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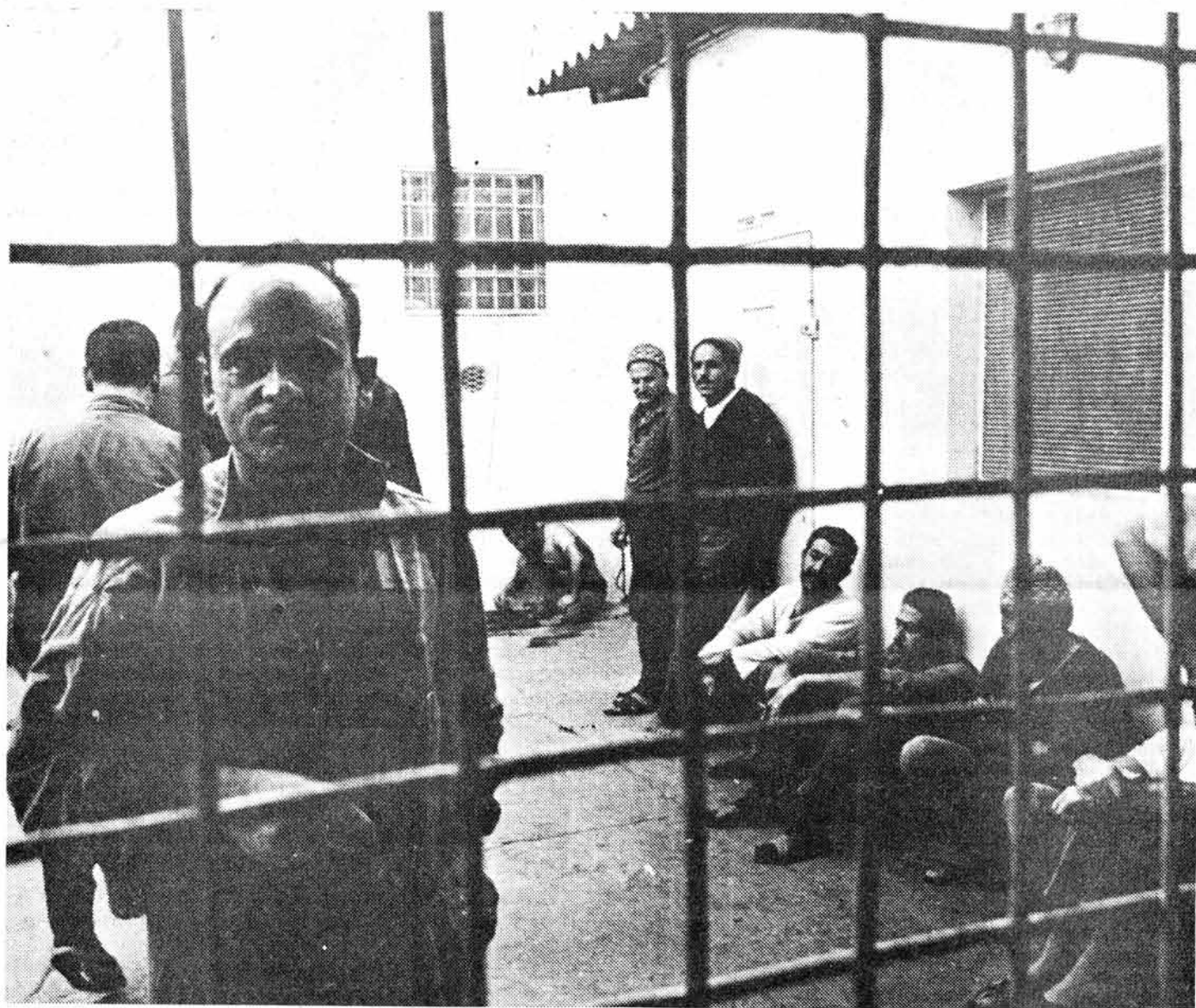
the Americas

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March 31, 1975

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Palestinian prisoners in an Israeli jail.

Jerusalem Post

An Interview With Israel Shahak

'Israel Is About as Apartheid as South Africa'

An FBI Obsessed by Trotskyism

Secret FBI files, made public by the Socialist Workers party March 19, reveal that for at least thirty-one years the Federal Bureau of Investigation has devoted considerable resources to containing and, if possible, destroying the Socialist Workers party.

The files, turned over to the SWP in compliance with a federal court order, constitute the most revealing material to yet come to light of the working of the FBI.

The material consists of 3,138 pages of FBI memos. The 412 separate documents make up only the *first installment* of material the FBI has been ordered to make public. They include heavily censored records of the following violations of the civil liberties of members and supporters of the SWP and the Trotskyist youth organization, the Young Socialist Alliance:

- Forty-one separate "disruption" programs against the SWP and YSA as part of the FBI's "Cointelpro" (Counterintelligence Program), totaling 573 pages.

- Sixty-three "investigative" files on fifteen members of the SWP and YSA, totaling 614 pages.

- Twenty-three quarterly "field reports" on the SWP from 1966 to 1974, and sixteen semiannual "field reports" on the YSA from 1966 to 1974, totaling 1,763 pages.

- Three ten-year "summary reports" on the SWP, dated 1944, 1955, and 1965, totaling 188 pages.

In addition, vast quantities of further documentation are to be made available when the FBI complies with the full directives of the court order. Still to come are an undetermined number of Cointelpro files, more "investigative" files on some 334 individuals who ran for office since 1968 on the SWP ticket, along with files from other government agencies including the Central Intelligence Agency, the Selective Service System, and Military Intelligence.

The documents reveal that the FBI stepped up its activities against the SWP and YSA in proportion to its assessment of the organizations' growing political influence.

The files reveal, for example, that when former FBI director J. Edgar Hoover personally authorized a broader attack against the SWP in 1961 (the original Cointelpro "disruption" program against the party), he justified it on the basis of his

estimate that the SWP was "strongly directing and/or supporting such causes as Castro's Cuba and integration problems arising in the South." The memo makes clear that Hoover shared the SWP's assessment that these were two of the most important political issues of the early 1960s.

A later memo, dated March 1964, explained that the FBI wanted to "seriously cripple SWP efforts to gain influence in the Negro civil rights field." "It is noted," the memo continued, "that this is the number one propaganda effort of the SWP, epitomized by their running CLIFTON DE BERRY, a Negro, as SWP Presidential candidate."

The FBI's concern in this area is further documented in the voluminous files the agency has turned over on Andrew Pulley, the party's Black vice-presidential candidate in the last national election. The file on Pulley is the thickest of those received to date. The documents show that "they followed me on a daily basis," Pulley reported, "particularly during my campaign in 1972."

Washington's political police were also plainly worried about the SWP's role in the effort to mobilize opposition against the Vietnam War. Referring to a lurid red-

baiting leaflet manufactured secretly by the FBI, which was circulated "anonymously" to antiwar activists to stir them up against the SWP, an FBI memo explains that its purpose was "to cause disruption in the peace movement, primarily in the New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, and to minimize the growing influence of the SWP in the movement."

These files prove that for decades the FBI has selected the SWP as one of its main targets. Yet they also prove that in all this time the FBI has been unable to come up with a single shred of evidence that could substantiate prosecution of the SWP for criminal activities.

In the capitalist press, wonderment is being voiced over such expensive attention over such a prolonged period to "very small potatoes." The truth is that Hoover could see the potential of Trotskyism.

To him the American Trotskyist movement represented the wave of the future—a tiny organization now but one that could come to express the will of tens of millions of revolutionary-minded workers and their allies. So he set out with his witch-hunting broom to keep that advancing wave swept back before it was too late.

The *Militant* is now publishing extensive excerpts from the files of the FBI along with explanatory articles. This material should be carefully studied by everyone concerned about civil liberties and democratic rights. The FBI memorandums and samples of their red-baiting poison-pen letters, scurrilous news handouts, and foul leaflets constitute priceless evidence of how America's political police operate against protest movements and labor organizations.

The American Workers Begin to Serve Notice

The American working class and its allies are beginning to serve notice that they are growing impatient with the situation in the United States.

They see the economic slump getting progressively worse, with the government doing virtually nothing about it while the unemployment lines grow longer and longer.

They see racists growing bolder, resorting with impunity to violence to block desegregation of the schools.

This rise in militancy is behind the scheduling of two major demonstrations for this spring that are being organized on a nationwide basis, although they will focus on two cities. Each demonstration can be expected to have an impact going far beyond the borders of the United States.

The Industrial Union Department (IUD) of the AFL-CIO, the U.S. trade-union

federation, has called a national march for jobs, to be held in Washington, D.C., April 26. For May 17, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) has called a national march on Boston, the current focal point of the racist offensive in the United States.

The IUD has fifty-eight affiliates among AFL-CIO unions, numbering about six million workers. The NAACP is the oldest and, with 400,000 members, the largest civil rights organization in the country. Both organizations clearly have the resources to help assemble the forces necessary for powerful, united mobilizations.

These calls to action testify to the rising anger of American workers, particularly Blacks. Nationally, 8.2% of the work force is officially listed as unemployed. The real figure, taking into account those who are

"underemployed" or who have given up looking for work, is much higher.

In the big industrial centers, hardest hit by the economic slump, the figure is higher still. In Detroit, for example, the official unemployment rate has jumped in one year from 9.1% to 23%, an unemployment level as high as the United States suffered during the Great Depression of the 1930s. In the Black neighborhoods of East Detroit, the unemployment rate ranges from 36% to 62%.

For Black teen-agers, the prospects of finding a job are practically nonexistent. In "good times," say in 1969 when overall unemployment was listed at 3.5%, the Black teen-age unemployment rate was 24%. Today it is 41.2%.

Leaders of the Black community do not believe that unemployment rates this high can continue without major social explosions.

In commenting on the latest jobless figures, Herbert Hill, national labor director of the NAACP, said that "we now have all the historical preconditions for large-scale social unrest."

He believes that the "disastrously high rate of unemployment among Black youth is the single most explosive factor in causing potential unrest."

In a survey of national opinion printed March 20, the *New York Times* drew attention to another development: Fewer and fewer people believe that the government can do anything to solve the economic mess. "Fear of economic catastrophe," a *Times* reporter found, is being "fanned by the widespread conviction that neither major political party has the leadership or ideas to right the nation's economy."

A worker interviewed by the *Times* put it more bluntly: "... when I realized that these Congressmen—Democrats and Republicans—they don't know any more than I do, I knew it was time to worry."

Black people in Boston are worried as much for their physical safety as for their jobs. Racist opposition to the right of Blacks to send their children to white schools, by busing if necessary, has included physical intimidation, at times reaching the level of lynch action.

Racists look to Boston as a testing ground. If they are defeated there, they know that Black communities in the rest of the country will redouble their efforts in behalf of school desegregation. The racists are therefore mobilizing.

The NAACP's call for direct action to halt the racist offensive in Boston, like the AFL-CIO's call for a march on Washington, demonstrates the growing pressure Blacks and working people throughout the country are putting on the organizations that traditionally represent them. An impressive turnout can lay the groundwork for even more powerful actions in the future. □

March 31, 1975

In This Issue

Closing Date: March 24, 1975

FEATURES	437	The Secret of Healy's Dialectics —by Joseph Hansen
VIETNAM	420	Saigon: Will the Retreat Turn Into a Rout? —by Peter Green
CAMBODIA	422	Phnompenh Students Call for End to U.S. Aid —by Peter Green
PORTUGAL	423 425	The Mass Pressures Mount—by Dick Fidler Eyewitness Describes Mood in Portugal After Coup Attempt
IRAN	426	Shah Tightens Reins Over 'Opposition' —by Majid Namvar
	426	"CAIFI Newsletter"—Publication Campaigns for Defense of Iranian Political Prisoners
INDIA	427	Moscow's Stake in Indian Capitalism —by Sharad Jhaveri
ISRAEL	428	"Israel Is About as Apartheid as South Africa"
NEWS ANALYSIS	418 418	An FBI Obsessed by Trotskyism The American Workers Begin to Serve Notice
AROUND THE WORLD	432	From Tokyo to Paris, Rallies Mark Interna- tional Women's Day
DOCUMENTS	444 446 447	The Times's Summary of the Scarman Report The IMG Replies to the Scarman Report Italian Trotskyists Call for Antifascist United Front
	448	Thornett Replies to Attacks on Redgrave Loan
DRAWINGS	424	Alvaro Cunhal; 426, Shah Riza Pahlevi; 427, Indira Gandhi—by Copain
EN ESPAÑOL:		
PERU	434	Entrevista con Hugo Blanco Sobre la Situación en el Perú

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Saigon: Will the Retreat Turn Into a Rout?

By Peter Green

The most stunning defeat for U.S. imperialism and its Saigon puppets in the history of the Indochina war is now taking place. In the space of a week a massive retreat by the Saigon army has relinquished more than two-thirds of South Vietnam to the liberation forces, and the consensus among most observers is that worse is yet to come.

Thieu's withdrawal of his troops created a sensation in Washington. On March 18 it was learned that the regime was abandoning the three provinces of Kontum, Pleiku, and Darlac in the Central Highlands. Two days later it was ten provinces—most of the inland part of the country north of Saigon. By March 23 it was clear that even the coastal strip would not last much longer.

The aim behind the huge retreat by Thieu's forces appeared to be to form a series of defensible "enclaves," from Saigon and the Mekong Delta to Da Nang in the north, connected by a thin strip along the coast.

According to a report in the March 22 *New York Times*, Pentagon officials were doubtful that the regime would even be able to hold onto Da Nang. Evacuations continued all along the coast—even from the new headquarters for Military Region II, which shifted to Nha Trang from abandoned Pleiku city in the highlands.

Saigon itself may be threatened. One of the reasons given for the precipitous retreat from the northern two-thirds of the country was the need to rush troops back to defend the capital. Communist demolition units have been reported in the city's suburbs. Fighting occurred only six miles away. According to a dispatch from Philip A. McCombs in the March 23 *Washington Post*, the regime is considering stationing troops in tall buildings in key areas where street fighting might occur.

"United States experts believe the Saigon area is the military key to the immediate future," said the March 23 *New York Times*. "The speed with which the North Vietnamese assemble sizable forces near the capital, the Americans believe, may prevent Mr. Thieu's armies from establishing a coherent defense perimeter.

"If that should be the case, the Thieu regime may be in danger of total collapse, either through military defeat, a loss of popular support or both."

The Pentagon sees no hope of holding the line in the north, and is banking everything on defending Saigon and launching

counterattacks by Thieu's troops from there.

"Whatever they do, they must do it soon," said one officer in Washington quoted by Drew Middleton in the *New York Times*. "A little more delay and they may lose control of the situation around Saigon. Then—bloody!"

White House spokesmen have denied any responsibility for this new defeat. They have even denied being informed in advance of the withdrawal. The retreat was "very much a South Vietnamese decision," said one administration official.

The attempt by Washington to avoid blame is so much hogwash. It installed Thieu and holds all the strings.

In fact, Washington is responsible for this latest move as well. The strategy of pulling back to "defensible" enclaves has been advocated by some Pentagon strategists for the last five years. According to James M. Markham in a dispatch to the March 18 *New York Times*, "military analysts have long considered the withdrawal an eventual necessity."

Perhaps the clearest indication of Pentagon thinking was given by Gen. William Westmoreland, the former U.S. commander in Vietnam. He termed the retreat a "prudent action."

The general may have made this ploy only to help provide Thieu with a badly needed smokescreen on the publicity front. Westmoreland's interpretation was backed by part of the American capitalist press. They called it a "regrouping operation," "a decision as bold as the North Vietnamese attacks."

The March 18 *New York Times* quoted one Western military analyst as saying that the pullout decision was "not all black."

There were other indications that at least the State Department was tipped off on the impending withdrawal. On March 15, three days before the evacuation of the highlands began in earnest, the U.S. embassy evacuated virtually all Americans from the region. An embassy spokesman called it "a precautionary, temporary measure."

The news media have played up atrocity stories, featuring in particular alleged barbarous acts committed against the refugees by Communist-led forces. The stories remain to be verified.

According to some reports the insurgents were helping out in the retreat. As a

company of Saigon troops withdrew from Quang Tri, said Malcolm Browne in a March 20 dispatch to the *New York Times*, "... North Vietnamese military units approached, but did not open fire, using the strong headlights of their tanks to light the way for the Government troops."

Few major engagements have taken place, and the casualty figures reported in this enormous transfer of territory have been light.

In most cases no attempt has been made by the liberation forces to disrupt the movement of refugees. The road from Hue along which refugees were fleeing to Da Nang was "unhindered by any Communist harassment despite the closeness of major North Vietnamese units," Browne reported March 22.

There were reports of attacks on the huge exodus from the highlands that was attempting to reach the coast down a disused trail. But the fact that the insurgents had total control over all roads out of the highlands and could have blocked the refugee column at will indicates that their policy was to let it through.

In fact much of the destruction came from the looting and pillage carried out by some of the Saigon troops. Most reports indicated the gravest danger for the refugees was death from hunger and thirst.

Why this enormous retreat? And why at this time?

Central to the countrywide collapse of the Saigon regime's position was the danger to Saigon itself. Tay Ninh city, just fifty-five miles northwest of the capital, was surrounded by Communist troops. The only road to Saigon had been cut several times, and after a string of victories in the area the insurgents appeared ready to drive on Saigon. Heavy fighting was also occurring to the northeast near Xuan Loc, forty miles from the capital. Highway 1, the main coast road connecting Saigon with the north, was cut, and the insurgents threatened to consolidate an arc of control just north of Saigon stretching from Cambodia to the coast.

The final incident that led to the collapse of Thieu's position was the liberation on March 14 of Ban Me Thuot, the capital of Darlac Province in the highlands. The Communists had already cut all the main roads leading out of the highlands and had surrounded the district capitals of Kontum and Pleiku. With effective control of the highlands they were in position to drive to the sea and split the Saigon-held territory, or move to the south and reinforce the attack on Saigon.

What has emerged clearly in the past week is that Saigon's army is rotten through and through, and no match for the liberation forces. McCombs reported that "in most places where the government has

stood and fought its forces have been defeated."

The regime's armed forces total about 980,000 men and possess one of the largest air forces in the world, yet they are being outfought by much smaller forces that lack the most modern weapons and have no air force. Even in the battle for Ban Me Thuot it was reported that the size of the insurgent force was not great.

Republican Congressman Paul McCloskey said of this aspect of the defeat: "There can be only one answer for this situation: The aggressiveness, will and sense of purpose of the North, its leaders and its soldiers, presently far exceed the aggressiveness, will and sense of purpose of the bulk of their South Vietnamese counterparts." The morale of a people fighting for their liberation from imperialism will inevitably be higher than that of an army of mercenaries and conscripts.

The corruption of the Saigon regime has further weakened its army. In addition, heroin addiction is reportedly widespread among the puppet troops, especially in the highlands. According to the February 23 *New York Times*, about 30 percent of the soldiers and airmen stationed in Pleiku were using heroin.

A key reason for the rapid collapse of Thieu's position in the highlands appears to have been the growing disaffection of the Montagnard peoples.

