo, tal intervención generaría tensiones internacionales; y, para poderla justificar, las potencias capitalistas occidentales tendrían hasta cierta medida que resucitar la “amenaza comunista” con algunas implicaciones que afectarían las relaciones con la Unión Soviética.

En el contexto de la distensión, esta advertencia sirve el propósito de notificar a la Unión Soviética que la Casa Blanca no aceptará ninguna influencia de importancia del Partido Comunista en ningún gobierno de Europa Occidental, no importa que tan bien se porte el PC en cuestión. Advierten tanto al gobierno portugués como al PC que si ellos no pueden mantener al movimiento de masas dentro de lo que los Estados Unidos consideran límites aceptables, tendrá funestas consecuencias.

Esencialmente es el movimiento de masas lo que aterroriza a los capitalistas norteamericanos, no es el PC. Esto lo demuestra la formulación que incluye a toda manifestación callejera y a toda acción sindical bajo el membrete del supuesto golpe de estado planeado por el Partido Comunista.

El mismo tipo de razonamiento fue evidente en el caso de Chile. No fueron en sí el gobierno de Allende y el Partido Comunista los que instaron la intervención violenta de los Estados Unidos por medio de un golpe militar brutal y la masacre masiva de obreros; fue la inhabilidad de estas

fuerzas de contener al movimiento de masas, que estaba realizando cada vez más tomas de fábricas y latifundios, socavando las bases de la propiedad capitalista en la sociedad burguesa.

Lo que en realidad preocupa a los círculos gobernantes de los Estados Unidos es que los campesinos expropian terrenos a pesar de los llamados del Partido Comunista a que esperen la acción gubernamental, y en particular, que las fuerzas armadas den muestras de solidaridad a los manifestantes izquierdistas. Por ejemplo, fue el inicio de una organización izquierdista dentro de las fuerzas armadas de Chile, lo que más directamente hizo estallar la confrontación decisiva ahí.

Más aún, Chile sólo es el ejemplo más reciente de tantos que hay de lo peligroso que es intentar prevenir que un ascenso de masas llegue al punto de que pueda defenderse efectivamente de la contrarrevolución. El hecho de que el Partido Comunista controlaba de hecho al gobierno de Allende y a un movimiento obrero unido no le garantizó el poder

defenderse contra el golpe reaccionario.

Mientras que los círculos gobernantes norteamericanos están intentando intimidar a la izquierda portuguesa para que hagan retroceder al movimiento de masas, estas amenazas simplemente muestran que la única forma de “defender la democracia” es movilizándolo a las masas portuguesas y a las bases de las fuerzas armadas para que constituyan una fuerza que pueda derrotar a cualquier intervención.

Y eso solamente es posible si las masas toman el control total de la economía y arrancan de raíz las bases materiales de la reacción.

Al mismo tiempo, las intimidaciones del *New York Times* y de Washington que amenazan con una intervención en los asuntos internos de Portugal es una advertencia para el movimiento obrero en los países capitalistas de occidente, como también lo es a todas las fuerzas antibélicas, de que deben empezar a pronunciarse contra la intervención en Portugal. □

## Nottingham Officials Push Efforts to Raze Offices

### Russell Foundation Fights Demolition Order

The Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation,\* an organization active in the defense of political prisoners around the world, continues to face a threat on two fronts. Inland Revenue is demanding payment on a trumped-up claim for £35,200 in back taxes. At the same time, city officials in Nottingham have issued a demolition order against the foundation's offices and printing plant.

Attempts to carry through the demolition order persist, although Nottingham officials have admitted they have no concrete plans that would justify tearing down the foundation's headquarters. When municipal counsellor Peter Price asked the Nottingham Planning Commission for an explanation of the order, he found “there are no detailed proposals, no finished plans and no precise allocations of land use, either at the Planning Department or at the Technical Services Department.”

In a letter to the chief planning officer, Price pointed out that “in view of your statement that a Compulsory Purchase Order was needed in order to provide access, this lack of plans is surely a remarkable situation: How can you know what access will be needed until you have worked out plans designating what you will need access to?”

\*Bertrand Russell House, Gamble Street, Nottingham NG7 4ET, England.

A visit to the director of technical services revealed the same lack of concrete proposals. J.C. Halsam, the director, assured Price that he knew of no reasons for the demolition of the foundation's headquarters.

The tax suit stems from Inland Revenue's attempt to gain a larger share of the royalties from sales of the first volume of Bertrand Russell's autobiography. Its first effort to do so was overruled by the Special Commissioners in 1973. In August 1974, however, tax officials decided to appeal the ruling, viewing the matter as a convenient test case.

Protests against the tax suit may be sent to Prime Minister Harold Wilson, 10 Downing Street, London, England. Letters protesting the threat to demolish the foundation's offices may be sent to the Lord Mayor of Nottingham, Old Market Square, Nottingham, England. Copies of all protests should be sent to the foundation.

More than one-tenth of the £30,000 the foundation estimates as necessary to assure the continuation of its work has already been raised. The foundation directors have pointed out, however, that the demolition order prevents one possible avenue of relief. As long as the order remains in effect, the foundation cannot obtain a mortgage on its office building. □

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## 'Snow Job': The Lessons of Canada's Role in Vietnam

Reviewed by George Addison

[The following review appeared in the January 27 issue of *Labor Challenge*, a revolutionary-socialist fortnightly published in Toronto. It has been shortened somewhat for reasons of space.]

\* \* \*

The second anniversary of the Vietnam cease-fire accord provides a good opportunity to review the history of Canada's role in Vietnam. *Snow Job*, by veteran Toronto *Globe and Mail* journalist Charles Taylor is a good starting point to draw the lessons of two decades of Canada's complicity in Indochina.

Taylor has collected most of the material on Canada's diplomatic role in Vietnam—from the missions by Blair Seaborn in 1964-65, carrying U.S. threats to Hanoi, to the "open-mouth" obstruction of ambassador Michel Gauvin on the International Commission for Control and Supervision (ICCS) following the Paris accords in early 1973. Taylor cites material from the Pentagon Papers (whose material on Canada's role has received very little publicity), reports from journalists over the years, as well as many of the statements of Canadian political leaders. There is very little new information in the book, particularly for activists in the Canadian antiwar movement, which exposed and condemned Canada's complicity from 1965 to 1973. But Taylor does a useful service in pulling together most of the record.

*Snow Job* is a liberal study, critical of Ottawa's role in Indochina. But because it is written from a liberal standpoint, Taylor misses some of the key lessons of the Vietnam experience, and in the end, accepts many of the myths the Canadian government uses to justify its world-imperialist role.

Thus, Taylor's account is rather contradictory. On the one hand he presents the irrefutable evidence that Canada acted all along in concert with U.S. war aims—spying, lying, selling arms, covering up and apologizing for the Pentagon's crimes. On the other hand is Taylor's curious thesis that all this was part of a blunder—ascrivable to naïveté, myth-worship, or cold war psychology. He fails to point out that

Canada acted as an accomplice in U.S. aggression precisely because the basic aims of its foreign policy paralleled those of the United States.

At every turning point in the war, Canadian diplomatic services were put to use—to cover up U.S. aggression and to mollify world public opinion. Ottawa used the good name of the Canadian people to attempt to put the onus for the war onto North Vietnam and the liberation forces in the south. It was the old imperialist con-

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*Snow Job: Canada, the United States and Vietnam (1954 to 1973)*, by Charles Taylor. Toronto: Anansi, 1974. \$3.95.