The Montagnards had at one time been organized and trained by the U.S. Green Berets and the CIA, but the February 24 *New York Times* reported that in the last few months an armed rebellion of dissident tribesmen had broken out in Darlac Province.

The attack on Ban Me Thuot was apparently led by Montagnards. Agence-France Presse reporter Paul Leandri was killed by Saigon police on March 14 after he wrote an article reporting this. He had refused to disclose the name of his source, a Vietnamese priest who had escaped from the besieged highlands city.

Estimates of the number of refugees leaving the abandoned areas have been as high as half a million. "Why do they flee?" asked an editorial in the March 23 *New York Times*. The editors offered various reasons: because they have been ordered to go by the Saigon government, because they are trying to escape the war itself, because they fear the unknown. A more concrete reason was supplied by Philip McCombs in a dispatch to the March 20 *Washington Post*:

"Sources said the government has declared Pleiku and Kontum free-fire zones, that is, the military may attack them without prior political clearance. Since then more than 50 bombing sorties over the highlands have destroyed 100 airplanes, oil depots, ammunition dumps and other im-



Washington Post

Thieu had lost shaded areas by March 22. Striped provinces were about to go.

portant government positions, sources said. "We're following a scorched earth policy like the Russians used against Hitler," said a government official."

In spite of all this, many people remained in the abandoned areas. On March 23 the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam issued an international appeal for foreign aid to help feed more than a million people who have now come under its rule in the Central Highlands.

American imperialism has been forced to recognize a humiliating defeat in Vietnam. After the expenditure of \$150 billion, after the death of 55,000 U.S. soldiers in Vietnam, and after countless Vietnamese deaths, Washington is forced to recognize the liberation of cities and provinces that have been fought over so bitterly—names like Hue, Kontum, and Pleiku, which have been seared so deeply into the memories of the American people.

Yet the White House is still pressing for more money to prop up their Saigon puppet; and if it is not granted, to place all the blame on Congress for the defeat. According to Pentagon chief Schlesinger the cause of the retreat was the "niggardly" level of U.S. support. Gen. George Brown, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, said that South Vietnamese "backs are against the wall"

partly because of the lack of U.S. military aid.

Kissinger let it be known that he would not have signed the 1973 Paris "peace" agreements if he had anticipated that Congress would reduce aid to Saigon. There were also rumblings from the White House that it didn't feel "bound" by the 1973 agreements any longer.

What has "bound" imperialism has been the mass antiwar sentiment in the United States and around the world. In the wake of Watergate and the developing U.S. economic crisis, the options of Ford and Kissinger are limited even further. Their wisest course would be to end their intervention in Vietnam right now and allow the Vietnamese people to settle their own affairs. □

Zimbabwe Leader Herbert Chitepo Assassinated in Lusaka, Zambia

Herbert Chitepo, who was a representative of the African National Council and the chairman of the Zimbabwe African National Union, was assassinated in Lusaka, Zambia, March 18 when his car drove over a land mine planted in his driveway. Also killed in the blast were Cyrus Shamiisa, one of Chitepo's aides, and a two-year-old child.

ZANU has been the most active of the guerrilla groups in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia). Together with the Zimbabwe African People's Union and the Front for the Liberation of Zimbabwe, ZANU entered into a coalition with the ANC in December to present a united front in negotiations with the white minority regime in Salisbury. Chitepo's assassination came two weeks after the racist Rhodesian regime arrested the Reverend Ndabaningi Sithole, another leader of ZANU (see *Intercontinental Press*, March 24, p. 410).

Zimbabwe nationalists blamed the assassination on agents of "the Rhodesian settler regime," and Edson Sithole, a leader of the ANC, said that Chitepo's death and the arrest of Ndabaningi Sithole "have shattered irreparably the exercise of detente and a negotiated settlement for Rhodesia."

Hundreds of African students demonstrated in Salisbury and blamed Chitepo's assassination on the settler regime. Police attacked the protest, tried to disperse it, and arrested an African member of Parliament, Godfrey Chidyaisiku.

The Liberation Committee of the Organization of African Unity released a statement March 19 saying that Chitepo's death was final proof that the regime of Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith was not interested in a peaceful settlement in Zimbabwe. The OAU also called on the Zimbabwe guerrillas to prepare for renewed war against the white minority regime.

Pnompenh Students Call for End to U.S. Aid

By Peter Green

Rumors that Lon Nol is about to appoint a successor and flee the country are flying thick and fast in Pnompenh. A dispatch in the March 23 *New York Times* said he had already bundled up his belongings and obtained passports for himself and his family. He is reported to have told aides that his departure "will depend on the situation."

Most of the other rats in Pnompenh have already left or are getting ready to jump from the sinking ship.

The commander of the puppet troops, Gen. Sosthene Fernandez, was dismissed (or resigned) March 11. By March 18 he had arrived in Thailand with his family on the way to France. He was supposedly going to Paris for a three-month health cure for his diabetes, but according to "knowledgeable sources" quoted in the March 20 *Washington Post*, he was getting a permanent apartment there.

At the U.S. embassy on March 18, the anniversary of the U.S.-backed coup five years ago, officials were burning files in preparation for hasty evacuation.

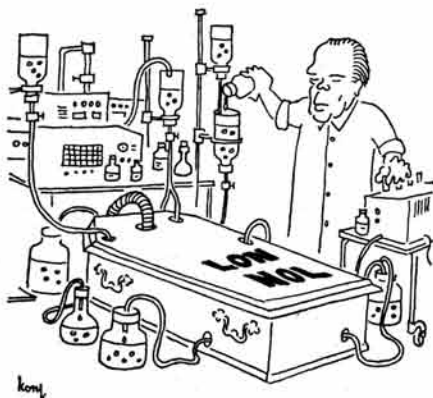
"Everyone is trying to be casual, but they are packing furiously," a visitor to the homes of several U.S. diplomats told the Associated Press. By March 17 a giant C-130 transport plane loaded with personal effects and furniture of the embassy staff had left Pnompenh.

The British embassy pulled out March 21, leaving the U.S. embassy as the last imperialist mission in Cambodia. The French, Israeli, Australian, and West German embassies or diplomatic missions had already left. A report in the March 21 *New York Times* said that the British, like the French and Australians, "will not dispose of the buildings in the expectation of returning under a government of the Communist-led insurgents."

On March 17 the U.S. embassy asked the main international relief agency, Catholic Relief Services, to evacuate most of its staff "until the situation clarifies a bit." When the news broke that more than half of the agency's personnel were leaving, the embassy hastily tried to play it down, denying that it had "ordered" the evacuation, merely "suggested" it.

Dr. Gay Alexander, the agency's medical director, denounced the U.S. military aid policy as she left Pnompenh:

"They use and manipulate the ordinary people of this country," she said. "They



Konk/Le Monde

hold back rice for the highest bidder, while hundreds are dying of malnutrition every day. Economic aid with no U.S. strings attached should continue, but military aid must be stopped now."

The military situation facing the Pnompenh regime has gotten worse each day.

The barrage of rebel rockets and shells hitting Pnompenh's airport has led to interruptions of the U.S. airlift. Insurgent gunners scored a direct hit on an ammunition dump at the airport March 13. Two storage sheds and two Cambodian planes were destroyed, and the airport was closed the rest of the day. The airlift was interrupted again March 21, and on March 22 a DC-8 carrying rice and a C-130 transport loaded with fuel were put out of action by rocket fire. The airlift was suspended for three days.

Attempts to push the insurgents out of range of the airport have failed. The puppet troops reoccupied the town of Tuol Leap on March 15, and it was described in the *New York Times* as "the first major advance by Government troops since the start of the insurgent offensive this year." The following day, however, Lon Nol's forces were surrounded and cut off by the same troops they had driven out.

The regime's only toehold on the lower Mekong River is at Neak Luong, and according to James Fenton in the March 18 *Washington Post* the town "is expected to fall shortly." The area held by the Lon Nol forces was reportedly less than two-miles wide, and fighting was taking place in the streets. The airstrip had been captured, and the town was supplied by airdrop, much of which fell behind insurgent lines.

For several days even helicopters had been unable to get in and out, according to the March 21 *Christian Science Monitor*.

The "rice bowl" province of Battambang has been liberated by the insurgents, and the regime's control of the town of Battambang is now threatened. This region was the last area of any size held by the Pnompenh regime.

In Pnompenh a campus rally by a thousand university students March 19 urged the U.S. Congress to end aid to Cambodia and called for the removal of the Lon Nol regime. A demonstration the day before had been blocked by police.

"Any more aid will not lead to a peaceful settlement but will only prolong the war," said a student leader. He charged that U.S. aid "went only to the high-ranking officers and officials." The students said they would back "any government—Communist or not—as long as it brings peace."

Leaflets denouncing U.S. aid have been circulating in the city. "The Khmer people thoroughly support the American Congress which opposes providing aid to the contemptible Phnom Penh traitors," said one put out by an organization calling itself the "Voice of the Khmer People."

The White House request for additional aid is being shuffled back and forth in Congress, but the issue is fast becoming irrelevant as it grows clearer that no amount of military aid will save the regime. Whatever the action of Congress, though, the aid continues. The Pentagon announced March 17 that it had "found" in its coffers a spare \$21.5 million that was due Lon Nol. He had been "overcharged" last year.

Leaders of both the Democrats and Republicans in Congress have called for Lon Nol to step down, hoping that a replacement might be able to negotiate a deal of some kind with the insurgents. But even if an appointee is found who will accept the job—understandably the competition for the post isn't too intense—it won't save the puppet regime. Norodom Sihanouk responded to rumors that Lon Nol was quitting by stating that anyone appointed by Lon Nol wouldn't be worth talking to either. □

French Draftees Win Pay Raise

Following demonstrations and protests by French army draftees against oppressive conditions and restrictions on democratic rights (see *Intercontinental Press*, February 24, p. 243), President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing announced an increase in pay and improved conditions. The pay to draftees is to be raised from \$18 to \$50 a month. But this would still leave the French draftees at the second-lowest pay level in Europe, just above that for draftees in Italy.

Intercontinental Press

The Mass Pressures Mount in Portugal

By Dick Fidler

"'People's Bank'—the banner, hastily put together, floated in the breeze in the facade of the National Overseas Bank branch facing the Praça de Rossio. A large crowd had gathered around. Under a cold drizzle, the employees were explaining to surprised passersby that 'on this historic day, the people have confiscated from the rich the bulwark of their power.'"

"The discussion came to life when a critic, skeptical or worried about his portfolio, dared to suggest that 'nationalization will simply enable the state to take other people's money to line its own pockets.' He was met by a general outcry of angry voices, and a woman worker replied with naïve delight: 'So what? After all, now we are the state.'"

The euphoric atmosphere described by *Le Monde* correspondents Dominique Pouchin and José Rebelo, in the March 16-17 issue of the Paris daily, is understandable. When the military officers Conselho da Revolução, the Revolutionary Council, decreed the nationalization of "all private banking with headquarters in Portugal and adjacent islands," it took direct control of a substantial part of the holdings of the major commercial and financial "groups" that dominate the Portuguese economy. Like many backward capitalist countries, Portugal is characterized by a "two-tiered" industrial structure, divided between a large number of small, relatively inefficient, low-productivity firms, and a few giant companies with extensive and highly concentrated holdings in both Portugal and Africa.

Slightly more than 150 corporations, fewer than 0.5 percent of the 40,000 privately owned firms in Portugal, account for about 53 percent of total corporate assets. And these corporations are in turn divided among a few large groups, each identified with well-known families and each possessing its own bank or banks. In 1972, the latest year for which statistics are available, 7 banks accounted for 83 percent of deposits and 83 percent of investments of the 17 leading commercial banks operating within Portugal itself.*

* Seven of Portugal's financial "groups" or cartels were affected by the nationalization measures. These were Totta e Açores, Espírito Santo, Pinto e Sotto Mayor, Português do Atlântico, Borges e Irmão, Nacional Ultramarino, and Fonecas e Burnay. Some of these banks are closely linked to the big industrial trusts Companhia União Fabril (CUF) and Champalimaud.

Under the military council's decree, these institutions passed into the direct control of the government. It was by far the most important economic measure since the military coup of April 25, 1974, that overthrew the Salazarist dictatorship.

The March 14 decree followed the occupation of the banks by the workers, determined to prevent the owners from using their wealth to finance further attempts to restore a repressive government. (In the upsurge following the defeat of the March 11 coup attempt, it was scarcely noticed that the bank workers' occupation was in fact an illegal action that contravened the regime's own strike law, which bans factory occupations and political strikes.)

On March 15, the insurance companies were occupied by employees demanding their nationalization, and before the day was out they too had been taken over by the military council. The council described its action as a logical consequence of the bank nationalization, "fully justified by the fact that the insurance companies hold large amounts of capital that they had used not for the benefit of the working class, but to further increase the profits of a minority of privileged elements."

While foreign-owned insurance companies would not be affected by the nationalization decree, the council said, government representatives would be delegated on their boards "in order to guarantee effective control by the state."

The main bosses organization, the Confederation of Portuguese Industry (CIP), has maintained discreet silence on the military council's recent measures. "But the employers seem especially apprehensive about the 'dynamic' of such a policy, which, after banking, could be extended to other vital sectors of industrial and commercial activity," *Le Monde's* correspondents said.

"The employers think that the military nationalized credit because the employees, outflanking the trade-union and party structures, pushed them into it. There is no reason why that could not happen again in some other branch of the economy. It cannot be denied that the decision by the leaders of the Armed Forces Movement (MFA) was

These two trusts dominate almost all sectors of the economy. The more than 100 companies comprising CUF alone account for one-tenth of all Portugal's corporate assets, including a major share of the soap, chemical, and textile industries.

clearly influenced by the pressure of the bank workers, who began their strike March 11. The left-wing parties were not prepared for such a rapid development, and a Communist party leader was even agreeing, on the eve of the nationalization decree, that this measure could not be taken 'for months, if not for years.'"

The bank workers were quick to celebrate their victory. Almost 15,000 of them marched through the streets of Lisbon on March 14, within hours of the nationalization decree, and that night thousands rallied again at the presidential palace.

Meanwhile, more than 2,000 workers from Banco Espírito Santo e Comercial de Lisboa, the main commercial bank in Portugal, held a general assembly at the Sports Palace. Five members of the Espírito Santo family, the bank's previous owners, had been arrested by the armed forces on the night of March 11-12 and accused of complicity in the coup attempt.

The president of the union, Anselmo José Dias, told the meeting that the union's research had proved that the bank's former owners were guilty of "acts of sabotage" against the Portuguese national economy. Since April 25, 1974, they had deliberately transferred money into foreign accounts, retained emigrant workers' remittances in foreign banks, and granted large interest-free loans to firms belonging to the same business group, he said. (An account of the meeting appeared in the March 15 issue of *Diário de Notícias*, a Lisbon daily.)

Since April 25, the union's members had combed through the bank records, photocopying evidence of the owners' links with extreme right-wing parties, including some banned since Spínola's first attempted coup in September. Some of this information, already presented to the government, was revealed to the meeting. For example, on September 2, shortly before the first major rightist mobilization, an account had been opened in the bank's headquarters branch, in the name of, among others, the chairman of the information commission of the Party of Progress. No money was ever deposited in the account, but checks were issued, according to the union, to finance propaganda for the demonstration of the rightist "silent majority" on September 28.

Another account, to the value of US\$50,000, opened by Manuel Ricardo Espírito Santo on September 25, had served to cover several overdrawn checks issued by members of the same party. Similarly, an account with about US\$200,000 was opened in August to finance the Social Democratic Center party; the Liberal party received more than US\$70,000 in August; and leaders of the Christian Democratic party were authorized to overdraw the party's account.

Moreover, the union report revealed, the

Espírito Santo bank had underwritten about US\$250,000 of the expenses incurred by the Popular Democratic party, one of the parties in the present governmental coalition. Canceled checks showed that the money had been spent on opinion polls, press advertisements, travel costs, leaflets, and the purchase of automobiles.

In the presence of the minister of labor and the secretaries of state for labor and employment, who had been invited to the bank workers assembly, José Dias declared that the nationalization of the banks—which the union had been demanding since January, he said—was consistent with the “antimonopolist perspective” of the MFA’s program. “Without nationalizing the banks,” the union leader said, “the antimonopolist struggle would be a mere statement of intention.”

In fact, the government’s economic program, issued February 21, had provided only for “stricter control” of private banks. Nevertheless, the military council’s nationalization measure has for the time being at least increased its popular standing and encouraged illusions of an identity of interests between the workers and the regime.

Thus, the March 15 issue of the *Diário de Notícias* reported that a member of the workers commission of the Banco Espírito Santo told the union assembly that the task now was to ensure the “efficient operation of the banks.” The bank workers should “demonstrate to the people that the workers are able to do without capitalist administrators, by putting the banks at the service of the people.”

According to the nationalization decree, however, the government will name the administrators, although the union may submit a list of nominees.

Another bank worker, António Augusto, presented a motion to the meeting that during the following week all bank employees should prolong their working day until 7:00 p.m., working overtime without pay “on behalf of the people.”

The nationalization of the banks also stimulated demands for stronger measures in other sectors. The March 15 issue of the Lisbon daily *O Século* reported that the union of the Banco de Portugal workers had called for nationalization of insurance and “basic industries” and urged rapid implementation of an agrarian reform program.

The militancy of the Portuguese workers has been fed by the rapid growth of the trade unions (membership has increased by an estimated two million in recent months, in a total population of about nine million), and the worsening of the economic situation—about 300,000 workers are currently unemployed.

The workers’ readiness to support far-reaching measures to prevent the resur-

gence of reaction has put strong pressure on the reformist leaderships. Already obliged to support measures more radical than they intended, they show every desire to block the process from going further.

Socialist party leader Mário Soares, for



CUNHAL: Opposed to strikes and other “artificial aggravation of conflicts.”

example, told a party rally March 14 that nationalization of the banks signaled the “disappearance” of capitalism in Portugal—implying that more radical measures were unnecessary and undesirable. Soares devoted a major part of his speech to deploring what he termed a decline in the authority of the state among students and workers, and denounced the “café revolutionaries, the word-mongers, and adventurers whose irresponsible political practices could put obstacles in the path of the revolutionary process in our country, especially after March 11.”

The Social Democratic leader praised the alliance between the “responsible parties of the working class, the Socialist party and the Communist party.”

The CP, with a disciplined apparatus and a more radical image, appears to have been the main immediate beneficiary of the workers’ radicalization. But the Stalinist leaders, too, have cause for anxiety in the face of the masses’ upsurge in the aftermath of March 11. The CP’s mass rally in Lisbon on March 16, attended by more than 20,000 workers, indicated that many of the party’s supporters are well to the left of the leadership.

“For more than two hours after the start of the rally,” *Le Monde* reported March 18, the crowd repeatedly demanded the ouster

from the government of the Popular Democratic party (PPD), a bourgeois formation alleged to have been involved in the March 11 coup attempt. But CP General Secretary Alvaro Cunhal, while charging that the PPD was continuing to conduct a campaign of “reactionary propaganda against the democratic forces,” carefully avoided taking a position on its role in the government.

“The composition of the government is a delicate question,” he said. “It must be examined very closely. Obviously the opinion of the Communists must be considered, but also the opinion of the other forces involved in the democratic process.”

The Stalinist leaders are doing their utmost to uphold their coalition with the bourgeois forces, no matter how insignificant in number these are. That is why they are reluctant to terminate their partnership with the PPD, even though they acknowledge that it can hardly be qualified as a defender of bourgeois “democracy.”

Like his Socialist party counterpart, Cunhal has been calling for social peace and unity behind the government. In an interview with *Diário de Notícias*, published March 15, he said: “We are confident that the working classes and the popular masses in general will understand that, in the present situation, an artificial aggravation of conflicts and a wave of strikes would contribute to a deterioration of the economic, social, and political situation that would favor reaction and not the Portuguese people.”

Cunhal denounced forces to the left of the CP as “pseudorevolutionary groups,” charging that “their provocations and disturbances are in effect playing the game of reaction.”

Such slanders helped prepare the “suspension” by the military council on March 18 of two “far-left” parties, the Movement to Reorganize the Proletarian Party (MRPP) and the Workers and Peasants Alliance (AOC). Along with the right-wing Christian Democratic party, they will not be permitted to contest the elections to the Constituent Assembly, now scheduled for April 25.

These groupings were particularly vulnerable to attack in view of the bizarre streaks of Mao Tsetung Thought in their program; the MRPP, for example, called after March 11 for “nationalization without compensation of foreign imperialist and social-imperialist interests” (emphasis added).

Nevertheless the regime’s move was directed against all the forces to the left of the Communist party, some of which have been getting an increasingly favorable hearing among working-class militants.

The masses’ mobilization in response to the attempted rightist coup, and their demonstrated capacity to outflank the reformist leaders, have aroused consider-

able apprehension among Portugal's NATO allies.

The deputy assistant secretary of state for European affairs, Bruce Laingen, told a House Foreign Affairs subcommittee on March 14: "It's a very dicey situation. There is this revolutionary spirit, ardor abroad in the country."

At NATO headquarters in Brussels, an unidentified "diplomat" told *Le Monde*, "You can consider the events of March 11 [that is, Spínola's defeat] as a defeat for the Atlantic alliance."

The *New York Times* and other leading American dailies have been campaigning

against what the *Times*'s editors call "a threatened Communist takeover" in Portugal. There are mounting calls in the news media for CIA covert action, or other forms of intervention by Washington—veiled, of course, in expressions of regret that this is "no longer possible."

An incident two days after the aborted coup indicated the determination of the Portuguese workers to resist any attempt to restore a repressive regime. When rumors spread through an edgy Lisbon that U.S. Navy units were moving toward Portugal, *Le Monde* reported March 15, the people in some Lisbon neighborhoods began to erect barricades. □

Eyewitness Describes Mood in Portugal After Coup Attempt

'Everywhere, a Thirst for Revolutionary Ideas'

The mood in Lisbon was one of confidence and victory, with people everywhere showing a keen interest in discussing political ideas, according to an American socialist who arrived in the Portuguese capital within hours of the attempted coup.

"When I arrived at the airport March 12, the day after the coup," Steve Forgione told *Intercontinental Press*, "I was impressed with the fact that it was quite calm. There were a lot of soldiers at the airport, but Customs didn't even open my bags."

"On the streets, people were lining up to purchase newspapers and magazines. On street corners left-wing militants were handing out leaflets; crowds of up to fifty people would be standing around reading wall-posters and discussing them."

Forgione described a typical scene in downtown Lisbon. "When the comrades of the Partido Revolucionário dos Trabalhadores [Revolutionary Workers party, a Trotskyist grouping] sell their paper, about ten comrades take a bullhorn and hold an assembly right on the street. Within a few minutes, a hundred people will be standing around, listening and discussing. Other left-wing groups do this, too."

The bank workers responded to the threat of a coup by occupying the banks and demanding that they be nationalized—which the military council did on March 14. "The bank workers seemed to be very well organized," Forgione said. "They closed the banks and stayed in them around the clock, organizing defense guards. The basic idea was to see to it that nobody tried to take money out of the country. At a mass rally held after the nationalization decree was announced, the bank workers revealed how the country's big capitalist families had

been financing the right-wing political parties, and had collaborated in planning to overthrow the government and return to a repressive regime.

"The nationalization of the banks—and later of the insurance companies—was treated as the 'people's reaction' to the coup attempt. Everywhere you saw banners, saying 'this is a people's bank,' or 'the banks are in the service of the people.' The feeling was, This is our bank now; we have put down the fascist attempt. At the demonstration of bank workers on Friday afternoon, the day they nationalized the banks, one slogan was 'O povo unido, jamais será vencido'—The united people will never be defeated. There was a strong feeling of solidarity with, support for, the military government."

Were other businesses occupied? "Not that I know of," he said. "The government's approach, once the immediate danger of a coup had passed, was 'Let's be calm, let's reconstruct Portugal.' In fact, the feeling they encouraged was, Now that we have nationalized the banks, it is more than ever our Portugal, this is a Portugal of the people. We are one step closer to our goal, so it is more reason to work harder. . . ."

"This line seemed to be meeting with acceptance, despite the widespread euphoria. People talk about the need for a socialist revolution, but they are confident that the Armed Forces Movement is taking them in that direction. There is this illusion, that the MFA, this type of government, is going to bring about socialism. Of course, the Communist party encourages that illusion."

How did the Trotskyists intervene in the situation? The Liga Comunista Internacionalista, a sympathizing group of the Fourth

International, issued a leaflet on the day of the attempted coup, Forgione said. It called for the formation of armed workers pickets in the factories; for assemblies of soldiers and sailors to remove reactionary officers and work with the elected workers commissions; for the expropriation and public trial of all capitalists implicated in the coup; and for the immediate dissolution of the repressive security police and the Republican National Guard, sections of which had participated in the coup attempt.

The PRT, which also supports the Fourth International, ran off a new issue of its fortnightly newspaper, *Combate Socialista*. "In three days they sold more than 3,000 copies," Forgione said.

The newspaper's demands, featured on the front page, were similar to those of the LCI: the formation of self-defense pickets in the factories, to be centralized and armed under the leadership of the trade unions; the formation of soldiers and sailors commissions without distinction of rank, and with freedom for workers parties to carry on activity among the ranks; public trial of those responsible for the coup attempt by a revolutionary tribunal composed of representatives chosen by the unions and the soldiers of the Light Artillery Regiment No. 1, the main target of the reactionary military officers; and expropriation without compensation of reactionaries involved in the coup.

"The Trotskyists were the only ones to put forward a program of concrete demands," Forgione explained. "The Maoists, for example, simply talked about 'unity of the people,' that sort of thing. The reformists of the Socialist party and the CP emphasized support to the Armed Forces Movement."

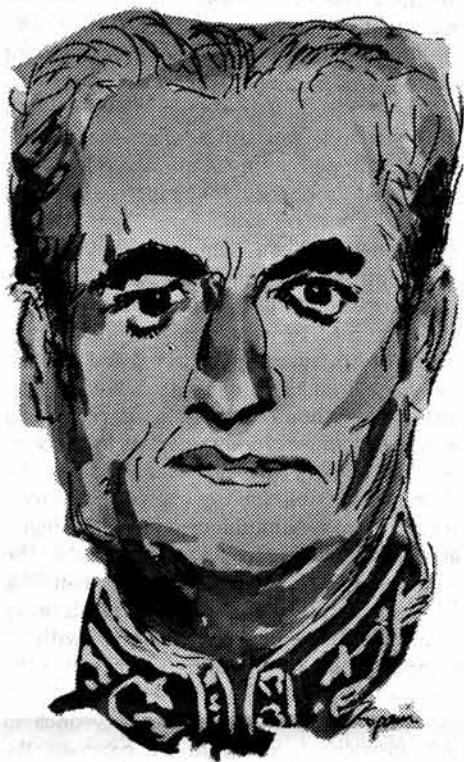
In the present conditions of rising worker militancy, political groups to the left of the Communist party have a hearing among considerable layers of the working class and as a result have experienced quite rapid growth, Forgione said. They have been aided by some additional factors.

"For example, they have a rule now in Portugal that if a building is unoccupied for three months or more—as in some cases where rich families have left the country—legal organizations can occupy them. As a result, all the 'far-left' groups have sizable headquarters now. The LCI just took over a four-story colonial mansion in Lisbon. It has a big fence and gate in front, on which they have placed banners and communiqués expressing their political positions. This attracts a lot of people; when I was there, between fifty and a hundred people could be seen in front of the headquarters reading the Trotskyists' program. The LCI is running candidates in the elections to the Constituent Assembly.

"There is a tremendous thirst for revolutionary ideas, everywhere you go." □

Shah Tightens Reins Over the 'Opposition'

By Majid Namvar



SHAH: Dissidents "must either go to prison or leave the country."

In a decree issued March 2, Shah Mohammad Riza Pahlavi arbitrarily dissolved all legal political parties in Iran, including the governing Iran Novin party. All of the parties affected by the decree are bourgeois parties, since under the current Iranian constitution no workers parties are allowed to function.

In a nationwide radio and television broadcast the shah announced the formation of a new party, which he called the National Resurrection party. He also appointed Premier Amir Abbas Hoveida as the general secretary of the new party.

"Those who believe in the Iranian constitution, the monarchical regime, and the principles of the White Revolution,* must join the new party," the shah said.

"Those who don't believe in these principles are traitors who must either go to prison or leave the country."

Even the government-controlled press, which gave banner headlines to the dictatorial decree, was caught by surprise. The

Tehran daily *Kayhan* reported in its March 8 international airmail edition that the decree overshadows all political activity in Iran.

"The Iran Novin party was going to announce its election platform; members of the Mardom party provincial committees were to gather in Tehran to discuss their activities for the coming elections; and the Pan Iranist and Iranian parties were preparing for party conventions," *Kayhan* reported. "But with the creation of the National Resurrection party, which will embody all existing parties, a new situation has arisen."

At a two-hour news conference, attended by all major government officials and leaders of the dissolved parties, the shah made some vague comments but gave no specific justification for the decree.

"We always thought that in a country with a so-called parliamentary democracy,

there must be several parties," he said. "We even encouraged some of you to play a faithful minority role. But such a role cannot be played in this country. We have seen, for instance, that not a single general secretary of the Mardom party is able to play this role."

"We have also seen," the shah added, "that along with the talk about oil and Iran's progress in the international arena, agitation is again taking place."

Despite the substantial increase in Iran's national income from the rise in revenue from oil exports, the standard of living remains unchanged. The resulting widespread discontent has apparently been voiced even through the political machine the shah himself created.

None of the leaders of the dissolved parties offered any criticism of the shah's decree. One former party leader told *Kayhan* that "a nation making a revolution cannot have several parties. That would only lead to disunity."

The shah's concluding remarks were hardly more profound. "From now on, the freedom to hold elections will have a greater meaning," he said. "Since there will be no such thing as a minority role to be played, everyone will have a chance to take advantage of the political opportunities." □

'CAIFI Newsletter'—New Publication Campaigns for Defense of Iranian Political Prisoners

The *CAIFI Newsletter*, a new publication put out by the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran,* represents an encouraging step forward in the effort to defend Iranian political prisoners. The first issue, published in March, contains reports on the cases of a number of political prisoners, previously unpublished facts on little-known cases of repression, and news of defense activities being organized throughout the United States.

One feature of special interest is a detailed account of prison conditions under the shah's regime. The report is printed in the form of extensive excerpts from a speech given recently by Dr. Reza Baraheni, a prominent poet and literary critic formerly imprisoned for his political views. Baraheni was accused of radicalizing Iranian youth. His specific "crime" was demanding that his nationality of ten million people—the Azerbaijani—be given the right to use their own language.

Baraheni was imprisoned for 102 days in 1974 in a prison called the "Joint Committee of the Campaign Against Terrorism in Iran." "But this is only a station on the way

to the other prisons," Baraheni said. "It is a torture house in which confessions are extracted under torture. Every month 600 new people arrive in this prison. They are tortured and sent to the other prisons. This process takes almost a month."

In a section called "News of Repression" the *Newsletter* provides information on a number of cases of imprisonment, censorship, and purges of the press. Many of the events and incidents covered in this section have never been reported in English before.

In a column devoted to specific defense cases, the *Newsletter* focuses on the cases of three political prisoners:

- Vida Hadjebi Tabrizi, a sociologist and translator who was arrested in 1972 while doing research on the living conditions of Iranian peasants. She has been sadistically tortured.

- Dr. Ali Shariati, a prominent theologian and writer who has been held without charges since 1973. His father, who is more than seventy years old, has also been arrested. Both have been tortured.

- Dr. Gholamhossein Sa'edi (Goharmorad), Iran's leading modern playwright, who has been held since June 1974 on unspecified charges. He has developed a heart condition since being imprisoned and has been tortured.

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*The shah's "reform" movement, initiated in January 1963.

*156 Fifth Avenue, Room 600, New York, New York 10010. Copies of the first issue of the *Newsletter* can be obtained for 25 cents each.

Moscow's Stake in Indian Capitalism

By Sharad Jhaveri

Jamnagar

Moscow's stake in the political stability of India's bourgeois regime flows inevitably from its policy of détente. Conservative to the core and mortally afraid of the developing mass struggles on the subcontinent, the Soviet bureaucracy's main concern in India, as elsewhere in Asia, is to preserve the status quo.

The Kremlin's interest in propping up the Gandhi regime has led it to promise, under the terms of the Indo-Soviet treaty signed in 1971, to send military aid enabling New Delhi to intervene even against internal revolutionary developments.

During his visit to India in November 1973, Leonid Brezhnev, the general secretary of the Soviet Communist party, went so far as to advise the pro-Moscow Communist party of India (CPI) not to disturb the Gandhi regime and to help her government raise production so that India's economic stability could be assured.

Since the mid-1969 split in the Congress party, the main party of Indian capitalism, the CPI has consistently supported Gandhi's ruling Congress party. It is only in the last year that the pressure of developing mass struggles has forced the CPI to begin to modify its total and unconditional support to the Gandhi regime and instead put into practice a policy of "selective support."

Once in a while, as for instance after last May's railway strike, the CPI denounces what it terms the offensive of the right reactionaries and the rightward drift of the Gandhi regime. In the case of the struggle in Bihar, however, it has sided unconditionally with Gandhi. (See *Intercontinental Press*, March 10, p. 327.)

In view of the CPI's present strategy, the most recent Soviet appraisal of the Indian bourgeoisie and Indian capitalist development seems to be somewhat paradoxical.

Take, for example, Alexander Chicherov's article "The tendencies in the development of national relations in independent India," which appeared in *Asian Survey* (vol. 14, no. 3). It was written with the "advice and criticism" of his colleagues in the Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences and thus can be taken to represent the Soviet bureaucracy's thinking; or, more accurately its reflection on a "theoretical" level.

Unlike the CPI, Chicherov does not make any distinction between "progressives" and



GANDHI: Kremlin thinks CPI has been too critical of her "progressive" regime.

"reactionaries" within the "ruling circles." Nor does he even refer to the possibility of India taking a noncapitalist path of development. He also discounts the possibility of a disruption of the federal system by the emergence of regional parties catering to the needs of the regional bourgeoisie.

In Chicherov's view, the progressive forces in the Congress party, headed by Gandhi, split the party and ousted the conservative "syndicate" group from the leadership. Their aim, he says, was to "return to the Indian National Congress the support of the broad strata of the multinational bourgeois business groups and of the sizeable detachments of the democratic movements in the States."

Another leading orientalist, Professor R. Ulyanovsky, expresses concern over a rightist threat to India. His views reflect the Soviet bureaucracy's anxiety over India's deteriorating economic situation. The Kremlin is afraid that continued economic setbacks might create fertile ground for Maoist-like movements and eventually for an offensive by "right-wing reaction."

In the opinion of the editors of the *Times of India* (October 7, 1974), "... in painting a grim picture of anarchy stalking the country Prof. Ulyanovsky has perhaps gone

one step further in making clear Moscow's high stakes in India's stability under Mrs. Gandhi's leadership. He castigates the CPI (M) [Communist party of India (Marxist)] and the Socialist Party for 'playing into the hands of reaction.' He warns the 'left and progressive forces' both within and outside the Congress in no uncertain terms that reaction is out to oust the 'existing democratic institutions and the government.' In his view they should concentrate on fighting it."

According to the assessment of the *Times's* editors, this amounts to asking the CPI to go beyond the "selective support" it has given the government in recent months.

Professor Ulyanovsky, like Chicherov, does not mention the rightward drift of the Gandhi regime. He also does not refer to "monopolists." His whole approach is a conscious attempt to refrain from any criticism of the Gandhi regime. On the contrary, he has nothing but praise for this regime. He says, "... the proponents of Mr. Nehru's policy are making every effort to promote India's economic and social advancement."

According to the Soviet view, capitalism in India has come to stay. It has been consolidated under the Gandhi regime. Hence it needs to be strengthened.

It is obvious that this view is reactionary. Its implications become clear when the CPI's betrayals of mass struggles—especially the Bihar struggle—are analyzed. The pattern is one of consistent class collaboration. Thus it would hardly be surprising to find the CPI taking more and more clearly the side of the Gandhi regime against the struggling masses. The CPI programme of calling for a national-democratic revolution, its petty-bourgeois leadership, and the latest Kremlin appraisal of the situation in India all point in this direction.

The Soviet bureaucrats' assessment of the Indian situation fits in well with the Kremlin's overall policy of détente on a global scale with imperialism. So far as the development of the Indian revolution is concerned, this policy is disastrous. □

Kissinger Prepares for Warm Welcome When He Arrives in Santiago, Chile

Preparations for Kissinger's projected visit with Chilean dictator Pinochet came to public attention March 8 when a black Chrysler arrived at Valparaíso.

An ultramodern armored car with sleek lines, the limousine has a corrugated steel roof 2 inches (5 cm) thick. The green windows are 2 3/4 inches (6 cm) thick, and the tires are bulletproof.

A special feature is a back seat that can be ejected from the automobile in case of fire.

'Israel Is About as Apartheid as South Africa'

[The following interview with Israel Shahak was given to *Intercontinental Press* in Jerusalem this February. Shahak, the chairman of the Israel League for Human and Civil Rights, came to Israel in 1945 as a refugee from the Bergen Belsen concentration camp. He was a supporter of Zionism until his views were changed by his experiences in the army during and after the June 1967 War. Since then, Shahak has played an increasingly prominent role in defending democratic rights inside Israel. The interview was conducted in English.]

* * *

Question. In the mass media in the United States and in most West European countries Israel is portrayed as a democratic society. What is your opinion?

Answer. My opinion is that this is the greatest deception of the twentieth century; and I am not speaking about hidden matters, I am speaking about completely official matters. Israel is about as apartheid as South Africa in reality. It is simply more hypocritical and more able to shape United States public opinion.

For example, take the official statistical abstract of Israel for 1974, which is issued by the Israeli Bureau of Statistics. If you open it at any table, let's say the table of births, deaths, infant deaths, and so on, you'll see that officially in Israel there are no Israelis. This is the first deception. When the *New York Times* or other United States papers use the word Israeli, they are lying, because inside Israel there are no Israelis. There are Jews, and non-Jews.