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job—making the victim appear to be the criminal.

Taylor's liberal viewpoint even extends to a misunderstanding of U.S. war aims in Vietnam. While his research on the war (mainly from the Pentagon Papers) presents most of the pertinent facts, in his analysis of the war he refuses to take sides in the conflict. Thus, he depicts the war as an unfortunate conflict with "both sides" sharing the blame. "Although the Americans were undoubtedly grudging, evasive and deceitful in their response to peace probes by Canada and other third parties, the North Vietnamese were equally difficult," Taylor writes, evaluating the U.S. "peace" offers from 1964 through 1967.

But as Taylor points out elsewhere in his book, *every one* of the U.S. "peace initiatives" during this period were part of its escalation scenario. Washington would halt the bombing of North Vietnam for a brief period, make an offer to Hanoi that would in effect demand complete surrender by the liberation forces, then proceed to use Hanoi's predictable refusal as a pretext to escalate the war again. The purpose of the exercise, of course, was to disarm antiwar feeling in the United States and abroad and put the responsibility for escalation on the liberation forces.

But throughout his book Taylor refuses to put the blame for the war where it belongs—squarely on Washington's shoul-



ders. This is particularly surprising in light of the author's extensive use of the Pentagon Papers as his main source. Taylor should have looked at the papers more closely.

### U.S. Strategy in Vietnam

U.S. war aims are spelled out quite clearly in a number of the documents in the Pentagon Papers. A National Security Council resolution of "early" 1952, entitled "United States Objectives and Courses of Action with Respect to Southeast Asia," was approved by President Truman. The basic aims of U.S. policy were not changed from that time.

The opening paragraph of this document, subheaded "Objective," reads: "To prevent the countries of Southeast Asia (Burma, Thailand, Indochina, Malaya and Indonesia) from passing into the Communist orbit, and to assist them to develop will and ability to resist communism from within and without and to contribute to the strengthening of the free world. . . ."

The document noted the importance of Southeast Asia as a source of raw material, then proceeded to lay out concrete plans: ". . . [The U.S. must] make clear to the American people the importance of Southeast Asia to the security of the United States so that they may be prepared for any of the courses of action proposed herein. . . ."

Among the "courses of action" were: "[The U.S. must] carry out the following minimum courses of military action, either under the auspices of the UN or in conjunction with France and the United Kingdom. . . ."

"(1) A resolute defense of Indochina itself, to which the U.S. would provide such air and naval assistance as might be practicable.

"(2) Interdiction of Chinese Communist communication lines, including those in China.

"(3) . . . In the event the concurrence of the United Kingdom and France to expanded military action against Communist China is not obtained, the United States should consider taking unilateral action. . . ."



The main directives for U.S. intervention in Vietnam were outlined in a "Special Committee Report on Southeast Asia," April 5, 1954:

"(1) It be U.S. policy to accept nothing short of military victory in Indochina.

"(2) It be the U.S. position to obtain French support of this position; and that failing this, the U.S. actively oppose any negotiated settlement in Indochina at Geneva.

"(3) It be the U.S. position in event of failure of (2) above to initiate immediate steps within the governments of the Associated States [Saigon regime—GA] aimed toward the continuation of the war in Indochina, to include active U.S. participation and without French support should that be necessary." (Pentagon Papers)

Due to popular opposition to military adventure in Asia following the Korean war, the U.S. did not put its plans fully into effect for a few years. The 1954 Geneva Accords, imposed on the Vietnamese by the combined influence of China, the USSR, and the imperialist countries, set back the liberation struggle, giving Washington time to impose its own regime in South Vietnam. But the basic objectives of Washington remained in force: to turn back the Indochinese revolution and by this example the colonial revolution elsewhere, to defeat North Vietnam militarily, and eventually to move against China.

The Canadian government shared Washington's view of the war. Taylor cites a multitude of statements by Canadian political leaders—backing the right of the U.S. to be in Vietnam, and blaming the war on the North Vietnamese—to prove this point. Canada used its positions on the International Control Commission (ICC) from 1954-72 and on the International Commission for Control and Supervision (ICCS) in 1973, to back up these U.S. objectives.

### 1954-72: Complicity on the ICC

Canada became a member of the ICC not to "keep the peace" in Indochina, but rather to promote U.S. plans for military victory. The Americans were delighted with this arrangement from the beginning. In a telegram dated July 19, 1954, from the Geneva conference to Washington, U.S. Undersecretary of State Smith wrote:

"The outlines of international control now clearly emerge. Composition will probably be Poland, India and Canada or Belgium. . . . Both Poland and Canada or Belgium will have veto on important questions. . . .

"Taking everything into consideration, I strongly feel this is satisfactory and much better than we were able to obtain in Korea. French feel, and Eden [British foreign minister] and I agree, that with such composition, built-in veto will work to our

advantage. . . ." (Pentagon Papers)

Canada's role, thus, was to block any move that might hurt the interests of the U.S. And as Taylor and the Pentagon Papers show, Canada carried out its complicit role every step of the way.

### 1973: The 'Peacekeeping' Fraud

Taylor outlines the main features of Canada's participation on the ICCS. He shows how the Canadian contingent, headed by former ambassador to Greece, Michel Gauvin, consistently intervened to denounce the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam (PRG) and the North Vietnamese, while turning a blind eye to the aggression of the Thieu regime. He traces the development of Canadian government policy in sending Canadian troops to Vietnam, then withdrawing them six months later.

"Trudeau and Sharp decided to accept a new Vietnam role for one reason and one reason only: to help the Americans get out," Taylor writes. "This would be Canada's contribution to an *eventual* peace in Vietnam, but Ottawa would undertake no long-term responsibility for how the Vietnamese arranged their affairs once the Americans had gone."

Taylor's error, of course, is to assume that the U.S. intended to "get out" of Vietnam, or wanted peace, even "eventually." In fact, they are still in Vietnam maintaining the Thieu regime in power in Saigon through massive arms shipments and military aid. The U.S. also continues its enormous presence in Thailand, and keeps its naval fleet off the coast of Indochina for direct intervention if necessary.

Canadian policy changed with the new situation developing in Vietnam. As the cease-fire settlement neared, it became clear that Canada would be called upon to play a supervisory role, and the United States began putting pressure on Ottawa to commit itself.

Canadian troops did go to Vietnam as part of the ICCS. After hesitating for a period, and laying down stringent conditions on Canadian participation (which were never accepted), the government committed troops for a limited period. Government leaders expressed grave hesitations and reluctance, and proceeded to withdraw the Canadian contingent only six months later.

From the imperialist standpoint, Canadian intervention in Vietnam was remarkably successful. During the brief period they were there, the Canadian force effectively blocked any move by the ICCS to condemn or undermine the legitimacy of Washington's puppet Thieu. They consistently condemned the PRG and North Vietnam for "aggression" and violations of the Paris accords. The purpose of the exercise was to

bring international pressure to bear on the liberation forces to stop resisting. By painting the PRG as an aggressor in their own country, they aimed to undercut the enormous international sympathy for the Vietnamese freedom fighters, and thus stabilize Thieu's regime.