When Israeli statistics report how many infants have died in Israel, you will not find any statistics about Israeli infants. You will find Jewish infants and you will find non-Jewish infants. Sometimes you will find a total or a grand total. You will never find Israelis.

And it is not only for infants. If you look, for example, at the statistics on Israeli potatoes, you will see potatoes from Jewish farms, and you will see potatoes from non-Jewish farms. There are no Israeli potatoes in Israel. This is the definition of the Jewish state.

This isn't the only thing. If you go any place where there are so-called twin cities, like Nazareth and New Nazareth, you will see that the old Nazareth is an open city. Anyone can come, and by buying or selling or by agreement can dwell there. But in New Nazareth, the so-called Upper Nazar-

eth, to obtain a flat you have to bring proof that you are a Jew.

A society in which such a thing is required for more than 90 percent of its inhabited areas has no other name than an apartheid society. Exactly the same proof is required in Johannesburg. The only difference is that people know about Johannesburg, but not about Nazareth.

This goes for many other areas too. For example, you have now an official plan in Israel for what is called the "Judaization" of Galilee. This means that the government thinks there are too many Arabs in Galilee, so it has decided officially and openly to confiscate some of their land, convert it into pure Jewish land, and settle only Jews there.

Q. A few of the key areas where the oppression of Black people in the United States is most readily apparent are jobs, housing, and education. What is the situation of the Arabs within Israel in those areas, in comparison with that of the Jewish citizens?

A. It is much worse than the situation of the Blacks in the United States, because the oppression and discrimination here is legal. To say it's legal means that the system of quotas against the Arabs operates in complete legality, without any legal recourse.

About ten days ago, for example, I read published protests from Arab students from the Bar-Ilan University. It's a religious Jewish university near Tel Aviv. The Arab students complained that the secret police prevented them from forming a committee to represent them. They said that the university has openly declared that any Arab student who does not sign a declaration that he is against the Arab students having a committee of their own will not receive a subsidy for his housing or any other social needs. I think such an open declaration would be impossible in New York.

Another thing is that every Jewish student who can bring proof that he is from a family having more than four children immediately gets an almost total deduction of his fees. But an Arab student, even if he can bring proof that he is from a family of twelve or fourteen, will never get any sort of deduction. Family deductions are applied only to Jews. And this is done openly, not secretly.

And a third thing: The university openly

uses a negative quota against Arabs in many faculties. In some faculties, for example, geography and geology, Arabs are completely forbidden to enter. In others only a few are allowed. Again openly. And the number of Arabs who can live in the student housing project is zero.

The same thing goes for municipal grants. Every Jewish municipality receives a government grant of about 140 to 150 Israeli pounds per year per inhabitant. The same grant for Arab municipalities is from 7 to 20 pounds per year per inhabitant. The Druzes receive around 20, and the rest of the Arabs receive 7 to 10. Again it is open and legal.

We are on a much lower level than Blacks in the United States because there is no recourse. No one can even do the same sort of job that the NAACP does in the United States. There is no possibility of bringing any case about discrimination, even the most blatant, to any court, because in Israel there is no law forbidding discrimination against non-Jews. On the contrary, all discrimination against non-Jews is completely legal.

Q. What about in the cities? What evidence can you give about housing discrimination?

A. Cities in Israel are of two kinds. There are the bigger cities, like Tel Aviv, Jerusalem, Haifa, and so on, which are built on private land. There each landlord can discriminate or not as he wants.

But there is another category of cities, those built on land owned by the Jewish National Fund, in which everyone has to discriminate. In Upper Nazareth, even if there are landlords who would like to rent a flat to an Arab, they are forbidden to do so by law. And if they do it in a hidden way, once it is discovered they are taken to court and heavily fined for breaking their contract.

Q. What about discrimination in the area of schooling at the preuniversity level?

A. First of all there are two completely separate school systems in Israel, a Hebrew one and an Arabic one. They are separated in statistics, as I said before, but they are also separated in other things.

First of all, the Arab school system is heavily discriminated against in every material area: no buildings, or bad buildings; almost no laboratories; bad teachers; bad teachers-aides.

The most important discrimination is in the area of schooling itself. The Arab students have to learn an enormous amount of Hebrew literature—including Hebrew religious material, the Bible, the Talmud, and so on—as well as Zionist literature, both in Hebrew and in Arabic translations. The Koran is taught less than 10 percent of the time allotted to the Old Testament. All Arabic literature written after the year 1800 is prohibited.

Even from the older literature there is a very heavy concentration on poems praising the beauties of nature and so on. All poems that can be interpreted as nationalistic, even in a remote way, are prohibited. Most European literature and all Asian literature—the literature of classical China, for example—is also prohibited. They have to learn Hebrew literature instead. And of course they have to pass examinations in it. If they do not pass them they are prohibited from going any further.

Q. What is the situation in schools in the big cities where there are both Arab and Jewish communities?

A. Completely separated. There is a school for Arabs, and there is a school for Jews. Jews are completely prohibited from sending their children to Arab schools, but Arabs can sometimes obtain permits to send their children to a Jewish school. Not in their own area, however, but in a different area, especially to a school in a different village, where there will be one Arab in a class of about a hundred Jews. Even this needs very special permission.

Q. What about discrimination in jobs?

A. Here the discrimination is like that in the United States. There is no legal discrimination, but you will find hardly any Arabs in what are called the nicer jobs. The Israeli Arabs predominate in three kinds of jobs. First, unskilled agricultural work. Second, unskilled or semiskilled construction work. Third, the lower-paying jobs in services, such as washing dishes.

Q. When the Arab people protest against these conditions, what oppression do they face?

A. Inside Israel the oppression of Arabs takes several aspects. First of all, one has to remember that in the so-called sole democracy in the Middle East we still have the defense regulations of 1945 by which the military authorities can arrest, imprison, exile, or limit the movement of any Israeli. However, these regulations are employed solely against Arabs. No Israeli Jew, including those who advocate terror, will ever be, let's say, exiled or imprisoned without trial. But many Arabs who advo-



Israeli troops in action in the occupied West Bank.

cate cooperation with Jews, or who are leftist, are imprisoned or exiled without trial.

For example, when an Arab friend of mine began to just sympathize with a Trotskyist group he was arrested without trial and given thirty-five days in a punishment cell in complete isolation without books or reading material. I should point out that punishment cells in Israeli prisons are especially horrible. The size can be something like one yard by two and a half yards, which means that the bed or lying space on the floor takes up nearly all the cell. The place where the man has to make use of the toilet is also inside this cell.

Practically every Israeli Arab who become sympathetic to any leftist group faces something similar. For example, take what is happening right now with another of my friends—Naif Salim—a poet in the village of Pekiin. He is a truck driver, and the truck he operates is from the town of Acre. A few months ago he received an order forbidding him to leave his village, so of course he cannot operate his truck. He cannot even go to Acre to bring it back home. He has six children and now has to live on the charity of his neighbors. All this not only without a trial, but without a charge. There are literally thousands of such examples.

Q. What recent developments do you think are important to note?

A. The most important development is the

growing radicalization of the Israeli-Arab youth, especially the students, but also other young people influenced by the students. I mean now people who were born in Israel, who know Hebrew, who are socially integrated into their corresponding Jewish groups.

This is the first time that there has been a significant number of Arab students in the universities. Now they are organizing, as I mentioned in the case of the Bar-Ilan University. When they are persecuted they take their case to the village, or to the little town they come from, and ask their people in the village to defend them.

As you know, in the 1950s the older generation of Israeli Arabs was persecuted even more. For every man that is arrested or limited or imprisoned now, there were then I suppose twenty or fifty. That generation was to a great extent broken.

Q. Can you give any current examples of persecution suffered by Arab dissenters?

A. Yes. In Tel Aviv University there is an especially active radical committee of Arab students, and the following means of repression were employed against them.

Three members of the committee while walking on one of the main streets of Tel Aviv were suddenly stopped by the police. They were ordered to strip down to their underpants in the middle of the street, taken to a building that is not a police station, and beaten. I would call it torture, really, because they were beaten around

their genitals. They were then turned loose and warned that if they continued to be active in the committee, they could expect similar treatment in the future.

Another case involves Arab students who rented a big house in the so-called Arab ghetto of Tel Aviv University, because they are prohibited from living in the student housing, or are allocated only a small area in it. The police visit this house every ten days or so at 2:00 o'clock in the morning. They order all the students to go down into the courtyard in their underpants or night attire and force them to stand about for an hour in the cold to be identified (it is now the middle of the winter in Israel and it is quite cold). The investigation is of course accompanied by slaps on the face and insults.

In addition, activists among the students are called in for talks with the secret police and threatened. When the "talks" are not successful, their parents or their uncles or their cousins are called in, and they are threatened. So every student activist knows that because he is active in the student movement, an uncle who might, for example, work for a Jew in the neighboring village can be dismissed. Again, there is no legal recourse.

Q. What about the situation in the occupied territories?

A. It is much worse, because there the people have no rights at all. In particular, they have no right to organize. At least the Arab students in Tel Aviv still have a committee that is active. All committees, parties, organizations, trade unions, and so on are completely prohibited in the occupied territories. Any political activity, even closing the shops in protest, is prohibited.

The number of people being arrested is really enormous. During demonstrations in the conquered territories, Israeli occupation authorities are quite capable of arresting 10 to 20 percent of the adult male population. This was done at the end of November in the town of Jenin, where 15 percent of the adult population (meaning from fourteen years on up) were arrested and kept in prison for some days.

A second thing is that people in Israel cannot at least be exiled from Israel; they are exiled from town to village, or from one village to another village. But in the conquered territories, everyone knows that the delegates of Israeli democracy can come to a family in the early hours, at 2:00 or 3:00 o'clock in the morning, their favorite time. They can take the father, give him literally half an hour to pack, and then take him to the Jordanian or Lebanese border, exile him from his family, and forbid him ever to return. You see, unification of families applies only to USSR Jews. It doesn't apply to Palestinians. And as a matter of fact,

Palestinians have no rights to be reunited with their families here.

A third thing is that the brutality of the police, the military police, and the army units is far greater in the occupied territories than within Israel. In Israel, even if there are beatings, they would be usually short. The people in the occupied territories, to the best of my knowledge, are horribly tortured.

Q. What has been the impact among the Arab people, both those who are citizens of Israel and those who live in the occupied territories, of the recognition of the PLO at the UN?

A. It had a very great impact in both cases, but a different one. Israeli Arabs know quite well the realities of Israeli society. They know that Israel is still a very strong state that has a very powerful army and very powerful support from the United States government. Therefore, in my opinion, their hopes weren't aroused very much. In the conquered territories, however, there was a big wave of hope among the great majority of the population. They thought that this United Nations business would immediately cause the Israelis to retreat from the territories, which of course didn't happen, and in my opinion won't happen for some time.

A second difference is that in the occupied territories most of the people living in the villages are not yet very conscious politically. In many areas, such as in the south of the West Bank, in the Hebron area, the hold of the feudal leaders is very strong.

Nevertheless, in spite of everything, 99 percent of the population in the conquered territories now regard the PLO as its complete representative. Or rather, not the PLO itself, but the majority of the population would say they'd vote for Yasir Arafat. It amounts to the same thing but—and I say it in criticism—with the recognition of the PLO goes a very great amount of personality worship.

Q. Has this led to an increase in the repression in recent months?

A. Yes, very much so. There was a horrible wave of repression at the end of November, and it still continues. For example, several hundred people were arrested in the Jerusalem neighborhood alone during the last week, and many people who were not arrested were taken out of their homes in the night, and as you say in America, "roughed up" a little, sometimes half-naked, and returned home. Given what they call a "lesson."

Q. Have Israeli Arabs been subjected to the same repression?

A. Oh no, they are treated much better. First of all, they are citizens and cannot be exiled. They can therefore shout back. When the three members of the Arab students committee were beaten in Tel Aviv, they immediately did a great deal to publicize it. They have Jewish allies, too, and not only us. We helped publicize the case, because we still have some freedom.

In the conquered territories the repression is so strong that you really have great difficulty even obtaining the names of those arrested. The very first thing that the family of the arrested person is told is that if they dare to tell the non-Israeli lawyers or human-rights activists like me, their boy will be tortured. And many of the families, especially the mothers, suffer in silence.

Q. You have come under bitter attack from the Zionist officials and press for your defense of the democratic rights of the Arab people. What are they saying about you, and what are they threatening?

A. Well, I will begin with the official things. There was a debate about me in the Knesset, in the Israeli Parliament, in which I was officially described by the minister of education as a notorious madman. The minister of justice also made a statement about me in Parliament, saying that I am a traitor, and that a special committee is assembling evidence against me. You see, I am a traitor first, legal evidence comes afterwards!

There were also calls for assassinating me. The *Jerusalem Post*, the English-language Israeli paper, called for putting a bomb in my laboratory. Or alternatively, to imitate the Soviet methods and put me in a madhouse.

Apart from this, there were attacks on me by the so-called Zionist liberals and Zionist doves. This only confirmed my belief that Zionist doves are the worst type of Zionists. They proposed that my passport be confiscated, that I be dismissed from my university post, that perhaps my citizenship should be taken away. All of those things are possible under Israeli law. But all those laws, like the defense regulations, are usually employed only against Arabs. It would set a precedent if they were employed against a Jew.

So in the first place, it is this Jewish racism that has defended me. For example, a cheat and a hypocrite like Uri Avneri, who began by abusing me and saying that I "poisoned the wells of peace" in the Middle East, and that I make Palestinians more "extremist" than they should be, finished by saying that nonetheless my passport should not be confiscated because if they begin with Shahak, who will be next?

The second reason is that I am well protected from abroad. And not only by friends in leftist organizations, but by the

Intercontinental Press

good relations I have with parts of the establishment in various Western countries. After all, I testified before the American House of Representatives, and I must say to the credit of the chairman of the committee I testified before, Donald Fraser (from Minnesota, if I recall), that he wrote a letter in my support. There were also interventions from England and France.

As things stand now, a committee of officials from the Ministry of Justice is still looking for legal evidence of my treason, but they decided not to confiscate my passport or take away citizenship, "so as," and I am quoting the minister of the interior, "not to make a martyr" of me. Well, I am willing not to be a martyr.

I want to add one thing—that the university administration was extremely fair. The rector, the dean in American terms, defended publicly my right to free speech, and the Hebrew University of Jerusalem is completely firm in defending my right to speak anywhere on any subject. But the danger from the government still exists, and whether it will decide to sacrifice me to the right wing remains to be seen.

So far I have been speaking about official pronouncements. Mr. Begin's party actually called on the Israeli radio for my execution. I can give you the very date—on December 2, 1974. So the real danger is that the Israeli government might sacrifice me to some movement of national unity. Well, I can only say I will give them a tough fight.

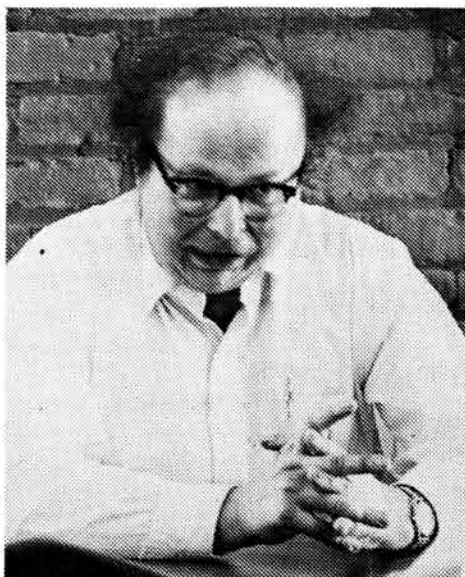
Q. What is your opinion about the general political situation in the Middle East today, particularly the intentions of the Israeli government?

A. I am almost certain that the Israeli establishment—I say establishment, not the government—is preparing with open eyes for war. When I say "establishment" I mean that in Israel decisions like this are not taken by the government; they are taken by some more or less informal body like Golda Meir's famous kitchen meetings—gatherings with influential generals, ministers, and personal friends. The decisions are then announced by statements and articles in the press. Therefore when [Premier Yitzhak] Rabin declared in the summer and more or less hinted during the last month that war is unavoidable, that is exactly what he meant. As far as Israel is concerned, war is unavoidable.

Based on what I have heard the spokesmen for the Israeli establishment say to their cadres, at meetings, in homes, and in many other places in which more or less important Israelis meet, there are two reasons, political and financial, why they say war is inevitable. Israel's financial situation is horrible. Even with all the support from the United States it's becoming even worse. And Israeli official policy

makes no effort to alleviate the situation.

According to official Israeli data, the Israeli external debt will reach \$8 billion in 1975, requiring payment of \$1.25 billion a year in interest. Now the support of the



Flax Hermes/Militant

Dr. Israel Shahak, a refugee from Hitler's camps, defends rights of Palestinians.

United States to Israel, the official support, is only \$2.5 billion yearly, perhaps a little more. This means that half of it will go merely for servicing the debt.

Israel is approaching bankruptcy fairly rapidly, and the only way for it to be saved from this is by waging a successful war. That would restore the flow of capital, not to mention the possible spoils from occupying the oil countries.

The reason for the onrushing bankruptcy is that until October 1973, there was an enormous flow of capital into Israel. Most of it was "black" capital—Mafia money, money from all kinds of shady businesses in Europe, Iranian illegal money, and so on. This flow has completely ceased since the October war, but could be restored after a victory.

Three other reasons are political, or let's say military and political. First of all, in the present situation, Israel keeps an enormous number of people under arms. The number of people in the standing regular military service was increased. Their pay was increased to such an extent that a private soldier, or a private soldier in the border guards—the unit used to patrol the conquered territories—receives almost the same pay as I do, a professor with twelve years tenure.

In addition, a part of the standing army—that is, the regular soldiers, Israeli young people, from the ages of about twenty-one to thirty-five—are called up for reserve service. Something like an average of sixty days a year would be a low

estimate. If they are from "crack" units, they can very easily be called up for 80 days, for 100 days, and even more. There are students of mine who were called up this year after the mobilization in April, and who had already served 80 to 100 days. Now I ask, How long can a society stand this?

And there is a third reason. As they put it, the Arabs are becoming "uppish," they are becoming "impudent." They mean Arabs inside Israel or the conquered territories. And if the Arabs are becoming impudent, more soldiers are needed to keep them in order. The burden is becoming more or less impossible, so Israeli officials hope that a smashing victory will again restore the situation.

So far, that's what they explain. I will add to this that the major part of Israeli society is now in a psychological bind. They are like children who are reliving a dream—a dream, let's say, of a nice summer, or something like that. They just want to restore the "good times" of before October 1973, and they think that a war can restore it. Therefore, to a great extent, at least for the first week or two, they will find willing cannon fodder.

In my opinion, all this adds up to the fact that Israel will make a war as soon as possible. It will try to move as heavily as possible against the north, against Syria, for very obvious geographic and other reasons.

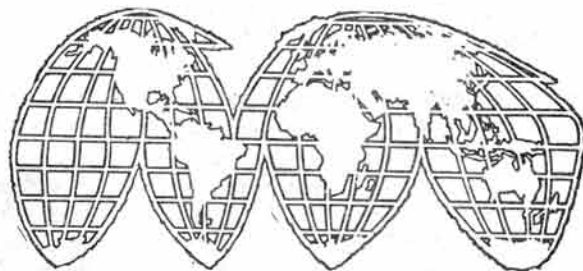
To show you how openly this is discussed in Israel, I will just quote an article published in *Davar*, which is the official paper of the Israeli trade unions, the Histadrut, and also of the Labor party, the ruling party of Israel. The article was written by Dan Bavli, a well-known adviser to the military authorities ruling the conquered territories and to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Now Mr. Bavli has no doubt that a war against Syria, at least, has to come, and he also suspects that this will not be the last war. Therefore he coined two phrases: "The next war, and the wars after the next."

He urged that Israel exact the greatest profit from the next war. Now what is this "profit"? Mr. Bavli is very sure that during the next war, as he puts it, Israel has to smash the Syrian army completely. But what would happen if the obstinate Syrians, after their army is smashed, continue fighting a guerrilla war? To prepare for this, Mr. Bavli proposes that Israel begin now to make some political overtures toward the Syrian minorities—Druzes and others—so that that they will continue to fight for Israel after this.

In a country in which a government paper can publish such an article—without a challenge, by the way—you can well understand in what direction the wind is blowing. □

AROUND THE WORLD



Crooks Make Best Presidents, Says Former White House Lawyer

Americans set too high a standard of morality for public officials. This, at least, is the lesson of Watergate drawn by J. Fred Buzhardt, one of former President Nixon's team of ace criminal lawyers.

The public and the media have set an unrealistic moral standard for government, resulting in a lack of public confidence, Buzhardt said in an interview with the *Charlotte Observer*.

"Would you rather have a competent scoundrel or an honest boob in office?" the legal-eagle asked. "You can make a strong argument that for a President in this day and time you don't want a babe in the woods."

He denied that he was calling President Ford's competence into question.

Report Indonesia Plans to Invade East Timor

According to information leaked to the Australian press by the Department of Defence, the Indonesian regime is preparing to invade East Timor. As part of an Indonesian propaganda effort, Antara, the government-owned news agency, claimed February 24 that hundreds of Timorese have fled across the border into West Timor to "escape pressure by government-backed leftist elements."

One Jakarta newspaper quoted an Indonesian general as boasting about a plan to "do a Goa." (In 1961, Indian forces seized the tiny Portuguese-controlled enclave of Goa after Lisbon refused to turn it over to New Delhi or grant the colony its independence.)

Sol Salby wrote in the March 7 *Direct Action*, a revolutionary-socialist fortnightly published in Sydney, Australia: "The right-wing military regime in Indonesia hopes to create a situation in which it can appear to the outside world that its takeover will stop the chaos and prevent a 'communist' takeover. Towards this end the Indonesians have started spreading reports about current chaos on the island."

Salby also noted the Australian government's complicity with the Indonesian takeover plans. "Last year when [Australian Prime Minister] Gough Whitlam visited Indonesia he made his and his Government's preference clear. Australia did not

want to see an independent Timor. In the Australian Government's view such a state will be 'unviable.' As a permanent relationship with Portugal appears to be out of the question, such words only served to encourage Indonesian ambitions."

Slight Miscalculation

President Luis Echeverría made a mistake in his calculations when he entered Mexico City's National University March 14. Ten thousand students had gathered there to protest his visit, which was to open the school year.

Shouts of "Out, out," made it impossible for him to say very much. Although he did break an eight-year tradition in which no president of the republic has been allowed to visit the university campus, Echeverría had to leave the auditorium by a side door under a barrage of flying objects. It was clear that the students had not forgotten the massacre of student activists at Tlatelolco in 1968.

Thailand to Restrict Cambodian Airlift

The new Thai government of Kukrit Pramoj decided March 21 to end the use of Thailand as a base for the U.S. airlift of ammunition and other war matériel to Cambodia. The airlift of food and fuel would be allowed to continue. Thai officials indicated that a formal request to stop the flights would be made to the U.S. embassy within a few days.

The government has also said that it will press for the withdrawal of U.S. forces from Thailand within twelve months "through friendly negotiations, taking into account the security situation in the region." There are 25,000 U.S. military personnel and about 350 U.S. planes in Thailand.

Japanese Antimilitarist Acquitted

The Niigata District Court acquitted Makoto Konishi, a former technical sergeant in Japan's Air Self-Defense Force (ASDF), February 22 of charges stemming from his antimilitarist activities. While stationed at the ASDF base on Sado Island, Konishi distributed leaflets and posted placards in October 1969 calling on fellow members of the ASDF to boycott a drill session, which he said was intended as internal security and antidemonstration

training. Konishi also spoke out against the Japan-U.S. mutual-security agreements.

On November 22, 1969, Konishi was indicted for having violated an article of the Self-Defense Forces Law, which bans strikes, sabotage, and other acts intended to obstruct government activities.

During the trial, the defense counsel maintained that the internal security training was unconstitutional. (The 1947 constitution, which was imposed during the U.S. occupation, formally bars Japan from having an army, navy, or air force. Japanese antimilitarists have often maintained that the formation of the Jieitai [SDF—Self Defense Forces] in 1954 was in direct violation of the constitution.) The defense counsel also demanded that the ASDF provide forty-one secret documents, which it refused to do. The judge ruled that since the ASDF would not make the documents available, Konishi could not be proved guilty.

On March 4 the Niigata District public prosecutor's office appealed the verdict to the Tokyo High Court.

Konishi was also dissatisfied with the ruling, accusing the Niigata District Court of failing to rule on the constitutionality of the SDF.

In a related case, the Sapporo District Court ruled in September 1973, during a trial involving the construction of a Nike missile site in Naganuma, Hokkaido, that the SDF was unconstitutional. That decision has also been appealed to a higher court.

Immigrant Workers Stage Hunger Strike in Paris

About 100 immigrant workers, mostly Moroccans and Tunisians, staged a three-day hunger strike in Paris in early March to protest the difficulty of obtaining French work permits. Since work or residence permits are so hard to get, some foreign workers have been smuggled into the country. Those lacking the proper papers are often forced to accept pay below the legal minimum wage. But if they complain to the authorities, the immigrants may face expulsion.

The hunger strikers also charged the Moroccan and Tunisian regimes with covering up the "slave trade" of foreign workers into France.

From Tokyo to Paris, Rallies Mark International Women's Day

Australia: Over 10,000 Join Marches

Marches and festivals marked International Women's Day around Australia. More than 5,000 women took part in the Sydney march, which included a significant contingent of trade-union women. More than 5,000 women marched in Melbourne, and about 1,000 marched in the biggest women's liberation demonstration yet held in Adelaide. Actions were also held in Brisbane and Perth.

Britain: Women Demand Equal Pay

Four thousand persons marched through London March 8 demanding equal pay for equal work, equal educational and job opportunities, free contraception and abortion on demand from the National Health Service, and twenty-four-hour child-care centers. The day was also marked by demonstrations in Glasgow and Manchester and by rallies in Cardiff and Birmingham.

The actions had been preceded by a rally of more than 500 persons on February 28, called by the International Marxist Group. Women from several European countries and Chile reported on the oppression of women in their countries and stressed the need for an international struggle for women's rights.

More than 100 women at a meeting held March 3 set up the National Abortion Campaign to fight against attempts to restrict the right to abortion in Britain.

On the eve of International Women's Day the Trades Union Congress, representing 10 million workers, 2.5 million of them women, published a twelve-point charter on women's rights in the work force.

Canada: Hundreds Attend Conferences

Meeting and rallies held across Canada to celebrate International Women's Day drew hundreds of women.

In Toronto a conference initiated by the Mayor's Task Force on the Status of Women drew 650 persons to plan alternative actions to Prime Minister Trudeau's do-nothing campaign for International Women's Year. After a full day of discussion, the conference voted to call a demonstration May 10 to advance the fight for the right to abortion, for child care, equality on the job, and more humane divorce laws.

The largest response to International Women's Day came from Québec, where activities were held throughout the province. One thousand persons attended two rallies in Montréal and called a demonstration for March 20 in response to government attempts to cut spending on the meager child-care facilities now available.

Cuba: Child Care and Education Stressed

At the main rally held March 8 in Cuba, Communist party Central Committee member Pedro Miret announced that in the next five years the country would be able to accommodate 150,000 more children in child-care centers, 120,000 more in part-time boarding schools, and 500,000 more on scholarships to intermediary schools.

France: Thousands March in Paris

In Paris, 3,000 women chanting, "Out of the kitchens, into the streets," marched to protest unemployment and wage discrimination. The demonstration was called by a broad range of groups in the women's liberation movement.

The day before, thirty women demanding abortions, along with 100 members of the Mouvement pour la Liberté de l'Avortement et de la Contraception (Movement for Freedom of Abortion and Contraception), occupied Cochin Hospital in Paris. Hospital administrators, who had previously refused to allow abortions to be performed, agreed to permit a limited number.

Two hundred women demonstrated at the showrooms of an appliance store on the morning of March 8. Protesting the store's claim that household gadgets "liberate" women, they demanded that this expensive labor-saving kitchen equipment be installed and made available free to the public in all neighborhoods.

Italy: 10,000 March in Milan

Demonstrations brought more than 25,000 persons into the streets of Italy March 8. The largest turnout was in Milan, where more than 10,000 persons marched. Several thousand persons demonstrated in Rome; 6,000 in Turin; 3,000 in Naples; and 2,000 in Rimini. A day-long student strike was held in Pescara.

Japan: 10,000 Women Demand Equality

Rallies involving a total of more than 10,000 women were held in Tokyo, Osaka, and other major Japanese cities March 8.

The Tokyo meeting, which drew about 5,000 women, was sponsored by Sohyo (Nihon Rodo Kumiai Sohyogikai—General Council of Japanese Trade Unions), other trade unions, and women's groups. Speakers demanded that the government overhaul traditional employment policy, which discriminates against women, and that it take steps to halt inflation.

At an Osaka rally attended by 1,200 women, Fusae Ichikawa, a pioneer in Japan's women's movement and a member of the Japanese Parliament, stressed the need to end discrimination against women.

Spain: Teach-Ins in Valencia

As part of International Women's Year, a series of teach-ins on women's oppression have been held in Valencia.

At one organized by the sociology department at the University of Valencia, department head Amando de Miguel spoke on birth control and women's liberation, maintaining that women should have the right to decide when they want to have children.

In a presentation on the capitalist system and women's liberation, Professor Josep Vicent Marqués stated that "nothing about women's bodies shows a special aptitude for cleaning, washing, etc."

Professor Damià Mollà spoke about discrimination against women workers:

"What does the system do with female labor? It constitutes a kind of reserve army of labor, which can be manipulated at will and made use of or gotten rid of at any time."

Switzerland: Local Abortion Actions

On March 8, 900 persons demonstrated in Tessin and 300 in Bern as part of a campaign protesting the Swiss government's refusal to change anti-abortion legislation.

The Tessin demonstration was called by the Mouvement de Libération de la Femme (Women's Liberation Movement) and was supported by a number of other groups, including the Ligue Marxiste Révolutionnaire (Revolutionary Marxist League).

Local women's groups in a number of other cities dedicated the day to reaching hundreds of women with information of the struggle for the right to abortion.

United States: Trade-Union Women Lead Marches in Several Cities

For the first time in decades, trade-union women led International Women's Day actions in the United States. Unemployment, inflation, and the Equal Rights Amendment were central concerns of protesters in New York (3,000), Minneapolis (500), Washington, D.C. (200), and Chicago (150).

The following day 450 persons attended a New York celebration of the publication of Marxist anthropologist Evelyn Reed's new book, *Woman's Evolution*.

Building actions for March 8 in New York included a series of teach-ins on women political prisoners sponsored by the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners. Maria Isabel Barreno, one of three authors of *Novas Cartas Portuguesas* (New Portuguese Letters), and Amy Conger, an art teacher from the United States who had been jailed in Chile, were featured speakers at the meetings. □

1. Sobre la Situación en el Perú

[La siguiente entrevista se llevó a cabo en Europa a fines de enero. Ocurrió antes de la huelga de la policía, por aumento de salario, y la explosión de masas que fue aplastada por el ejército en Lima.¹ Sin embargo, la entrevista ayuda a entender la situación actual en el Perú.]

[En la década de los sesenta, Hugo Blanco, conocido revolucionario peruano, dirigió en el Cuzco un movimiento campesino por la sindicalización de éstos. Por haber dirigido este movimiento fue sentenciado a 25 años de prisión. Después de más de siete años de estar recluso en varias cárceles, en diciembre de 1970 fue liberado por el actual régimen bajo la presión pública nacional e internacional. En 1971 fue deportado a México por apoyar una huelga de maestros. Luego pasó por Argentina donde de nuevo fue encarcelado. Fue deportado a Chile donde vivió hasta el golpe de estado de septiembre de 1973 cuando se asiló en la Embajada Mexicana. Actualmente reside en Suecia.]

[La entrevista fue hecha por el *Young Socialist*.]

* * *

Pregunta. ¿A quién representa el actual régimen peruano?

Respuesta. El actual gobierno representa a sectores desarrollistas en el Perú. Anteriormente la economía peruana estaba yendo a una crisis muy aguda debido a lo anticuado de la estructuras pues, como muchos otros países de América Latina, nuestro país era utilizado fundamentalmente para la extracción de materias primas mientras que el imperialismo exportaba sus manufacturas. La entrada de este régimen significó un paso cualitativo hacia el desarrollismo industrial, o sea, entró para impulsar más el desarrollo industrial.

Esto no quiere decir independencia del imperialismo porque el desarrollo industrial se da fundamentalmente bajo el amparo o en manos del imperialismo.

P. ¿Hay contradicciones entre el actual régimen y el imperialismo?

R. Es cierto que hay grandes contradicciones con el imperialismo, especialmente con el imperialismo norteamericano. Sin embargo, hay sectores del imperialismo europeo,

del imperialismo japonés e inclusive algunos sectores del imperialismo norteamericano, que impulsaron este desarrollo. Hay que comprender que el imperialismo norteamericano tenía casi todo el país en sus manos. La forma de penetrar que tenían los imperialismos europeos y japonés sólo podía ser en los nuevos sectores, o sea, en los industriales. Por otra parte a los productores de maquinaria del imperialismo yanqui les convenía también ese desarrollo industrial.

Lo aprovecharon algunos sectores burgueses nacionales en el ejército que querían promover el fortalecimiento de una burguesía nacional. Estos le dan un tinte nacionalista burgués al régimen, para esto tienen que practicar cierta política populista, tienen que apoyarse en las masas.

P. ¿Qué medidas populistas ha adoptado el gobierno?

R. El gobierno peruano ha nacionalizado diversas empresas básicas de la economía peruana, sectores de la banca. A nosotros nos parece que está bien que se nacionalicen, les damos apoyo crítico a estas nacionalizaciones. En principio defendemos las nacionalizaciones, pero también explicamos porqué el régimen burgués lo hace. Sus razones son diferentes de las nuestras. También explicamos las limitaciones de éstas.

Por ejemplo, generalmente exigimos que no se les pague a las compañías imperialistas que nos han estado explotando desde hace años. También exigimos que las empresas estén bajo control obrero para mejorar su funcionamiento.

P. ¿Cuáles son los propósitos de las nacionalizaciones y de las otras reformas que ha impulsado el gobierno?

R. Dentro del contexto general capitalista las nacionalizaciones, por supuesto, no llegan a liberar al país del imperialismo. Aunque no esté presente en los sectores nacionalizados, está presente en los sectores desarrollados. Se encuentra especialmente en los sectores industriales fabriles, en el comercio, por ejemplo la casa Sears de Rockefeller. Y está presente a través de créditos, patentes y otras formas de penetración.

El gobierno peruano sabe muy bien que no puede liberarse del imperialismo, tampoco intenta hacerlo. Lo que intenta es sacar tajadas cada vez mayores de lo que se le

explota al pueblo. Como decimos allá, quieren una parte mayor de la torta. Es pues una disputa, un regateo con el imperialismo, especialmente con el imperialismo norteamericano.

Todas las medidas que ha tomado el régimen se explican dentro de esta actitud, se explican la reforma agraria, la Ley de Industrias, la Ley de la Educación, etc.

El populismo se explica, por que este régimen quiere tener apoyo social para poder regatear mejor, para poder discutir en mejores términos con el imperialismo. Por eso algunas medidas que ha tomado, las ha acompañado siempre de gran demagogia antiimperialista y nacionalista para conseguir el apoyo de las masas.

Por ejemplo, la nacionalización de un yacimiento de petróleo se hizo con un gran despliegue de tropas, a los pocos días que este gobierno había tomado el poder, en una forma muy ostentosa, lo cual no era necesario. Lo hizo para mostrar que era casi una guerra con el imperialismo, una guerra la cual estaba ganando. Sin embargo, ha habido una entrega de mayores yacimientos petrolíferos, especialmente al imperialismo japonés.

También hay una Ley de Comunidad Industrial copiada de las leyes europeas de participaciones en que tratan de engañar al obrero haciéndolo creer que va a ser dueño y administrador de la fábrica, por lo menos de la mitad de la fábrica, poco a poco, paulatinamente. Esto es para que el obrero no haga huelgas, no luche por aumentos de salario y considere suya la empresa. También la reforma agraria ha sido acompañada de gran demagogia.

Todas estas medidas y la demagogia que usa el gobierno, no le ha bastado para lograr el apoyo masivo de la población. Ha habido apoyo, a veces un gran apoyo de algunos sectores de la población. Sin embargo, éste ha sido un apoyo muy pasajero. Rápidamente la gente se daba cuenta de que era puro palabrerío, pura verborrea del gobierno y pura demagogia las medidas que había tomado. Eso sucedió, por ejemplo, con los obreros azucareros.

Cuando el gobierno cooperativizó a las grandes empresas azucareras diciendo que iban a pasar a manos de los obreros, los obreros se volvieron muy gobiernistas. Pero al cabo de un año, se dieron cuenta que lo único que habían hecho era cambiar de amo y ahora en vez de patrón estaba un burócrata del estado. Su nivel de vida seguía igual que antes y no tenían poder de decisión sobre la empresa. Entonces, comenzaron a hacer huelgas en varias ocasiones. Estas huelgas eran paradójicas porque resultaba que los supuestos dueños estaban haciendo huelga contra sí mismos. Así como en este caso, sectores de la población han dado apoyo temporal, nunca ha habido un apoyo permanente, entusiasta. Ha habido

1. Vea "Explosión Popular Sacude Régimen Peruano," artículo publicado en *Intercontinental Press* el 24 de febrero.

do cierta expectativa en el pueblo peruano, pero sólo expectativas.

En este sentido no podemos comparar el apoyo a este gobierno con el apoyo popular que han tenido el gobierno de Perón o el de Allende, por ejemplo.

P. ¿Cuál es la situación del campesinado peruano y qué efecto ha tenido la Ley de Reforma Agraria?

R. Hay que señalar que la realidad agraria peruana es muy compleja. Tenemos en el Perú desde comunismo primitivo en la selva amazónica, tribus que todavía no han sido aplastadas por el capitalismo y tenemos las comunidades indígenas que existían en la época de los incas, modificadas por supuesto. Tenemos las haciendas con muchos rasgos feudales que son resabios de las formas de relaciones que llevaron los españoles a América Latina. Tenemos las grandes empresas agrícolas industrializadas, y muchas formaciones intermedias o combinadas de todas éstas.