This role was crucial in an unstable situation like Vietnam in 1973, with the U.S. pulling out and the Saigon dictatorship in a relatively weak position. Canadian aid helped the U.S. and Thieu carry out their transition as smoothly as could be hoped.

But a question remains: Why the expressions of hesitation by the Canadian government, which is usually enthusiastic about "peacekeeping" duties? There was reportedly even a debate in the cabinet over whether to commit troops to the ICCS force. Some, like Defense minister James Richardson, favored sending Canadian troops, in order to maintain happy relations with the United States. Others took a different view. Some top officials in the External Affairs department counselled that such a "peacekeeping" force could not succeed. A secret briefing by government officials was reported in the *Toronto Star* Nov. 25, 1972, by Ottawa correspondent Jack Cahill.

"The Canadian government," Cahill wrote, "appears to be deeply concerned that it might be trapped by the U.S. government as the scapegoat for the Vietnam war through participation in a Vietnam peacekeeping force."

An editorial in the *Toronto Globe and Mail* expressed the hesitation even more clearly: "Whether or not the Canadian government has annoyed Washington with its doubts about the Vietnam cease-fire police force does not matter greatly. The wrath of even the fabulous Henry Kissinger would be as nothing in this country compared with the public outrage if it became apparent some months hence that Canada had got itself involved in the bloody mess of Vietnam only so that the United States could get out of it."

What the government officials and the *Globe* both feared most was the "public outrage" that could ensue from participation in such a force. Seeing the enormous effect of the antiwar movement in the United States, it is little wonder that these spokesmen for the ruling class would counsel caution. They did not want to see the same development here, arising from Canadian participation in the least popular war in modern history. And they certainly did not wish to compromise their ability to intervene in other world troublespots in the future.

Yet this factor seems to have little place in Taylor's account of Canada's complicity in the war. The effect of the antiwar movement in Canada, which told the truth

about Canada's role all along, rates only a scant mention.

### The Antiwar Movement in Canada

The Canadian movement against the Vietnam war never reached the mass proportions of its American counterpart. Its demonstrations could be measured in the thousands rather than the hundreds of thousands. But its impact was nonetheless significant. The statements of government leaders against the bombing—timid and hypocritical as they certainly were—were designed to appease the mass antiwar sentiment that existed in this country. The fact that Canada never sent troops to fight in Vietnam, as Australia and New Zealand did, may well have been a result of the unpopularity of the war. The fact that Canadian troops were only committed for a brief period in 1973 was, as we have seen, attributable to government fear of popular opposition. And perhaps most important for the future, the complicity of the Canadian government was exposed and explained to a generation of youth by the antiwar movement. Thus, a repetition of Canada's Vietnam role in another world troublespot will be more difficult for the government to sell.

### The Lessons of Vietnam

If Taylor's analysis of Canada's complicity is erroneous and incomplete, what then are the lessons for Canadians from Vietnam?

The first lesson we should learn from Vietnam is the real nature of Canadian participation in so-called "peacekeeping" missions. In Vietnam, Canada intervened through its membership on international supervisory bodies to promote U.S. imperialist interests. A close look at Canada's role on other "peacekeeping" missions will bring the same conclusion. From Korea to the Congo, from Suez to Cyprus to the Mideast today, Canada joined international forces to defend the interests of imperialism against the forces of liberation.

"Peacekeeping" is a specialized role that Canada has taken on since the end of World War II. Its military forces are specially trained for police and "brush-fire" duty. It has the added benefit to Canada's rulers of giving them an aura of objectivity in international affairs. Hypocritically painting themselves as "peacekeepers," they move in wherever a revolutionary struggle is breaking out. Intervening where the older and larger imperialist powers cannot, the "peacekeepers" aim to bring international pressure to bear on the situation, branding anyone who challenges the status quo as a "peace-breaker" or an aggressor.

Thus, international "peacekeeping" forces are invariably counterrevolutionary

instruments, designed to stabilize situations and allow the imperialists time to sort out a solution in their interests.

This specialized Canadian role in world affairs was spelled out quite clearly in a 1954 White Paper on Defense. While some of the language may have been altered in more recent government pronouncements, it remains an accurate statement of Canadian policy:

... Communist pressure, including the active fomenting and support of so-called 'wars of liberation' in less-developed areas, may well continue and intensify. In such areas, instability will probably continue in the decade ahead and call for containment measures which do not lend themselves to Great Power or Alliance [NATO or other imperialist military alliances—GA] action. The peacekeeping responsibilities devolving upon the United Nations can be expected to grow correspondingly."

Clearly, the Canadian government sees its "peacekeeping" duties as an integral part of the general imperialist strategy in the postwar period. They label popular struggles against oppression "Communist fomented," then prepare measures for "containment."

Unfortunately, Charles Taylor does not draw this lesson from Vietnam. Despite all the crimes of the Canadian government he enumerates, he continues to accept the myth of "peacekeeping."

A second and related lesson from Vietnam is the nature of Canadian foreign policy. The considerations behind Canadian policy in Vietnam flow from the international interests of Canadian big

business. As Taylor correctly points out, Canada was not merely a puppet, responding to the manipulations of the puppeteer's strings from Washington. Canada's Vietnam policy coincided with that of the United States and, for that matter, all the other major imperialist countries who were completely united in their desire to see the Indochinese revolution crushed. Canada's role was that of *complicity*—a partner in crime—not that of a dependency.

The third lesson is thoroughly documented in *Snow Job*: The government lies. Over and over again, Canada's rulers hid their complicity behind evasion, distortions, and falsehoods. To this day, government records of Canada's role in Vietnam from 1954 to 1973 remain secret. How ironic it is that Taylor should have to rely on the Pentagon Papers as his major source.

The ruling class of Canada—like the other capitalist countries—maintains itself through a network of myths and deception. For if the people knew the whole truth, it would put the entire system into question.

Through the history of Canada's involvement in Vietnam, the big-business dailies repeated the cynical lies of the government. Only the socialist press told the truth—exposing the government's complicity and calling for mass protest against it. The socialist press was instrumental in calling for action and helping to build the Canadian antiwar movement.

While the government carried out its perfidious role, thousands of people marched in the streets denouncing U.S. aggression and Canada's complicity. That's the one part of the Vietnam record that Canadians can point to with pride. □

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# DOCUMENTS

## The Workers League and the International Committee

By Tim Wohlforth

[Third of four installments]

### Part II: The Workers League and the International Committee

#### A. The History of the Struggle Against Centrist in the Workers League

All movements develop through a contradictory internal struggle of opposites. This struggle is essentially a reflection of the class struggle itself. The struggle is shaped very much by the objective conditions under which the movement is being built.

The Workers League was built under generally difficult conditions for a revolutionary organization determined to fight in a principled manner. Only a tiny handful of the WL members went through the experiences of the internal struggle within the SWP.<sup>16</sup> The members of the League were in part shaped by and the product of the revival of the student protest movement of the 1960s.

The Workers League did not recruit from those who led the protest struggles. Our movement was small and its insistence on theory fell largely on deaf ears in that period. It was not yet our time to develop. Like Trotsky's movement in the 1930s, we recruited from the critics of what was happening. This is not necessarily the most revolutionary material. In fact it is largely nonrevolutionary and centrist. But we do not determine the objective circumstances of our development and must do our best with the human material at hand.