Además hay problemas muy diferentes en las diferentes regiones naturales del Perú, donde está la costa desértica con muy poca agua y donde nunca llueve, está la sierra con terreno muy desigual donde hay lluvia, pero también grandes heladas que perjudican la agricultura y están también la puna esteparia y la selva amazónica con sus características de jungla. Todas estas cosas hacen muy complejo el problema agrario peruano.

Sobre la Ley de Reforma Agraria, debemos ubicar el carácter de ésta dentro del carácter general del gobierno, su carácter desarrollista con rasgos nacionalistas y populistas. De esta manera vemos que la Ley de Reforma Agraria está hecha para incorporar al campesinado al mercado capitalista como comprador y como vendedor y también para ganarse un sector de fuerte apoyo social.

P. ¿Se ha llevado a cabo esta ley?

R. No se ha cumplido en forma homogénea dentro del país. No se ha cumplido ni siquiera esta limitada ley dada por el gobierno, la cual contempla el pago a los hacendados.

Bueno, es muy difícil pagarle a los hacendados, no hay dinero para hacerlo. Por otra parte, la mayoría de los hacendados se oponen a la Ley de Reforma Agraria. Hay muchos que tienen influencias políticas o que pueden sobornar a los funcionarios logrando que ésa se retarde en la zona en que están.

También tenemos que contemplar que donde hay una organización campesina, donde hay luchas campesinas, a veces es donde se da la Ley de Reforma Agraria

para aplacar al campesino y evitar su ascenso.

Entonces, la realidad económica diferente, las relaciones de producción también diferentes, la realidad geográfica climática diferente, la realidad social diferente, inclusive, la realidad política diferente a escala local, en diferentes partes del Perú, hace que sea muy desigual la aplicación de esa ley. Lo que sí se puede generalizar, es que no se ha cumplido ni siquiera en la forma en que el gobierno pretendía hacerlo: en una forma muy limitada respondiendo a sus intereses capitalistas.

Hay otra generalidad, el campesinado sigue siendo el sector más pobre del país y sigue teniendo un nivel de vida muy bajo. Esa es la situación del campesinado peruano.

P. ¿Cómo ha afectado la crisis mundial al gobierno peruano?

R. El gobierno tiene contracciones con el imperialismo por una parte y con las masas por otra. Ha logrado retardar la crisis en la que entraba el país pero no ha logrado eliminar las raíces de la crisis. En la situación actual, cuando estamos comenzando una crisis a escala mundial, cuando hay países como Bangla Desh donde la gente se está muriendo de hambre, también se agudizan las contradicciones en el Perú tanto del gobierno con el imperialismo como del gobierno con las masas.

En junio hubo una crisis en el gabinete como reflejo de eso. Las crisis económicas se reflejan en crisis políticas. Estas se reflejan en las filas mismas del ejército, que es el representante de la burguesía en general. Así las contradicciones entre los sectores burgueses se reflejan dentro del ejército. Y éstas se presentaron dentro del gabinete mismo.

P. ¿Cómo fue la crisis del gabinete?

R. El Ministro de Marina fue echado del ministerio y también se echó al Ministro de Vivienda.

P. ¿A quién representaban esos ministros expulsados?

R. A la ultraderecha.

P. ¿Cuál ha sido el desarrollo de la ultraderecha?

R. La ultraderecha ha empezado a levantar cabeza y trata de pasar a la ofensiva. Por ejemplo, el partido Aprista;² Acción Popular, el partido de Belaúnde Terry; tratan de formar un frente para pedir las elecciones. Esa es la forma demagógica que

2. Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana.

usa la ultraderecha para combatir a este gobierno.

El pueblo no se entusiasma mucho con esto, porque todos los gobiernos que habían subido a través de las elecciones burguesas habían sido peores que éste.

Además hubo un atentado en diciembre contra el Premier Mercado Jarrín, contra el Ministro de Pesquería, Tantaleán Vanini y otro general cuando iban en un automóvil. También pusieron una bomba en la casa del Ministro de Marina, Taura, seis horas antes de que juramentara.

Esta era la actividad clara de la derecha porque precisamente al anterior Ministro de Marina lo habían sacado por ultraderechista.

También hay que mencionar el abaleamiento de un periodista de la página sindical de *Correo*; el incendio del Minero Perú, que es una empresa estatal; el incendio de una empresa del gobierno de comercialización de productos alimenticios; el incendio de un depósito de algodón y en el norte, también otro incendio.

Los ultraderechistas sacaron un periódico nuevo, *Opinión Libre*, que era un semanal que agrupaba a todos los periodistas de los diarios expropiados y que impulsaba un frente de la derecha. Este ha sido clausurado también últimamente.

Además hay una campaña que se hace desde el exterior. La Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa que agrupa a Belaúnde Terry, Ulloa, Ravínes, de la Jara Urueta, Vargas Prada—representantes de la oligarquía y el imperialismo—está haciendo una campaña contra este gobierno.

En la marina ha habido muchos desplazamientos a fines de año a causa de estas contradicciones internas. Esta es la escalada que está tomando la ultraderecha contra el gobierno.

P. ¿En qué situación se encuentran las masas en estos momentos?

R. Hay un avance de las luchas obreras y estudiantiles, como dije, tanto los obreros como los estudiantes, nunca se convencieron de que éste fuera su gobierno. Han estado luchando en forma permanente por el mejoramiento de su nivel de vida. En los últimos meses ha habido una cierta baja de esta lucha, pero puede explicarse en parte por las vacaciones.

Lo más probable es que continúe en ascenso porque la clase obrera no está derrotada. A fines del 73 hubo grandes paralizaciones generales en varios departamentos del sur del país.

P. ¿Cómo reacciona el gobierno ante esta situación?

R. El gobierno contesta con represiones a ambos sectores, a la derecha y a las masas.

Por ejemplo, ha deportado algunos derechistas, ha nacionalizado los diarios de la derecha y ha tomado medidas como las de algunos desplazamientos dentro de la marina.

Frente a las masas, ha lanzado un decreto que prohíbe las movilizaciones de éstas. Ha reprimido muchas huelgas mediante despidos y encarcelamientos de los dirigentes, en algunas ocasiones ha masacrado.

Ha masacrado a los campesinos de Huanta y a los mineros de Cobriza. Masacró en Puno, y en Arequipa también lo hizo en el 73. Así, a todo esto se agrega la última masacre en el sur del país. Esta masacre no es algo especial, se ubica dentro las respuestas represivas del régimen.

P. Se ha especulado sobre un golpe de estado en el Perú. ¿Qué hay de esto?

R. Actualmente hay en el Perú un peligro de golpe de estado. No inmediato, pero existe el peligro de un golpe de estado ultraderechista tipo Pinochet.

P. ¿Qué actitud ha tomado el gobierno ante este peligro?

R. El gobierno ha tomado algunas medidas represivas no consecuentes. Últimamente dio permiso para que regresaran cinco deportados de la derecha y sin embargo, no ha permitido el regreso de ninguno de los deportados de la izquierda. Aquellos que hemos sido deportados por haber apoyado las reclamaciones de las masas como es el caso mío y de Breña, que estamos deportados por haber apoyado la

huelga de profesores; es el caso de Napuri y Cuentas, por haber apoyado la huelga minera y es el caso de los que están deportados por haber participado en las movilizaciones de Arequipa.

Además de la ley contra las movilizaciones que ha sacado el gobierno y todo este freno que le pone al movimiento de masas, la manera más segura de ayudar al golpe, están las actitudes suicidas del gobierno frente a éste.

Lo hemos visto claramente en Chile. Esto quiere decir que la única manera de detener el golpe es desarrollando la fuerza de las masas, la movilización de las masas contra el golpe. El gobierno lo que hace es frenar a estas masas, en otro grado, pero como lo hizo en Chile la Unidad Popular, o Perón en el 55 en Argentina. Lo que hizo Arbenz en el 54 en Guatemala, lo que hizo Torres en Bolivia, etc.

Estas cosas, como lo hemos visto en América Latina, llevan a un triunfo de la derecha. Una victoria de ésta queda garantizada si se le pone ataduras a las masas. No hay otra fuerza que pueda detener el golpismo. Desgraciadamente el gobierno mismo se encarga de engañar a las masas de que no hay peligro de golpe, que está completamente fuerte.

P. ¿Cómo ha reaccionado la izquierda ante el peligro de golpe?

R. El reformismo dice lo mismo que el gobierno, el Partido Comunista le dice a las masas que este gobierno está fuerte. Finalmente, la ultraizquierda dice que este

régimen es fascista o algo por el estilo, por lo tanto ya no es posible ningún golpe de derecha. De hecho se está oscureciendo la visión de las masas sobre el peligro de golpe que se aproxima en el Perú.

P. ¿Qué papel deben jugar los revolucionarios en la lucha contra el golpe?

R. Yo creo que el rol de los revolucionarios es mostrar a las masas este peligro de golpe y mostrarles también que la única manera de oponerse a él y aplastarlo es con la movilización independiente de las masas. Digo independiente, porque este gobierno que oscurece las mentes de las masas acerca del peligro de golpe, este gobierno que saca leyes para reprimir las movilizaciones de masas, no es alguien confiable para dirigir esas movilizaciones contra el golpe. Va a preferir suicidarse antes que movilizar a las masas. Por lo tanto, el rol de los revolucionarios es el de mostrar esto.

Por otra parte, tenemos que comprender que tanto en el Perú como en los otros países de América Latina, se combina la lucha contra los golpes de estado con el avance de los trabajadores en sus propias conquistas. La lucha debe ser tanto por la defensa de las conquistas que han obtenido como por el logro de mayores conquistas.

En esencia es la misma lucha la que tienen que llevar a cabo los trabajadores y las masas en general, tanto en los gobiernos donde ya hayan triunfado los golpes proimperialistas, como en Chile, como en gobiernos, como en el Perú, donde el golpe está en preparación.

[Continuará]

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The Secret of Healy's 'Dialectics'

By Joseph Hansen

But facts are stubborn things, as the English proverb says, and they have to be reckoned with, whether we like it or not.

—Lenin

The disappearance of the name of Tim Wohlforth from the *Bulletin* and from the *Workers Press* last fall¹ inevitably gave rise to questions, for he was the founder of the *Bulletin* and the person most influential in determining its editorial line outside of Gerry Healy, while the *Workers Press* had for many years presented his contributions to British readers as authoritative assessments of political developments in the United States.

Strangest of all was the complete absence at the *Bulletin's* tenth anniversary celebration in New York October 25 of any mention whatsoever of the decisive role played by Tim Wohlforth in launching the newspaper and keeping it going over long and difficult years of almost total isolation.

Why had Tim Wohlforth been "vaporized"? Why had the Healyite hierarchy decided to turn him into an "unperson"?²

In a long document, "The Workers League and the International Committee," Wohlforth has now made available to the working-class public the answers to these and related questions.³ Wohlforth's exposure of the organizational practices of the Workers League in the United States and the Workers Revolutionary party in Britain is completely convincing. It is difficult to see how his summary of the facts can be successfully challenged, particularly since the pattern is much the same as that reported by others who have had the misfortune to find Healy doing them in.

Before taking up Wohlforth's case it is worth reviewing several others. A good one to begin with is that of Ernest Tate.

Case of Ernest Tate

On November 17, 1966, while hawking a pamphlet at the entrance to Caxton Hall in

London where a meeting of the Socialist Labour League was being held, Ernest Tate, an internationally known Trotskyist militant, was set upon by stewards of the SLL. In the presence of Healy, Tate was beaten so severely that he had to be hospitalized. The excuse was that he was obstructing the unloading of coaches bringing part of the audience.

What was the real reason for the violence? A clue was the title of the pamphlet he was offering, *Healy "Reconstructs" the Fourth International*. The content of the pamphlet was a documented exposé of the way a group headed by James Robertson had been summarily ousted from a conference of the "International Committee" presided over by Healy the previous April.

Tate sent a letter to working-class publications, protesting the beating he had received. Healy responded by filing a lawsuit against him and against two journals guilty of *lèse majesté* for publishing Tate's letter (*Peace News* and the *Socialist Leader*).⁴

It could be argued with a certain plausibility that an incident like the beating of Ernest Tate ought to be dismissed as an accidental matter. However, that was not how the Socialist Labour League (now the Workers Revolutionary party) nor its American cothinkers of the Workers League viewed it at the time.

Healy sought the assistance of the bourgeois courts to silence Tate. The Central Committee of the SLL refused to bring Healy up on charges or to expel the stewards who were guilty of using physical violence against a worker holding political views different from theirs. In the United States the Political Committee of the Workers League issued a statement defending Healy and justifying beatings such as the one given Tate. "Tate and his political allies," the statement declared, "represent political scabs of the worst sort." This was said of adherents of the Fourth International.

The Tate case was thus of considerable

importance in establishing the fact that the Healyites were prepared to use violence against political opponents in the left—including Trotskyists—and in demonstrating that they agreed in principle with the use of such violence. The Tate case showed that the Healyites were partisans of tactics that have been a curse to the radical movement since they were introduced by the Stalinists in the 1920s.

The Healyite practice in the case of Ernest Tate exemplified what they hold in theory in relation to all opposing political tendencies in the working class. All other tendencies, no matter how close they may stand to the Healyites on certain political issues, are regarded as agencies of the bourgeoisie to be dealt with accordingly, not only in polemics but on the organizational level (if the relationship of forces makes it possible to get away with it).

What about organizational practices inside the SLL and its successor, the WRP? Are they qualitatively different? Does a comradesly atmosphere prevail? Do members feel free to express differences? Is the formation of tendencies considered to be a normal part of the internal life of the organization? Or, if a tendency happens to form, is it viewed as something in such violation of the tradition of the WRP that its members are stigmatized and chased out as if they were agents of the bourgeoisie?

The answers to these questions have been known generally in the British left for many years. The internal regime of the Healyite grouping is completely consistent with the external face displayed in cases like that of Ernest Tate.

Case of James Robertson

A well-documented instance is the experience of James Robertson at the April 1966 conference of the "International Committee."⁵ At that time Robertson headed a

5. The original International Committee was formed in November 1953 as a faction in the Fourth International opposed to the political positions and organizational practices represented chiefly by Michel Pablo, who headed the International Secretariat.

In 1963 the majority of the International Committee and the majority of the International Secretariat reunited on the basis of a joint declaration of principles, and formed the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.

Small minorities on both sides that refused to abide by the majority decisions set up their own international groupings. Healy and Lambert of the former International Committee named their rump formation the "International Committee."

In 1971 this grouping split into two international formations. Healy called his international faction the "International Committee." To this day he insists that his "International Committee" has not changed one iota from the original, all other former components having deserted, leaving him alone to fight single-handedly against a world of class enemies and renegades.

1. The last article signed by Tim Wohlforth appeared in the September 17, 1974, issue of the *Bulletin*. In the September 24 issue an advertisement was run for a book written by him and Nancy Fields.

2. For an excellent discussion on the meaning of these terms see 1984 by George Orwell.

3. The document was published by *Intercontinental Press* in four installments. See the issues of February 24-March 17, 1975.

4. The pamphlet *Healy "Reconstructs" the Fourth International*, plus extensive material on the Tate case (including a defense of Healy probably written by Wohlforth at the time), can be found in the 253-page compilation *Marxism Vs. Ultraleftism: The Record of Healy's Break With Trotskyism*. Available from the National Education Department, Socialist Workers Party, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014. \$2.50

minority tendency that agreed with Healy's positions on all major political questions. The reason for the existence of the group was its rivalry with the Wohlforth tendency for recognition as the American representatives of the "International Committee."

One of the achievements of the conference was to put an end to Robertson's bid for recognition. This is how it was done:

Robertson, who had been sick for three weeks, stayed up all night working on a document for presentation at the congress. In a state of exhaustion, he asked Healy "if it would be all right to leave the meeting to go to bed. . . ." Healy told him that he would "convey his request to the appropriate comrades controlling the congress. . . ."

This body "unanimously decided that he be requested to return. . . ."

In the evening, Robertson returned. He was "asked to apologise to the Congress for not having attended the session."

Robertson offered a written statement apologizing for missing a session. The statement was rejected. Among other things, Robertson had sought to excuse himself for not knowing the rules of the conference. "It was pointed out that these rules were implicit in all Bolshevik Congresses, otherwise everyone would do as he pleased." Robertson was asked to use the exit.

"At this point," Healy wrote, "I proposed a motion that he should stay until the end of the session, thus giving him time to reconsider his position." Healy's generous proposal was, naturally, adopted.

At the end of the session, Robertson was again "asked if he would carry out the unanimous request of the Congress and apologise for his attitude towards the Congress. He refused to do this and was accordingly asked to leave. . . ."

Robertson simply could not bring himself to go so far as to condemn himself like a defendant in the Moscow frame-up trials. As Healy put it: "The content of Robertson's statement was to the effect that Congress had no right to ask him to do something he did not want to do and this was not a Leninist conception. I need not stress to you comrades the thoroughly reactionary attitude shown in this statement. It confirmed the opinion formed by all the leading comrades in the Congress of the idealist, pragmatic, petty-bourgeois basis of the Spartacist group."

Thus on the basis of having missed a session because of physical exhaustion, and refusing to condemn himself for this "violation" of "Bolshevism," Robertson was told to get out. Which he did. His entire group, of course, went with him.

No discernible political basis existed for

this split. Robertson voted for the main political resolution. He abstained on the accompanying report made by Slaughter because he disagreed with portions dealing with the situation in the United States. Evidently Robertson did not consider these differences to be significant enough to require a counterreport.

Robertson voted for a minority resolution presented by Varga on the situation in the Fourth International, a vote that Varga rejected as "unprincipled." According to Healy, Robertson also made a speech in which he "implicitly adopted" the position that Cuba was "a deformed workers' state." If that was Robertson's position, the difference was on the level of theory—Healy mentions no political differences concerning the defense of the Cuban revolution.

Except for such minor expressions of independent thinking, Robertson's attitude was one of complete solidarity with the political positions of the "International Committee" and of personal loyalty to Healy.

It should be noted, however, that Healy considered Robertson to be guilty of extraordinary duplicity concerning his political positions. "We had the impression," he wrote, "that insofar as Robertson said things that were correct he was in fact attempting to hide his real political opinions."

From the Healyite point of view, it was thus permissible and even a duty to use any means, including Stalinist-type organizational measures, to purge the "International Committee" of a group like that.

Case of Alan Thornett

The case of Alan Thornett is similarly instructive. A leading trade-union activist in the WRP, he submitted a resolution⁷ for consideration at the first annual conference of the newly named organization, which was held in London December 15, 16, and 17, 1974.

The purpose of his document was to call attention to the rising danger of sectarianism in the party: "It paralyses the work in the trade unions, it makes an effective fight against reformism impossible. It leads us towards wrong interventions in elections and to crash recruitment programmes, to impossible targets, and above all, through the combination of all these factors, it threatens the Workers Revolutionary Party with liquidation."