It is to the credit of all members of the Workers League that we did as well as we did in that period and in surviving into the 1970s. What distinguished the WL from the Spartacist League<sup>17</sup> was not

so much the character of the human material in the two organizations but our struggle as part of the International Committee to be more than critics, more than radicals. This is why we built up the press that we did build up.

Beginning in the fall of 1971, the WL took a sharp turn into the building of a youth movement among working class youth. That drive to construct a youth movement has been at the heart of the League—and its internal difficulties—ever since. The turn into the youth was met by great resistance from a cadre content to comment on events, sell some papers, carry out some union caucus work, and perhaps carry out an argument with some other political tendency on a campus.

We were struggling to carry out a change of a qualitative character in the very life of the League. The construction of such a youth movement would be a major step toward the preparation of the WL to become a serious revolutionary force among workers in the next period. This was the case not simply because we needed the youth to reach workers, but because we needed a revolutionary cadre rooted in these youth and composed of comrades—from the middle class and working class—who were turned into these youth and could work among them. It is to the great credit of Comrade Gerry

ship in the Socialist Workers party in November 1963. The group began publishing the *Spartacist*, formed "Spartacist committees" in various areas, and finally set up the Spartacist League in September 1966.

Robertson and Wohlforth, at first in a common group inside the Socialist Workers party, began vying for the favors of Healy, or were pitted by Healy against each other. At a conference of the rump "International Committee" held in London in April 1966, Healy betrayed Robertson, ran him out of the meeting before it was over, and put Wohlforth in charge of the American operation. See "Healy 'Reconstructs' the Fourth International" in *Marxism Vs. Ultraleftism: The Record of Healy's Break With Trotskyism*, p. 75. —IP

Healy that he urged this course upon us and supported us in it.

However, the interventions of the SLL-WRP leadership in the Workers League has had an increasingly erratic character to it particularly since the beginning of 1973. It was at that time that the WL held a critically important National Committee Plenum attended by Comrade Healy. The main thrust of Comrade Healy's intervention at that Plenum was to fight for an understanding that the center of the world capitalist crisis was the crisis of American capitalism. If this was grasped, then we could understand the explosive nature of class relations which would develop in the United States simultaneously with revolutionary outbursts in Europe. Only with such a perspective could we grasp how a labor party in America will develop under explosive revolutionary conditions internationally and under conditions within the US which required the development of a mass revolutionary party. Comrade Healy stressed the importance of seeing a labor party in this revolutionary context with workers defense committees, Councils of Action type organizations, being formed in the neighborhoods. This was counterposed to any centrist tendency to see the labor party as an extended stage of social democratic reformism.

Recent events have proven the correctness of this approach. The Boston events themselves show the sharpness of class relations in America, the dangers if we do not organize in the neighborhoods against right-wing elements. At the same time, the decay of the American economy is today central to the world capitalist recession. It is predicted that the US may lead the world in its rate of economic decline over the next year. The US declines from a position of greater strength than any other capitalist nation and thus will be able to bring down European capital in the process of its own decline. The tempo of developments here will not be exactly the same as in Europe but it will nevertheless be highly explosive simultaneously with revolutionary upsurges in Europe and in the underdeveloped nations.

It was following this important intervention by Comrade Healy that the first draft of the resolution "Perspectives For The American Revolution" was written by myself. A copy of the draft was sent to England. This evoked the second intervention of the British comrades in 1973,

16. The Socialist Workers party. Wohlforth headed a group that was suspended from membership in July 1964. The group formed the "American Committee for the Fourth International," and began publishing the *Bulletin of International Socialism* (later changed to the *Bulletin*). The Workers League was launched by Wohlforth at a Thanksgiving conference in 1966. —IP

17. The group headed by James Robertson that was suspended from member-

a letter from Comrade Mike Banda.

The Banda letter proceeded in the exact opposite direction from the original intervention by Comrade Healy. The central thrust of the Banda letter was to insist on the primacy of the European Revolution—particularly in England—while holding that American workers would pass through a relatively long stage of slow development, learning from the developments in Europe. He attacked those sections of the first resolution which made any mention of workers defense committees or councils of action as an adaptation to the British. In fact, the Banda letter left little room for any revolutionary perspective in America. This was consistent with the general approach Banda has taken on American questions for a number of years. While he has been very impressed with the achievements of Ho Chi Minh and Mao Tse Tung in Vietnam and China, and sympathetic to guerrilla warfare efforts elsewhere, he has held the opposite opinion of revolutionary movements among the American working class.

Following the receipt of the Banda letter, a trip to England was made by three comrades for other purposes: Alex Steiner to discuss philosophy and Helen Halyard and Adele Sinclair to attend the British YS Conference. The British comrades immediately sought to line up these comrades against the rest of the party leadership over the issues in the Banda letter. Comrade Healy took the lead in this action. He was now convinced that the leadership was dominated by American pragmatism and was failing to sufficiently appreciate developments in Europe, particularly in England.

Comrade Steiner in particular came back with a clear reformist political position. He saw little revolutionary potential in America for perhaps decades. He saw an entire stage of American history dominated by a social democratic party. He opposed any discussion of non-parliamentary forms of struggle such as defense committees and councils of action. In fact, what he was really proposing was nothing more than the theory of the parliamentary road to socialism. It was, in essence, the old Lovestone theory of American exceptionalism. He based his theories on Banda's letter and discussions with Comrade Healy in England. Steiner, of course, no doubt exaggerated the British intervention for his own conservative purposes.

It should be recalled that the major theme of the discussion which had taken place at the 1972 summer camp in England had been warnings against any tendency towards adaptation in the British. However the actual experiences in the discussion in the League in early 1973 shows that while the British movement had great authority within the American movement, the American movement in

those days also thought for itself seeking to learn from the experiences it was beginning to have in the beginning stages of the youth movement.

We sharply opposed the Steiner position though trying as best we could to straddle the contradictory positions put forward by Healy in January and Banda in March. However, the final document will testify that we refused to bow to the Banda position. That document placed the Workers League solidly on the basis of a revolutionary perspective which begins with an understanding that American capitalism is the *center* of the world capitalist crisis, the American working class will develop politically in an *explosive* fashion in the next period, as revolution breaks out elsewhere. Such a perspective begins *first of all* with the construction of the *revolutionary party itself!*

This discussion with Steiner was of the greatest importance as the most open expression of centrism within the leading circles of the party. At the same time it expressed the contradictory and inconsistent character of the political interventions of the British movement which at one moment contributed greatly to the development of the League only at the next moment to introduce factional and confusing elements which would have completely derailed a less experienced leadership.

The next step in the process came in late June. The Workers League had proceeded in the Spring of 1973 to develop its work among working class youth. However, at the same time we turned back towards the sick old radicals in the form of a series of classes which we opened up to the Spartacist group. The classes in themselves—on the 20 year history of the IC—were very important and useful to the movement. However to become engaged in a debate with Spartacist over these matters represented a resistance, a hesitation over a full turn into the working class.

In late June the British comrades called me over for consultations. They were particularly upset by a reference in one of the classes which suggested that the relations between the British and French movements had been one of compromise. While certainly a sentence in the report by Comrade Dave North of the class could be so misinterpreted anyone who attended the class was well aware that we defended the relations with the French as a completely principled and necessary stage in the development of the Fourth International. In fact I still hold to that position.