The document was quiet in tone and its arguments were backed with evidence.

7. For the text of this document see "Alan Thornett's Contribution to the Discussion in the WRP" in the February 10, 1975, issue of *Intercontinental Press*, p. 199. For documents reporting and protesting the purge, see "Healy Purges 200 Dissidents From WRP" in the January 13, 1975, issue of *Intercontinental Press*, p. 25.

There was every reason to discuss it seriously and to submit it to a vote. In a Trotskyist organization this would have been done without question as a normal procedure under the rules of democratic centralism.

The full details as to what happened have not yet been made public. From the account offered by the Thornett group the following items are known:

1. Tony Richardson, called into the "Centre" on October 1, 1974, for questioning by the Central Committee of the WRP, was subjected to "violence and intimidation."

2. At a Central Committee meeting, Alan Thornett asked that the treatment received by Richardson be placed before the Control Commission for investigation.

3. When the Control Commission was set up, the request to investigate the "violence and intimidation" Richardson had suffered at the hands of the Central Committee was changed to read "investigate the circumstances surrounding the absence from Party work of Comrade Richardson and Comrade Lister."

The Control Commission was thus openly converted into an instrument of Healy's faction.

4. This abuse of authority was justified as a principle of the WRP. Smith told the Central Committee, according to Thornett, that the Control Commission "is not unbiased—we are here to support the leadership."

The Control Commission, still according to Thornett, brought in a "highly factional report written as the centre piece of the leadership's bureaucratic moves to silence me, my document, and anyone who supports my views."

The Control Commission left out of its report any consideration of Richardson's testimony concerning the "violence and intimidation" inflicted on him by the Central Committee.

5. The Control Commission reported that there were rumors of "violence and drinking circulating in Oxford."

Thornett declared that these were "mainly spread" by Healy. But in the interests of improving the conditions for a political discussion on the differences, Thornett and Richardson signed a statement at a Central Committee meeting that was designed to put an end to such rumors.

However, the statement was taken "out of context and presented as some kind of 'confession.' This statement, designed to facilitate discussion is now being used to prevent it."

6. Thornett's request to form a faction in accordance with the provisions of the constitution of the WRP was denied. Healy affirmed, according to Thornett: "I will not have any faction in this party before or after the Conference. I'll expel anyone who forms a faction in this party."

6. This and the following quotations are from Healy's account of what happened. See *Marxism Vs. Ultraleftism*, pp. 85-87.

7. A series of arbitrary measures were undertaken by the leadership of the WRP. These included confining Thornett to Oxford so as to block his party activities and to prevent him from presenting his views to other members in the discussion period before the conference. Various members were suspended for criticizing the Control Commission report or were placed under "investigation." John Lister "was placed on charges minutes after he spoke in support of my political position at the Oxford Sub-District Aggregate."

8. Some of the procedures were so grotesque as to resemble scenes in a movie exposing Stalinism. The following paragraphs from a resolution passed by the Oxford Sub-District Committee are indicative:

"We were instructed as members of the Oxford Sub District Committee to attend the Centre on Sunday, December 1st 1974—a vehicle to pick us up at 6:00pm from Oxford Rail Station.

"The Reading Sub District Committee had been given similar instructions and were in attendance in the afternoon of the same day. It is clear that the Reading comrades were not treated with political respect or even treated as a Committee. They were split up, abused, (one leading member called 'a potential fascist'), forbidden to speak to each other, and exposed to various forms of organised intimidation. They were asked to sign a statement of disassociation from all of Alan Thornett's views, or be expelled. All of the comrades involved refused to submit to such intimidation, and were subsequently expelled. During this time Comrade Alan Thornett was described by the General Secretary [Healy] as 'a police agent.'

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

9. Healy's factional hooliganism culminated in the expulsion of the entire group on the eve of the conference. In a December

14 statement distributed at the entrance of the hall where the delegates assembled, Thornett said:

"By decision of the Central Committee, I was to be given the opportunity to speak on my political position at this conference. This decision has never been rescinded. Ten days ago I was expelled from the party. In addition nearly 200 other members have been expelled for refusing to denounce my political position or agree with my expulsion. All seven branches in Oxford, two in Reading and two in Swindon have been disbanded by the Political Committee. The Workers Press has been cut off from Oxford, Reading and Swindon, and members and readers deprived of the paper they have fought for and helped to create.

"It is clear that a campaign of vilification against myself and others has been launched by the leadership in order to obscure my political position and to stop it being looked at objectively. Furthermore, I understand that London meetings have been told that I have spread rumours, and that I am a 'police agent.' These are deliberate lies. . . .

"Because the leadership has no answer to the political position I put forward, I am being branded as a hostile anti-party force. This is also a lie. Many of us here today have put our lives into this party, and have nothing outside the party: but this could not stop me raising the wrong positions of the leadership, because I am convinced that these wrong positions are liquidating our party and will destroy it, if these positions are not challenged and changed."

The Case of Tim Wohlforth

Tim Wohlforth had no discernible political differences with Gerry Healy. In fact, as a loyal lieutenant, he did his utmost to put across any twists or turns originating in London.

It is true that in his document "The Workers League and the International Committee" he begins with a considerable list of differences with the Mazelis leadership that was lifted into the saddle after he was pushed out of it. But he formulated these differences over line only after he found himself biting the dust. His cries of "disaster" concern what has happened to the Workers League under its new leadership.

It is likewise true that he refers to differences within the Workers League that apparently smoldered from the foundation of the group, but the political side of these differences remains obscure. For instance, Wohlforth points to the handicaps he faced because of the poor sociological composition of the Workers League. Recruitment came from "critics" of what was happening, not proletarian activists. "This is not necessari-

ly the most revolutionary material. In fact it is largely nonrevolutionary and centrist."

He says again, "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."

On the philosophical level, a similar situation existed in the Workers League, with "idealism" forever raising its ugly head. "For years we fought Comrade Mazelis on these questions." By deciding finally to back Mazelis, Healy removed the possibility of carrying on this struggle. "Thus the idealist tendency which always existed within the League now reigns unchallenged."

How little political positions affected adjustments in orientation is graphically shown in the following account given by Wohlforth of one of the shifts.

First Trip to London

"In late June [1973] the British comrades called me over for consultations. They were particularly upset by a reference in one of the classes [a series that was opened up to the Spartacist group] 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 [elsewhere Wohlforth says "14 years"—J.H.] 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

8. The reference is to the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste headed by Pierre Lambert. The faintest whisper that Healy engaged in the combination in an unprincipled way was, of course, possible grounds for immediate expulsion.

within it. All the work of the past period was now in jeopardy. . . . Particularly I had to break with the centrist elements around me in the leadership and drive the movement forward into the working class. . . .

"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."

Healy's Style

The pattern Wohlforth ran into in his trip to London followed lines much like those in the previously cited cases of internal conflicts. Healy's mode of operation is to seize on a small incident of little or no political consequence and subject the unfortunate person involved to a "one-way shouting match" such as might go on in a police station.

The atmosphere that is built up suggests the possibility of, if it does not verge on, or actually slip into, physical violence. At the last moment a temporary reprieve may be granted.

If a shadow of resistance continues to be shown, as in the case of Robertson, the victim is expelled forthwith. If the procedure appears to have been successful and the victim acts brainwashed or shell-shocked, as in the case of Wohlforth, his succeeding performance is kept under close observation with the help of informants.

While Healy does not hesitate to go into action in this way at a conference or congress, he appears to prefer to have his victim stand alone, facing an assemblage of headquarters toughs. This explains why leading members of the Thornett group in Reading were received by "guards" at the Centre, where they had been ordered to appear for interviews, and why they were "split up, abused . . . forbidden to speak to each other, and exposed to various forms of organised intimidation."

The same procedure was used with the group of leading members of the Thornett group in Oxford. Warned as to what had happened to the Reading group, they refused to be split up for the "interviews." They were sentenced to immediate expulsion.

Resignation under this pressure is called "desertion" and the label "renegade" is pinned on anyone leaving the organization via this route.

One of the traps set for victims of these organizational methods is the promise of a new lease on life if a statement is signed. To be acceptable the statement must include a self-condemnation, as illustrated in the case of Robertson, or a repudiation of political differences as in the case of those who agreed with Thornett's positions. Healy will

even permit someone who has resigned to rejoin if a statement of that kind is submitted. It is used in the way a "confession" was used in the Moscow frame-up trials to help prove the "guilt" of the victim.

Even the most abject capitulation does not save someone who has once come under suspicion. Wohlforth discovered this to his cost.

A year after his visit to London, Wohlforth received an emergency phone call from Gerry Healy. "He urged me to drop everything and immediately fly to London." Since Healy was scheduled to appear in two weeks at a summer camp Wohlforth was organizing, "I could not for the life of me figure out why I had been summoned," Wohlforth writes. Nevertheless he went for a one-day meeting.

It turned out that a minority grouping in the Workers League had sent its leader Gagnon to London some time previously.

"Gagnon was surprised by his welcome in England. Comrade Healy received him with open arms. He listened to every criticism with relish. Even the most outlandish gossip was carefully noted down for future use. Comrade Healy immediately jumped to the conclusion that this group had been forced out of the movement, that the movement had been virtually liquidated over the past year, that the policies which he had himself spoken against in 1973 were after all correct policies. My 14 years of close and loyal collaboration with Comrade Healy and the British movement carried no weight. The assessment of the situation in the League and its work developed in common through close collaboration over the past year was conveniently forgotten. The position of the International Committee itself arrived at in Conference with sections present from throughout the world was of no consequence. Comrade Healy had, after all, seen the light.

"Comrade Healy, however, did not leave matters there. He added his own element. He immediately concluded that the loss of leading members over the past year was the work of the CIA! This was Comrade Healy's original contribution having never occurred to either Gagnon or Frankel. After all, as he saw it, the League was breaking up. The CIA would like to see the League break up. Therefore, the CIA must be at work. . . .

"Comrade Healy began immediately to seek to discover who was the CIA agent in the leadership of the League. Since Comrade Fields was relatively new in the leadership and in addition had been associated with the whole past year's drive into the youth and [was] thus hated by those who had left the League, she was his prime suspect. Such was the situation when I arrived at Heathrow airport."

Healy and the other top hands at the Centre had everything well prepared for the

working-over Wohlforth was scheduled to receive:

"I was whisked to a special meeting with Comrade Healy also attended by Comrade Banda and other comrades. The following was immediately proposed: (1) the whole past year had been a mistake, a turn into community politics and a retreat from the working class; (2) the former party members who had left were driven out by myself and Comrade Fields who represented a clique leadership; (3) Comrade Fields was probably a CIA agent; (4) there was to be no national conference this Fall; (5) the group of former party members was to be urged to come to the camp for discussions and brought back into the party without discussion with the PC [Political Committee].

"Comrade Gagnon was then brought in. He went into a recital of the most absurd gossip. He then became choked up, started to cry and seized me hugging me declaring his deep personal devotion to me.⁹ Then off he flew back to New York to organize his group for the camp. Comrade Healy persisted with his view that I had virtually completely destroyed the movement over the last year.

"I returned to the United States a bit shell-shocked. The British comrades, I thought, have always been right. They must now be right. I did my best to hold to that position while I proceeded to build the summer camp. . . ."

Still keeping his eyes closed to the reality despite having been shell-shocked twice¹⁰ at the Centre in London, soothing himself with the thought that the British comrades had always been right and that if he continued to act in accordance with his self-image of being their best lieutenant everything would come out OK, Wohlforth participated in his own vaporization in the succeeding weeks.

Tilting With Agents of the CIA

After sending Slaughter, a reliable scout, ahead to make sure that it was "safe" for him to come, the redoubtable Healy arrived at the camp, which was located in Canada.

He immediately took up the question of CIA penetration of the Workers League. The investigation centered on Nancy Fields, whose uncle had worked for the CIA until 1961. Fields had broken off all relations with her uncle in 1964 and those in the

9. Did Gagnon lose control of himself in this way because of emotion over the despicable course he had been induced to follow? It would be helpful to know Healy's assessment. The general secretary might, of course, accuse Wohlforth of plagiarizing 1984.

10. James P. Cannon's close comrades heard him say more than once: "Suckered once, shame on you. Suckered twice, shame on me." If Wohlforth ever knew about this, he forgot it when it would have done him the most good.

leadership of the Workers League who knew her well thought it absurd to consider her an agent of the CIA.

No matter. "Comrade Healy was now convinced he was in the midst of a nest of the CIA. He even considered the thought that the whole Workers League was a CIA front.

"Comrade Healy was possessed with this thought. He even feared for his life once he learned that Comrade Fields was aware of the location of his motel!"

We now come to the small incident Healy typically uses in moving against a marked person, which he magnifies to monstrous proportions to justify the extreme penalty.

Wohlforth reports: "I was accused of harboring and covering for a CIA agent. It was stated that I had failed to report on Comrade Fields' past CIA 'connections' at the time of the last IC Conference which Comrade Fields attended as a delegate. This endangered our Comrades in Spain, Greece and Peru. It was then added that when in England I had hid this information from Comrade Healy once again."

Wohlforth was willing to take anything from Healy except the charge that Fields was a CIA agent. "It was too preposterous. Therefore Comrade Healy was determined to break me."

Healy went into action in his usual energetic way. He negotiated "completely on his own" to bring former members back into the Workers League. At the same time he built a group against Wohlforth and Fields. "Comrade Mazelis was groomed quickly for party leadership. Every bit of scandal or accusation was carefully dragged out of leading comrades."

A special meeting of the Central Committee of the Workers League was called.

"At this meeting everyone was encouraged to denounce the leadership of the party in order to bolster the characterization of the past year of party work as liquidationism. Comrade Healy called the session 'Christmas' and thoroughly enjoyed it.

"It was at this meeting that Comrade Healy first proposed that I be removed as National Secretary of the party."

On August 31, 1974, another meeting of the Central Committee was called. Healy started the discussion by repeating his charges that Fields was a CIA agent. Wohlforth was held "complicit" for failure to make the report that Healy thought was requisite in the situation.

"As could be expected with such a charge," Wohlforth continues, "an atmosphere of complete hysteria dominated the meeting. Comrade Fields requested permission to go to the ladies room.¹¹ Comrade

Healy insisted that she be accompanied by two guards. Comrade Healy in an extremely emotional state completely dominated the proceedings. In the middle of these proceedings I stated that I disagreed with the whole proceedings. This produced an extreme reaction in Comrade Healy."

The "extreme reaction" was understandable. Wohlforth's brain was showing tell-tale signs of having been counterwashed.

"It was this very mild resistance on my part which encouraged Comrade Healy to go ahead with the already well developed plans to remove me as National Secretary. Comrade Healy proposed that Comrade Mazelis put forward a motion to remove me as National Secretary and to suspend Comrade Fields from party membership pending an investigation into the CIA charges. This Mazelis did and it passed unanimously receiving even my vote and that of Comrade Fields. Then Comrade Healy proposed that I nominate Comrade Mazelis as National Secretary. I proceeded to do so and it passed unanimously."

Wohlforth seems to have still hoped that this Stalinist-type way of disposing of a leadership would be revoked after his comrades had had time to think it over. This was not to be.

"I shortly discovered that the action taken on August 31 was definitive in character. A special meeting of the IC was called which after the fact: (1) endorsed Comrade Healy's totally unauthorized actions; (2) specifically barred me from any role in the day to day political leadership of the party; and (3) barred Comrade Fields from any contact with the League of any sort. I offered my resignation from the League in response to this action. To continue in the League would have been a mockery of the entire struggle which had preceded August 31."

The sequel is shortly told. The inquiry commission reported that after an investigation there was no substance at all to the charges leveled against Fields in relation to the CIA. In view of its findings, the commission invited Wohlforth to return to the party—but not to his post as national secretary, despite the falsity of the charges Healy had used to remove him.

The commission barred Fields from holding any office for two years, even though the charges used to suspend her from membership had been proved to be false.

Wohlforth decided to apply for membership so as to be in position to carry on a discussion relating to these events and to the perspectives of the Workers League. Mazelis appeared to be willing to accept Wohlforth's application, but it was rejected by Healy.

Healy's "Bolshevik" rules against missing a session or part of it.

Healy insisted that Wohlforth must first appear before the "International Committee."

His eyes having been opened, Wohlforth recognized the meaning of Healy's move. No more returning from London shell-shocked! "I rejected this proposal as a maneuver intended to block my return to the party, aimed at bolstering the weak centrist leadership of Mazelis, and preventing any serious opposition to develop within any section of the IC to the policies of Comrade Healy."

Wohlforth sought to appeal to the National Conference of the Workers League. Mazelis rejected this proposal, too, after consultation with Healy.

Healy's Private Religion

While he can no longer be listed as part of the Healyite fold, Wohlforth has not yet freed himself from Healyism. This sticks out in various ways, perhaps clearest of all in his continued expounding of Healy's version of dialectics.

Seeking a philosophical level to explain his differences with Mazelis, Wohlforth uses sentences like these:

"The struggle of opposites is *absolute* and the unity of opposites only relative. In fact, this unity is achieved *only* through the struggle of opposition."

"We have been accused in the recent period of seeking to choose opposites arbitrarily and refusing to hold the opposites fast."

"Opposites are held fast precisely through bringing them together. That is why opposites are held fast only through struggle and in no other way."¹²

Healy uses this logic to "expose" his political opponents on a "dialectical" level. For instance, George Novack, the world Trotskyist movement's leading authority in the field of philosophy and a defender of dialectical materialism for almost half a century, has been "proved" by this odd logic to be an "idealist."

Wohlforth even tries in passing to show his Healyite orthodoxy on this point: "Novack saw the moments of dialectics in a fashion which wiped out any real contradic-

11. She had damn well better ask for permission from the august body if she wanted to avoid being hauled up like Robertson on charges of violating

12. Wohlforth's formulations are remindful of the literature that addled the brain of Don Quixote. In his biography of the gentleman farmer of La Mancha, Cervantes quotes a couple of examples. One of them goes as follows: "The reason of your unreasonable usage of my reason, does so enfeeble my reason, that I have reason to expostulate with your beauty." Cervantes notes: "These and such-like expressions, strangely puzzled the poor gentleman's understanding, while he was breaking his brain to unravel their meaning, which Aristotle himself could never have found, though he should have been raised from the dead for that very purpose."

tion or struggle. He saw the negation of the negation as a process of *retaining* in the new being elements of the old being which *survive* unscathed from the original or first negation."

The Healyites do not confine this type of dialectics to polemics against other tendencies; they quite consistently use it within their own organization.

Thus Wohlforth informs us that he has fought Mazelis "for years" on these questions. An "idealist tendency," he continues, has "always existed within the League. . . ." In a thrust at the idealist Mazelis, he declares: "Comrade Mazelis has developed the art of holding opposites fast to the point where he is able to keep them in perfect balance, thus creating a state of motionlessness."

Now that he has been vaporized, Wohlforth even ventures a mild criticism of Healy's dialectics, or at least of the display put on by Healy at a summer camp: "He sought to break down the moments of the dialectic in the most minute way showing the opposites within each opposite at each moment in the dialectic process. This kind of lecture has, in my opinion, very little use, because it abstracts out of an actual study of matter in motion a discussion of logic in such a manner as to encourage a very pedantic and formal approach."