The British intervention, however, took on an extreme character. Every even potential difference was magnified to an absurd degree. I was even attacked as being an American pragmatist for purchasing an American rather than a British web

offset press! As the week progressed the hyperbole progressed. By the end of the week's visit the British comrades—more exactly Comrade Healy—threatened to break a 12 year political relationship with the League over this single sentence.

The night before I was to fly back the discussion—actually a one way shouting match—went on until 2:30 a.m. I was sent to bed with all political relations broken. A public statement was to appear in the *Workers Press*. Then at 5:30 a.m. I was awakened for one last meeting with Comrade Healy at which I was told I would be given one last chance. I was to fight for the very life of the League against centrism within it. All the work of the past period was now in jeopardy. (Considering the events which were to take place the next year this was certainly no exaggeration.) Particularly I had to break with the centrist elements around me in the leadership and drive the movement forward into the working class. Special mention was made of Comrades Lucy St. John, Dennis O'Casey and Karen Frankel.

I returned to the United States shell-shocked. I immediately launched a bitter struggle within the leadership of the party and throughout all the branches in the country against this propagandist tendency. The heart of the struggle was with Comrade Lucy St. John and Dennis O'Casey. Supporting these comrades to one extent or another was Jeff Sebastian, Alex Steiner, and Fred Mazelis. In fact I was extremely isolated in that struggle with the support of only some of the young activist layers of the leadership like Esther Galen and Helen Halyard. Their support was extremely limited by the limits of their own theoretical development. This helps to make clear why a centrist regime could one year later get such a firm grip on the movement once the British threw the considerable weight of their influence behind it.

In the midst of this struggle the position of St. John and O'Casey came out in the open. They launched a direct attack on me claiming all along to have agreed with the Banda letter but to have hidden their position for fear of being attacked. Whether they actually held such a position at that time was not important. What is critical is that once again the Banda letter emerged in the discussion to be seized upon by right-wing elements who resisted the changes we were seeking to make in the leadership of the party. St. John then retreated further and resigned from the party only to return on the very eve of the summer camp.

Then came a new intervention of Comrade Healy. He insisted that the very struggle he had urged me to take up within the party leadership was "factional." He persisted in this view right up to the summer camp using it as an excuse



to cancel plans to send a large delegation from the YS leadership to our camp. He urged the Australian comrades to abandon their plans to send a sizable delegation as well, stating that the summer camp would prove to be some sort of "faction fight" by Comrade Wohlforth.

Because we did not simply adapt to the impressions of the British as the British wished us to do (though they would always also denounce us for so doing) we went ahead with the discussion in the party. We made every effort at the same time to hold all comrades in the party winning back Comrade St. John. We turned out among the youth and built our first summer camp into a powerful camp of over 300 working class youth and older workers.

## B. The 1973 Summer Camp and the Fifth National Conference

The camp was a continuation of the battle within the cadres of the party. It was no faction fight but it was nonetheless a great battle *in practice* with the propagandists. This layer of the party, the overwhelming majority, kept distant from the youth. This gave us very few forces for struggling politically with the youth, who in turn, were torn apart by the big political issues posed at the camp.

The role of Ronnie R. was typical of this layer. He had succeeded through his energy in bringing to the camp a very large contingent from the Bronx. These youth had gone through no preparation of any kind for the camp. At the camp Ronnie R. kept his distance from these youth leaving the problems some of them caused to others to handle.

The heart of the backward elements at the camp were two brothers from the Bronx. They preached anti-white nationalism as a cover for their anti-Communism and hostility to any discipline. One night they had broken every rule, gotten drunk, and refused to return to their cabins. It became necessary to remove them from the camp. So at 2:30 a.m., in a dense fog, we had to physically remove them from the camp. We took them to Montreal and gave them bus fare to return to New York. They proceeded to drink up the bus fare and take a cab back to the camp. We had to expel them again.

All this took place under conditions of constant police surveillance of the camp. In fact police tried to enter the camp on the occasion of the return of the Bronx duo to the camp. Only a continuous political fight combined with the actual enforcing of discipline at critical moments kept the camp from being broken up by the police. The Ronnie R. layer of the party objectively opposed these efforts of ours.

Another example is that of Comrade Fred Mazelis. Comrade Mazelis was in charge of the guards at the camp. He not only kept his distance from the youth but he would not approach the question of the guards with any seriousness. There was no drive or urgency to his work. Then, on the last night of the camp, the police, a combined force of Provincial police and the RCMP<sup>18</sup> advised by the Americans, made an attempt with seven police cars to enter the camp. Comrade Mazelis wanted to agree to their request and admit the police. Comrade Fields objected and then aided by Comrade St. John and others successfully resisted the police insisting upon our rights as lessees of private property.

In the period immediately after the camp Comrade Ronnie R.'s Bronx branch virtually disintegrated. Then Comrade Ronnie R. himself resigned. His resignation was symptomatic of a whole layer. He was a radical activist, a member of the League for a number of years, and very active in our SSEU<sup>19</sup> caucus. Comrade Healy stated to me in May he felt that Ronnie R.'s desertion was a running away from the youth and reflected the position of a whole layer.

These two incidents illustrate how the conflict at the 1973 Summer Camp expressed in a concentrated way the whole struggle which would take place in the League during the next year. The camp also brought out the tremendous potential for constructing a revolutionary party in the United States. The response of the youth to a tough fight for Marxism, for revolutionary perspectives, was the dominant characteristic of the camp. The camp reverberated with it. The future of the whole American working class could be seen here in microcosm. The problems were problems essential to a revolutionary and therefore explosive layer of the working class. Those who thought such explosions could be avoided are people who wish to avoid the working class.

This should be understood in the light of the experience of the 1974 camp which was even more explosive. Comrade Ushi from Germany particularly refused to grasp this difficult but necessary side of American (and we tend to think the revolutionary layers of youth in *all* nations) youth. She insisted we must force the youth all to sit in the same direction, never to talk out of turn or among themselves, and to listen attentively to a lecture on philosophical matters. Perhaps

18. The Royal Canadian Mounted Police. — IP

19. The Social Services Employees Union. See Wohlforth's explanation earlier in the document under the heading "The Trade Unions and Centrism."

Comrade Ushi can get away with this in Germany. Certainly this can occasionally be accomplished in the United States with university youth. But youth from Brownsville and East New York represent a bit more of a problem. Their very restlessness expresses their revolutionary energies. Discipline is always a matter of struggle which achieves at any point conditions which allow learning to go on—but perhaps just allow it. During 1973 and 1974 I spoke before literally hundreds of restless audiences in which I had to fight for a hearing. At the same time these were the most receptive audiences I ever addressed in 21 years in the revolutionary movement.

The National Conference, which we discussed earlier in relation to the faction which emerged over the trade union question, was actually a continuation of the camp and *vice versa* the camp was a continuation or expression of the issues raised at the conference. There were many problems with holding a camp and conference at the same time. However, the great advantage was that the issues raised on a theoretical level were being lived on a practical level at the camp.

For instance, there was Irving Hall. He could care less how the camp was defended and what happened to the youth in attendance. He looked only for points to pick at to weaken, he hoped, a leadership preoccupied with holding the camp together. He and his wife Judy would hide behind bushes waiting for a trade unionist to walk by. Then he would spring out and seek to gain their support for his faction. The majority of the party who were propagandists did not support Hall, of course. They just hid behind bushes to keep away from the youth. They would have to wait a year before they could pounce.

Comrade Gerry Healy arrived in the middle of the camp. Almost immediately he took to it and saw in it the potential for building a healthy working class party in America. His classes and speeches were a major contribution to the camp and helped to educate a whole section of the party and the youth attending the camp. His central theme was a recognition of the depth of the crisis and the revolutionary struggle just ahead within the United States as well as Europe.

## C. The Party 1973-74

The Workers League of the 1973-1974 period was an organization still composed of very conservative people, with little experience in the actual struggles of the working class, leaning toward centrist political positions. However, through a continuous struggle, the League carried through great changes, changes which created the conditions for a very different

League to emerge by the summer of 1974. These changes were not brought about easily or peacefully but painfully and through struggle.

We held a meeting launching the twice-weekly *Bulletin* attended by over 400 people and built the *Bulletin's* circulation to over 20,000 per issue. We built a series of regional youth conferences attended by over 750 youth. We held a number of local jobs marches culminating in a powerful march against Nixon in Washington.<sup>20</sup> Then we held a national youth conference attended by over 500 youth. We launched two election campaigns in New York and held a series of picnics and other meetings across the country. We held classes continuously, as well as sports weekends and social events. Everywhere in the League, there were problems but everywhere there were new youth forces around the branches and the beginnings of the development of a real youth movement. It represented a sharp change, a leap over the character of the youth movement in the preceding period.

Rather than neglecting trade union work, we also made some serious progress there as well. We held our Dayton auto conference which was highly successful and brought forward a number of older industrial workers around the branches. Above all, through the drive with the paper, we sought to construct the party in the key industrial areas of the Midwest. Thus, with the trailblazing drives, we constructed the Cleveland and Youngstown branches as well as strengthening the Detroit and Dayton branches. Thousands of workers in the basic industries of auto and steel became subscribers and supporters of the *Bulletin*. This work laid the basis for the future development of the party in the auto plants and steel mills throughout the area.

As the work of the League developed concretely, the opposition to that work,

20. "Powerful march against Nixon in Washington." This evidently refers to the March 16, 1974, action organized by the Workers League under the slogan, "Force Nixon Out." According to the *Bulletin*, 450 persons marched in Washington, 150 in Chicago, and 115 in San Francisco. This turnout should be compared with the anti-war marches of up to 500,000 and more in the late 1960s and early 1970s which the Workers League scorned as "petty bourgeois."

However, it cannot be denied that Nixon did resign on August 9, only five months after the march sponsored by the Workers League. In the sense of results obtained, perhaps the *Bulletin* was right in calling the Workers League parade in Washington, D.C., "the biggest anti-Nixon demonstration ever held in the United States."—IP

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to the change occurring in the League, also took on a more concrete form. We no longer fought about what we should do abstractly. We actually *did* it. Therefore, layers of the older cadre dropped out of the party. These included an important section of the old leadership of the party such as Pat Connolly, Dan Fried, Karen Frankel, Lucy St. John, Dennis O'Casey, Alex Steiner and Jeff Sebastian. None of these people were forced out of the movement. They dropped out because they did not wish to be part of a movement which fought as the WL fought. They had been radical critics and contributed to the movement at that stage of its development. Now they were called upon to actually take up work in the working class concretely. It was no longer a matter of simply defending the idea that such work should be done. Thus, they split. While they left one by one over a period of time, their leaving was in actuality a real split by a section of the centrist layer of the party who resisted the new course of the party.

Such was the situation as the Second Annual Summer Camp approached. We had changed the League in many respects. We had now begun to carry out in practice what we had envisioned as early as the 1967 International Youth Assembly. However, our movement was still dominated by conservative elements with little experience in mass struggles and inclined to criticism rather than actual conflict in the workers movement. Many toes had been stepped on to develop the League to this point. Many resented the pressures of party work and the constant struggle to develop the working class forces now in and around the party, to train them as Marxists.

The party had progressed but at the same time the grip of the past was still very heavy upon it. While new forces were around the movement everywhere, only a few of these new forces were actual party members and they were only at a beginning stage of their political training. Thus, while the League had changed, it was very *fragile*. It would not take a lot to destroy what had been built up. In fact, all that was necessary was to remove those that had struggled to drive the movement forward from a position where they could continue to act effectively to carry on that drive forward. Under such conditions, all the old crap would be revived. And so it was to happen.

#### D. The Role of the International Committee

The International Committee, like the Workers League, could not help but be a product of the period out of which it was created. We have always opposed

those efforts of Pablo's to create an international apparatus which was artificial in relation to the actual development of the national sections in that particular period. Such an apparatus could only act against the real development of the Fourth International as it did in the 1952-1953 period. And so the development of the IC has been necessarily modest in terms of a highly structured apparatus and other organizational forms.

The heart of the IC in the period from 1961 to 1970 was the collaboration of the SLL with the French OCI, first in a principled struggle against the revisionism of the SWP and then in laying the foundation for an international Trotskyist youth movement. That period of collaboration was a principled and fruitful one although there were always great strains within it. It is important to note that, throughout that period, the heart of the IC was this collaboration between the SLL and the OCI. Other sections were not yet sufficiently developed to be more than an appendage of one or the other party.

The IC entered an entirely new stage of its existence with the break, and subsequent head-long flight to the right, of the OCI with the IC. Now the IC could no longer simply be the collaboration of two parties. It had to be based on an international collaboration of a group of parties in very different stages of development. In that collaboration the SLL, and in particular Gerry Healy, held the central responsibility. But the IC had to be more than Gerry Healy if it were to develop serious Marxist cadres in a number of countries. It had to have its own life, its own internal discussions in which, as in Trotsky's day, all sections and all members of sections felt free to express opinions, to make amendments to documents, to intervene in the political life of other sections.

However, the IC did not develop this way. It never was allowed to go beyond the level of small groups basically functioning as appendages of the SLL-WRP. More precisely, the IC never went beyond being an international organization around a single individual, Gerry Healy. Never in Trotsky's days did such a situation exist within the Fourth International. And this was so, despite all the authority Trotsky had through his leadership of the Russian Revolution and during the civil war period as well as through his serious theoretical struggle against Stalinism.

The only section of the IC outside the WRP capable of any independent life and development was the Workers League. This was so because the League had a long history and had built the important beginnings of a movement. It had battled under the most adverse conditions against



the revisionists and its leadership had done a considerable amount of writing and theoretical work in their own right. Thus, conflict with the WL became a central feature to the development of the IC and the future of the IC itself would be tested in that conflict.

The 1972 IC Conference, the first to be held since the break with the French, centered on a struggle against the pragmatic tendencies within the Workers League. These tendencies were expressed in a turn away from the struggle for a labor party during the beginning of the turn to the youth. The League fought to learn the lessons of this intervention in the following period.

### E. The April 1974 IC Conference

In April of 1974, the International Conference of the IC was held. At that conference, Comrade Healy intervened in strong support of the perspectives of the Workers League. He held up the League's work as a model for the whole international to follow. He sharply disagreed with the Greek delegate who had insisted on a lot of discussion on the reasons for the desertion of Comrade Lucy St. John and others. He insisted that such losses were brought about because of the changes the party was going through. He held that it was these changes themselves which must first be comprehended.

There were no formal minutes of that session and in fact, there was nothing formal in any way throughout the conference. However, it is important to reprint here a summary of Comrade Healy's remarks taken from notes taken during the session by one of the American delegation:

*Wednesday April 10:*

*Gerry:* "The meaning of the report (referring to my report on the Workers League) is being diffused by contributions and criticisms of comrades.

"The discussion on the Workers League is a discussion of the IC as a whole because the Workers League is the first section to be built outside of England and within the North American continent where the degeneration of the oldest Trotskyist section—the SWP—has taken place.

"We must analyze the Workers League to provide lessons for the Australian and West German movements. What is at stake is the history of the IC itself when we are discussing the WL.

"We must look at the difficulties within the US movement as part of the IC experience itself.

"The history of the WL has been one of a series of breaks with centrists from 1961 on. Especially important was the break with Robertson.

"We shouldn't be particularly concerned with comrades taking off.

"The split with Robertson was a good split. Clear issues of international principle were posed. The split was a vital necessity for the development of our movement.

"1964 was a turning point for new experiences when Tim was expelled from the SWP for raising the question of Ceylon. Then the WL was reduced to a small handful. It could only lead a propaganda circle life.

"When we discuss propagandism, it must be seen as a fight over real principles such as that which took place between the Mensheviks and the Bolsheviks. The movement must turn out to learn from the living struggle of masses or it will disintegrate. The fight against propagandism now requires a turn to the masses.

"Lenin said that the revolutionary movement is a great devourer of people. Tim could not help but recruit from students at that point who came to politics not because of the movement of the working class but because of this protest or that protest.

"The SLL's own history shows that the takeover of the Labour Party YS was the action which could take the party into the working class. This was the road to the daily paper in 1969.

"The SLL intervened in the OCI to turn them to the youth and this was the beginning of the AJS. The French, however, adapted to the middle class students who were arrogant protestors. We had to go through a patient struggle with them, holding the opposites and trying to create a practice so that the French could learn.

"The period from 1966-1971 revealed the contradictory experience of the US movement. It agreed on political questions only to retreat in practice into propagandism. However, the WL created the instruments within its own ranks with its paper which would burst asunder the existence of the propagandists. This is because the press required a turn outward to fight to build toward a daily paper.

"We must create conditions for a new practice. You cannot break from propagandism in the head alone. We could not make the break to a daily paper until we settled problems with the propagandists. We had to have the sharpest political discussions within the movement.

"In 1972, when the labor party demand was dropped, we made the sharpest criticism of the WL but then they started a real campaign over the labor party. Then came the turn backward through the debates with Robertson. But then the step forward with the 1973 summer camp.

"The fact that the old propaganda forces take off is necessary for a turn into the working class. The policy of the IC is

actually now being carried out within the US in practice. The movement in the US is now an integral part of the IC.

"Now the break with propagandism posed new problems. It takes place when the world crisis brought about by inflation creates confusion within the working class, the youth and the middle class. We now turn to the first flush of new forces. These forces come to us with bourgeois ideology; they don't come as full-fledged revolutionaries. Therefore, we must conduct a full discussion and struggle with these new forces.

"Now we have the sharpest contradiction because the leadership is correct in its policies and the old forces take off. This raises the question of who is going to train the new forces?

"What is now developing on the West Coast is a new form of propagandism. Just because the old propagandists take off, their ideas don't leave you. The West Coast opposition is centrist. (Comrade Healy was referring to the centrist, militant trade union position being put forward in the West Coast section of the paper at the time of the carpenters' strike.)

"The new propagandists separate the economic crisis from the development of theory. Therefore, we must have the greatest development of theory in the US. We must bring together our understanding of the economic crisis with theory.

"But the development of theory proceeds out of old forms in which the old propagandists are held onto in order to educate the new forces. Change must come from the center where the fight within the leadership is most intense.

"Because new layers only reflect spontaneity, we must educate new layers in what happened to the old layers. We must take the knowledge we have gained in the struggle with the old layers back into the new layers.

"We must educate our movement by turning to our history, to the split with the Pabloites, with Robertson, with the French. We can only grow, change and develop through the IC."

Comrade Healy took this same approach at the May NC Plenum of the WL. At that Plenum, the main thrust was on the need to educate the cadres of the movement.

What is clear from this actual history of relations between the British and the American movement from January 1973 until the summer camp in 1974 is the following:

(1) Relations between these two movements were continuous and close. Never before in the history of the international Marxist movement had there been such close relations and contact between two sections. Any attempt by the British to claim that their sharp change in posi-

tion on the Workers League inaugurated at the 1974 Summer Camp was because of lack of information about our movement is completely fraudulent.

(2) Even in the 1973 period these relations were characterized by instable changes in political position on the part of the British leadership. This involved no minor issue but the question of revolutionary perspectives in the United States itself. That these differences were not openly confronted and fought out within the U. S. and internationally reflected the atmosphere which prevailed in international relations within the IC. Open discussion and political struggle was discouraged by Comrade Healy's tendency to push every discussion to the most extreme point and to seek to break the person who disagreed with Comrade Healy. Only a most muted discussion ever took place in the international movement under such conditions.

(3) The position of Comrade Healy and the IC from the summer of 1973 until the late summer of 1974 was one of full support to the perspectives of the Workers League. The Workers League was seen as breaking with propagandism in actual practice and gathering the youth forces needed to build a mass workers party. The loss of the older cadres was understood as a necessary though costly aspect of the correct turn outward of the movement. The League was urged to learn from this experience and educate the new forces through the *continuous* struggle with the old cadres.

There was another ominous side to the 1974 IC Conference. The fact that that conference took such a favorable stance on the American movement—actually held it up before the whole International for emulation—should not blind us to the great degeneration the Conference represented in other respects. Only by looking at this conference in this manner can we understand how support in one period can so capriciously change into a wrecking operation in the next.

The 1972 Conference was not a very formal affair but at least a document had been produced prior to it with some discussion in the sections, and a manifesto was drafted during it. Both documents were published along with a report on the deliberations of the Conference in the period following the Conference. The Conference did not, however, establish a secretariat or in any other manner clarify its structure and rules.

This process degenerated even further at the 1974 Conference. No document of any sort was produced prior to the Conference. No discussion was held whatsoever in the sections before the Conference. In fact very little discussion on perspectives took place during the Conference.

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Not only was no manifesto issued from the Conference, though a decision was made that such a manifesto be drafted, but there was no public mention of any sort that the Conference even took place.

The Conference registered important growth in a number of sections and in the number of national groups attending. For the first time Peru, Portugal and Spain were represented. However, no proposals were made to give the IC any form of any sort. Cliff Slaughter remains the

## Mathematicians Demand Release of Plyushch

[The following appeal appeared in the February 2-3 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde*.]

"It has become an urgent necessity to save Plyushch and those associated with him. It is a duty that falls not only upon his colleagues, but to all men worthy of the name. . . . It is necessary to secure an examination of him by international psychiatric experts, and to enable jurists and influential colleagues to make an inspection, on the spot, of the conditions of his detention."

These lines are excerpts from the Free Opinion column by Professor Henri Cartan published in the December 28, 1974, *Le Monde*. The Soviet mathematician Leonid Plyushch is still held in the psychiatric prison-hospital of Dnepropetrovsk. He has just been transferred to the ward for dangerous lunatics.

On behalf of:

- T. Jitnikova, wife of L. Plyushch, living at 33 Entousiastov, kv. 36, Kiev 147, Ukraine (USSR);
- T.S. Khodorovich, former scientific worker at the Russian Language Institute of the Academy of Science of the USSR, living in Moscow, 63 Mira Prospect, Apt. 56 (telephone 281-88-15);
- Yu. F. Orlov, professor, corresponding member of the Armenian Academy of Science, living in Moscow, 102 Profsoyuznaia St., Block 7, Apt. 1 (telephone 129-51-60).

December 20, 1974

We appeal to independent international associations of jurists and psychiatrists, asking them to provide the wife of L.I. Plyushch with a lawyer and a consulting psychiatrist for the legal action she intends to launch against the medical personnel of the special psychiatric hospital at Dnepropetrovsk, in connection with the detention and illegal treatment of Leonid Ivanovich Plyushch.

We assert that Leonid Plyushch is in perfect mental health and that no one has any right whatsoever to hold him in any way in a psychiatric hospital and to subject him to treatment there. We are ready to supply you with all the documentation necessary for your participa-

only elected official of the IC. He gives almost no time to this task. There are no elected bodies. The IC is, as we shall see, whatever the Workers Revolutionary Party wants it to be. It is the WRP which writes whatever statements are occasionally issued. It is the WRP which calls whatever meetings of the IC that are held and which determines what sections should attend. It is Comrade Gerry Healy who determines what the WRP determines.

[Next week:

A Merry "Christmas" for Healy]

tion in the case.

In pressing for the participation of foreign jurists and psychiatrists in the case, we are fully aware of the fact that honest and conscientious psychiatrists undoubtedly exist in the Soviet Union. However, the institution in which L. Plyushch has been placed is under the direction of the minister of the interior, and the participation of such jurists or doctors would be, unfortunately, impossible.

If we appeal to international associations, it is also because the point at issue is more than an attack on human rights or a simple infraction of health department regulations. It is criminal to administer massive doses of sedatives to a healthy individual. The treatment is carried out in conditions that are themselves intolerable: frightful overcrowding, dirty and threadbare clothing, abnormal nourishment.

The only real chance of saving L. Plyushch is to assure that objective and independent persons participate in the legal proceedings.

Our ultimate aim is to win for L. Plyushch and *all* his family the legal right to leave the Soviet Union. However, Plyushch's wife was officially informed by the Kiev OVIR [visa office] on December 16, 1974, that his emigration cannot be considered by the authorities until after his release from the hospital.

We earnestly request your urgent intervention. In the case that now concerns us, the case of Leonid Plyushch, it is no longer a question of saving his health but indeed of saving his life.

(The International Committee of Mathematicians for the Defense of Leonid Plyushch is prepared to supply all information concerning the case of Plyushch and to work with jurists and psychiatrists to respond to this appeal.

(This appeal, whose publication here has been paid for by the Mathematicians Committee, is supported by the French League for the Defense of the Rights of Man and Citizen.

(The International Committee for the Defense of L. Plyushch: Michel Broue, 18, rue du General-Pajol.—77130 Montreuil.) □



# FROM OUR READERS

From Lagos, Nigeria, Ola Musa writes that he is a quite young "regular reader of Intercontinental Press which I always borrow from a friend."

Recently, he continues, the Gowon government has been stepping up repressive actions against "trade unionists, intellectuals and workers who voiced out their demands or commented on the situation in the country."

The Nigerian press has remained silent about this "because most of the papers are government owned and the ones which are not are progovernment."

Ola Musa cites the following cases that he knows about:

"In Benue-Plateau state, some workers of the National Electric Power Authority, who had embarked on a strike in demand of their own salary award were rounded up, detained and labelled saboteurs.

"In Lagos state, an industrial economist and writer, Mr. Tony Engurobe; a lecturer in mathematics at the University of Lagos, Mr. Edwin Madunagu; an economist, Dr. Olu Akintunde; and an author and publisher, Mr. Charles Akinde, were arrested and detained. They are all under state detention and nobody, even their wives, are allowed to see them.

"Mr. Tony Engurobe was arrested by military men at a bus stop. They said he was distributing some papers. Dr. Olu Akintunde and Edwin Madunagu were arrested when they went to bail him out.

"As for Charles Akinde, he was arrested at a printer's workshop six days after his arrival from the North where he went to give a lecture at the Ahmadu Bello University Zaria.

"No public statements have been made about the four by the police, but I understand that the police are still carrying on an investigation. This was confirmed by the appearance of plainclothes policemen at every bus stop in Lagos."

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Occasionally some of our readers in prison are transferred. Nearly always they write us about putting their new address through promptly. They want to make sure that any break in receiving *Intercontinental Press* is not our fault—or theirs—and they want our cooperation in following through in case the issues they are entitled to get tangled up in red tape and are not delivered.

Here are two typical letters received from readers in different prisons:

T.J. wrote from California: "I have been

receiving the I.P. weekly and look forward to the very interesting, and informative reporting by your staff. Hopefully, you will be able to change the subscription to my new address as promptly as possible. I certainly don't want to miss any of the issues if it can be avoided. I will let you know as soon as I start receiving the I.P. at my new address.

"Thanks very much for sending me the I.P."

R.H. wrote from New York: "I am writing to request that you change my subscription to INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS over from [ . . . ].

"I would like to also specifically state that I certainly do not take receiving this subscription that you have been sending me now for well over a year for granted. I appreciate very much your sending this publication and say that without doubt it is by far the most thorough and analytical socialist publication around.

"If at all possible I would also appreciate it very much if you are able to send me all the editions from the index number dated December 30, 1974, which is the last one that I have received as a result of my transfer from one prison to another.

"Thank you very much for your continuing support and solidarity."

Because of their straitened circumstances, it is difficult for prisoners to keep up subscriptions. To help in this, we accept contributions from other readers. Send whatever you can afford for this purpose to *Intercontinental Press*, P.O. Box 116, Village Station, New York, N.Y. 10014.

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Some of you may have noticed the new typeface we are using. Called Century Schoolbook, it is available in various sizes. We are trying out "8 point," which is a trifle smaller than the older typeface we were using.

The main advantage of the new typeface is that it enables us to get more words into a page. The objective of that is to be able to handle the steadily increasing flow of material we are receiving without a big jump in the number of pages, a financial hurdle we are not yet able to pass.

It is claimed that the new typeface is just as legible as the old, if not more so. However, we will admit that the staff appear to be cleaning their glasses more frequently than they used to. Perhaps it's a concerted show of disapproval.

We hope that none of our readers will feel compelled to buy a magnifying lens because of this change. If so, write us. The editor promises full cooperation, even to revealing the brand name of the one he has been using for some time. □

## Special Offer



Malcolm X

To help celebrate the tenth anniversary of *Intercontinental Press*, reproductions of sketches by Carpain, artist for *Intercontinental Press*, were published by the New York Local of the Socialist Workers party and bound in an 8.5" x 11" book. The aim was to use the money gained from sales to help us begin publishing articles in Spanish.

The drawings, of various sizes, include portraits of Hugo Blanco, Malcolm X, James P. Cannon, Che Guevara, Cesar Chavez, Leon Trotsky, and many more, some of which are suitable for framing.

A limited number of copies of this collection of drawings are now available for only \$5.

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