According to the very same Healyite dialectic, however, Mazelis proves that Wohlforth is nothing but an idealist. In the reply to Wohlforth issued by the Political Committee of the Workers League, we are informed that the resignation of the national secretary "was the culmination of a long political struggle between Wohlforth's idealist and pragmatic method and the fight for a Marxist method."¹³

How should these counterclaims be assessed? What do we have, two idealists telling the truth about each other ("you're an idealist; you're another"), or two materialists lying about each other ("you're an idealist; you're another")?

Healy's "dialectics," it is clear, serves a quite utilitarian purpose. In the factionalism promoted by the headquarters gang, it is handled as a battle weapon like lying or mud-slinging. Insofar as it amounts to a logic, it merely reflects Healy's organizational methods.

Wohlforth admits, for instance: "The question of holding opposites fast deserves some explanation for this term has become the philosophical cover in the Workers League for compromise with centrists."

It would be more accurate to say that "holding opposites fast" means calling a group of critical members into the Centre for "interviews" and giving each one a good clobbering. "Holding opposites fast" can

also mean holding idealists like Wohlforth in the organization until the last drop is squeezed out and they are dropped into the bin marked "Vaporized Lemons."

Nevertheless, it would be a mistake to regard Healyite dialectics as nothing but propaganda cynically designed as a cover for this punch-up type of factionalism. Its adherents genuinely believe in it, or at least are awed by the claims made for it, or are wary of the perils that can face those who voice doubts. They are not inclined to question Healy's contention that it is the same as the materialist dialectics advocated and used by Lenin and Trotsky. As part of its mysterious workings, they accept the fact that its practitioners, although taught and trained by Healy, continually fall into demonstrable idealism, Mazelis and Wohlforth being typical examples.

In the case of a master in its application like Healy, this contribution to logic no doubt appears to be an absolute truth to which everything must be made to correspond. Such an inner conviction is not receptive to challenge, particularly if a circle of converts, however small, feeds the delusion that it might catch on and become more than a private religion.

In his current mood of opposition to Healy, Wohlforth accuses his former leader of following in the footsteps of Pablo and Cannon.

"Michel Pablo's method was the method of *subjective idealism*. This led in practice to an *organizational* approach to party building which ignored the problems of building a serious and independent leadership in each country familiar with the problems of the working class of that country, and trained to make decisions on its own, to develop and build its own movement.

"Comrade Gerry Healy has in practice in the recent period gone over to the organizational methods of Pablo."

Wohlforth is guilty here of exaggeration. Pablo was not a subjective idealist. He was a materialist and remains one to this day. He became impatient in the difficult work of party building and sought shortcuts. He engaged in organizational practices that were damaging to the Trotskyist movement and could have eventually led to its liquidation if a vigorous struggle had not been launched against them. In the evolution of his political views he finally wound up outside of the Trotskyist movement. All of this is true, but let it be said *in defense of Pablo* that at no time did he sink to such low levels as those reached by Healy.

Wohlforth drags in Cannon with the following assertion:

"Comrade Healy proceeds in an impatient way to break up a party as did Pablo. He also shares characteristics with James P. Cannon. To Gerry Healy there is a complete identity between the international

movement and his national party, the Workers Revolutionary Party. Internationalism stops at the frontiers of Britain. It is seen as a 'principle' which requires the subordination of *other* parties to the International which is seen as identical with the WRP. To what is the WRP subordinate?"

Wohlforth accuses Healy of following the "path of Comrade Cannon" in treating "what remains of the International Committee . . . in the most cavalier manner. . . ."

For good measure, Wohlforth adds:

"It was James P. Cannon who developed the reactionary idealist theory that a cadre could somehow be 'preserved' as one preserves fruit in order to lead a movement in a future period."

The Socialist Workers party founded by Cannon is referred to by Wohlforth as "revisionist," as is the Young Socialist Alliance in which Cannon took such interest up to the day he died.

In all of these references, Wohlforth shows that he has not overcome the Healyite proclivity for ignoring facts or inventing seemingly plausible facsimiles of them.

Cannon's internationalism never stopped at the borders of the United States. Anyone acquainted with his views and his record would regard it a slander to say otherwise. After all, he played a decisive personal role in founding the Fourth International and keeping it functioning under the most adverse conditions. Cannon regarded the Socialist Workers party as but one pillar of the world Trotskyist movement. What he wanted of the SWP was to be a *strong* pillar of international Trotskyism.

In the case of the International Committee, Cannon's internationalism was demonstrated precisely in his refusal to commit it to dead-end factionalism. When the political differences that had given rise to the formation of the International Committee receded, Cannon favored reunifying the international Trotskyist movement on a principled basis. Cannon placed internationalism first. Healy (and Wohlforth) took a different course—for dead-end factionalism centered in fortress Britain.

As for the charge that Cannon developed the "reactionary idealist theory" of preserving cadres like dried fruit, this is absurd. Cannon favored placing cadres in such positions in the class struggle as to give them maximum possibilities to endure, to proselytize, and eventually win positions of leadership. He was dead set against wasting them in barren ultraleft adventures or letting them wither in a sect like the one maintained by Healy. Above all he was against the Stalinist practice of squeezing them dry and tossing them into the bin of "Vaporized Lemons."

Cannon's views and practices in this

Intercontinental Press

13. For the full text of the statement see *Intercontinental Press*, March 24, p. 411.

aspect of party building are not the least of the reasons why the Socialist Workers party and the Young Socialist Alliance are *not* revisionist but revolutionary, and why their cadres are coming into increasingly better position to influence the class struggle in the United States.

It is a false hypothesis that Healy's course resulted from his seeking to follow the example of either Pablo or Cannon, or from his unconsciously falling into their ways. Healy has his own self-image and it bears no resemblance to the records of such opposites as Cannon and Pablo. Strangely enough, certain of Wohlforth's observations ought to have led him to a better hypothesis. Note the following in what Wohlforth writes of Healy:

"He is seized by at times what approaches madness for subjective idealism is a form of madness as it rearranges the world according to the individual. He becomes convinced that he is surrounded by CIA agents and proceeds on that basis. Anyone who objects is denounced for being an anti-internationalist. But an international is not a person. To the extent that an international becomes a person, it must express that person's idiosyncratic character."

Let us leave out the bit about "subjective idealism" and agree that a "form of madness" is at least a working hypothesis in accounting for Healy's course. Wohlforth adds the following observation:

"In time his own inquiry would prove his thoughts of late August to be mere delusion, madness, without a shred of factual basis in the material world outside Gerry Healy's head. The organizational steps which had been based upon this madness are preserved. The leadership is changed. The leading cadres dispersed. The party turned back to centrism."

It is clear that such actions have no basis in politics, unless one stretches things a bit and considers that the need to preserve a sect and a cult comes under the heading of politics. Wohlforth has stumbled onto what really makes Healy act the way he does, without recognizing what he has discovered, even while giving it a correct general name.

As a bit of an aid to Wohlforth, let us recall a sentence from the letter Healy wrote in 1966 defending his vaporization of Robertson. "*We had the impression that insofar as Robertson said things that were correct he was in fact attempting to hide his real political opinions.*"

This sounds like something Stalin might have said of Trotsky (if Robertson will excuse the comparison). In fact it would require little research in the verbatim record of the Moscow frame-up trials to find fulminations by the prosecution almost identical in wording, with appropriate echoing "confessions" from the defendants

as to the accuracy of the charge.

The striking resemblance is not ascribable to comparable political situations—there is, of course, no valid comparison—but to the type of thinking, which is similar.

Let us suppose that in the eight or nine years since this was written, Healy has become even more confirmed in thinking along these lines. In his various sessions with Wohlforth, Healy would then have been calculating, as he shouted and grew red in the face: *Every correct thing Wohlforth says is in reality only an attempt to hide his real opinions.*

A consequence would be extraordinary attention to small giveaways observable in Wohlforth's reactions, which would then be magnified to enormous proportions as they disclosed the "truth" about his perfidiousness.

Wohlforth describes Healy's performance as "madness." Would it not be preferable, and perhaps more precise, to use a modern term like "paranoia"?

If the term fits, then the true explanation for Healy's obsessions about CIA agents, police agents, and plots against his life, as well as his rages, "extreme reactions," and strange version of dialectics is to be sought not in his politics, philosophical methodology, or models like Pablo or Cannon, but in the workings of a mind best understood by psychiatrists.

We also have a better appreciation of Healy's aversion to facts, and to the reflections of this foible in the *Workers Press*, making it one of the most unreliable journals ever produced in the radical movement.

Linked with the disregard of facts is the disregard of cadres and of people. They are treated as if they were inconsequential—both in the way they are manipulated and in the way they are browbeaten or subjected to violence.

In the final analysis the party, too, is bent and hammered to conform to the image projected by the sick mind. The "tough" (sadistic?) way is seen as the necessary means of building it. In actuality the party is doomed, since it is blocked from relating to reality in a revolutionary way. Thus a sect is nurtured that is the antithesis of a revolutionary-socialist party.

Wohlforth testifies to the consequences on the international level. By 1974 the "International Committee" had suffered "great degeneration."

"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. 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 degeneration of the "International Committee" is visible in other ways. "... no proposals were made to give the IC any form of any sort. Cliff Slaughter remains the only elected official of the IC. He gives almost no time to this task. There are no elected bodies. The IC is ... whatever the Workers Revolutionary Party wants it to be. Is 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."

From this it is obvious that the "International Committee" actually consists of not much more than a rubber stamp hanging at the side of Healy's desk.

And finally, of course, Healy Thought means the destruction of revolutionary principles. In place of them the leader substitutes his own vision and his own rules.

Wohlforth ends his account with a fervent declaration of his own continued commitment to revolutionary socialism. His sincerity is undeniable and one can only wish him better luck in his next venture.

Nevertheless it is apparent that he is not exactly happy as he stands in the wreckage of everything he has sought to achieve since he became a lieutenant of Healy twelve or fourteen years ago. Certain questions must be bothersome to him.

If he now has a much better understanding of how revolutionists came to capitulate under the enormous pressures exerted by Stalin, how does he explain his own failure to break with a tin-pot despot like Healy years ago? After all, Healy did not hold state power; he was only the head of a miserable, isolated sect. Why was it so difficult to see the reality? Why did he wait until Healy took the initiative for some obscure paranoid reason and threw him out?

In time, Wohlforth may make the necessary reappraisal of his years with Healy. Let us hope so. Let him think over Trotsky's advice to Shachtman about breaking from Burnham and beginning the difficult climb back.

Two questions might seem highly embarrassing. How could Wohlforth have voted for his own removal as national secretary of the Workers League? How could he have accepted Healy's proposal that he nominate Mazelis to replace him?

These, however, are the questions easiest answered. In a situation like the one Wohlforth found himself in, where a person with a glittering eye has taken over, the best procedure is not to argue. Just go along with the conclave of cultists; join in the rituals; and try to humor the god with the helmet and horns on his head. □

The Times's Summary of the Scarman Report

[On June 15, 1974, the ultrarightist, racist-minded National Front scheduled a march through the streets of London, which was to end in a rally against immigrant workers at Conway Hall in Red Lion Square. A countermarch and rally was organized by a number of tendencies. Their demonstration was scheduled to end in a meeting at the same hall at the same time.

[The antifascist demonstrators reached Red Lion Square before the ultrarightists arrived. As the antifascists entered the square, a violent confrontation with the police flared up. This was followed by further melees. There were a number of casualties. According to the Scarman report, "one young man, a student at Warwick University, died; 46 policemen were injured; and, while it is known that at least 12 members of the public were injured, many more must have suffered unpleasant injuries of greater or less severity which were never reported." The student who was killed was Kevin Gately.¹

[Demands came from all sides for an impartial inquiry, leftists calling for an investigation under the sponsorship of labor organizations. However, the British government took the initiative and appointed Rt. Hon. Lord Justice Scarman, O.B.E., to conduct an inquiry. Scarman recently concluded his work, and his report to Parliament was released to the press February 27.²

[The report seeks to whitewash the police and to pin the blame for the violence on the International Marxist Group, one of the

tendencies that united to stage the counter-demonstration under the auspices of Liberation, a formation to which a number of groups are affiliated.

[Scarman's report, with its charge that the IMG "initiated the disorder by their inexcusable assault on the police cordon in Red Lion Square, and that they bear a heavy moral responsibility for the violence and injuries which followed," was given sensationalistic handling by the capitalist press in London.

[The National Union of Students and Warwick University Students Union denounced Scarman's report for clearing the police of blame. "We cannot accept that the police can be absolved from all responsibility for Kevin Gately's death," a joint statement said. "To place all the blame for a student's death on to one small political group is nothing short of deception."

[The February 28 *Morning Star*, which expresses the viewpoint of the Communist party of Great Britain, condemned this aspect of the report, although it praised some of Scarman's conclusions.

["But to single out a small group in the much larger demonstration against the National Front for the entire blame for the violence and injury that occurred, as Lord Scarman's report does, is really to fly in the face of the evidence," the editors said.

["Despite the actions of this group, the police could have contained the situation peacefully without resort to the extremes of force which they employed, for the overwhelming body of demonstrators wished only to make a peaceful protest.

["Evidence from films projected at the inquiry not only showed harrowing shots of demonstrators being arrested and bleeding, but the moment when mounted police moved at a trot into a crowd of apparently orderly demonstrators."

[The IMG has answered the Scarman report. The text of the IMG reply is published elsewhere in this issue of *Intercontinental Press*. To better understand the references in the IMG reply, we are reprinting below the summary of Scarman's report that appeared in the London *Times* of February 28. The author of the summary is Martin Huckerby.]

* * *

The riot in Red Lion Square, London, last June was started by followers of the International Marxist Group (IMG), who assaulted the police in "an unexpected,

unprovoked and viciously violent" attack, Lord Justice Scarman said in the report of his inquiry into the disorders, published yesterday.

His Lordship made some criticism of the police but he suggested that their actions were generally justified by the violence of the initial attack.

The riot occurred during a demonstration organized by the Liberation movement. Its members were protesting against a march to Red Lion Square, Holborn, by the National Front, who were opposing the amnesty for illegal immigrants who had settled in Britain.

One student, Kevin Gately, died as a result of the violence, while 46 policemen and an unknown number of demonstrators were injured.

The judge recorded no definite finding about the death of Mr Gately, but he thought it was almost certainly not due to police action. He believed the student was a victim of the general riot situation and that those who began the fighting carried a heavy measure of moral responsibility.

He recommended that Sir Robert Mark, the Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police, should seek explanations of some incidents where the police appeared to have used excessive force. But he felt such cases were the exception and not the rule.

He said there had been a serious misunderstanding between the police and Liberation about the route of their march at the entrance to the square, but that had not caused the disorder. However, he added: "It did afford a pretext which will continue to be regarded as sufficient by those who wish to exculpate themselves."

In future, he suggested, the police involved in planning a big demonstration should confirm the agreed route in writing.

When the first marchers entered the square, they were turned to the right, away from the original route and from the entrance to Conway Hall, where the National Front procession was to end.

Then a gap opened in the march and a crowd behind the banner of the International Marxist Group "led a charge round the corner to the left into the police cordon". That was a deliberate, determined and sustained attack. "A heavy responsibility rests on those who instigated and led that assault."

The IMG members were determined to obstruct the entrance to the hall with a "mass picket", denying access to the National Front. "The level of violence then used against the police was high."

The police were perfectly right in trying to stop the attack. At first it had been a pushing affair, but it developed into "a vicious scrimmage", with placard staves and banner poles used as offensive weapons against the police.

The police cordon, which broke momen-

Intercontinental Press

1. See "Student Antiracist Demonstrator Killed" in the June 24, 1974, *Intercontinental Press*, p. 825; "Rallies Protest Police Murder of Kevin Gately" in the July 8 *Intercontinental Press*, p. 890; and "Gately Inquest Whitewashes Police" in the September 9 *Intercontinental Press*, p. 1121.

2. *The Red Lion Square Disorders of 15 June 1974*. It can be obtained from Her Majesty's Stationery Office, Cmnd. 5919, London, 59 p. The report is well worth reading for what it reveals of British police tactics, although it is defective because of its failure to reveal operations of the Special Branch in placing stool pigeons and agents provocateurs in organizations of the left and the labor movement. Similarly the report fails to consider the possibility that deliberate police entrapment was involved.

Of special interest is the skill with which a bourgeois political technician like Scarman utilizes every possible error made by the demonstrators to make them appear to be totalitarian-minded and the ultrarightists and police to be staunch upholders of democratic rights.

tarily, was reinforced by mounted police and units of the Special Patrol Group, and the crowd was pressed back and broken up.

The judge said he recognized that some people had gained the impression that the police were pitching into the demonstration and that alarm was felt by those trying to run a peaceful Liberation meeting near by, but he added that the police operation was necessary.

Mr Gately, who collapsed in the crowd at that point and was found on the ground as the demonstrators were pushed back, died from a brain haemorrhage. There was no evidence enabling him [the judge] to give the definite cause of Mr Gately's death. "Something happened: either he stumbled and fell, or a flying stave or pole caught him a glancing blow just behind the left ear." He thought it very unlikely that the blow was from a police truncheon, particularly as Mr Gately was never in the front rank of the demonstrators who were fighting the police. The report continues:

All the indications are, and upon a balance of probabilities I so find, that there occurred some unnoticed minor accident [—a fall or an apparently minor glancing blow: unfortunately it set up, as such minor injuries sometimes do, a fatal brain haemorrhage]. He was not the victim of a brutal policeman, nor of a criminal demonstrator, but of the situation in which he found himself. [That is why, in my judgment,]

Those who started the riot carry a measure of moral responsibility for his death; and the responsibility is a heavy one.³

As the National Front neared the square, the police saw a large crowd of the left-wing demonstrators approaching at a jog-trot, "known, I understand, as the Ho Chi Minh shuffle".

The group halted at the mouth of Theobalds Road, and started exchanging insults with the National Front marchers at the crossroads. While most witnesses thought the crowd would not advance on the march, the police officer in charge, Chief Supt J.H. Cracknell, believed the crowd was hostile and nearing hysteria level.

He had ordered mounted police to clear the demonstrators; that was "a sudden and unexpected manoeuvre". People were alarmed to the point of panic and there were dangers caused by subway entrances and railings against which they might have been seriously crushed.

His Lordship believed that after the first assault, Mr Cracknell's assessment of the temper of the crowd was reasonable, and that although he took a risk the roadway was successfully cleared without serious casualties.

But warning should have been given before the mounted police were sent in. Although one officer had described giving

warnings in such situations as "spitting in the wind", it would be a good general principle for the police to give a warning before taking action against a static crowd.

He was critical of the fact that there were some police units behind that crowd, making it difficult for demonstrators to get away. But it was understandable that senior officers had not realized that.

The last main incident occurred in Boswell Street, north of the square, when a group of perhaps seventy IMG supporters had formed up to leave the area and then clashed with the police.

Police Inspector R.C.E. Finch, in charge of No 4 Special Patrol Group Unit, had been ordered to disperse the demonstrators, but Mr Brian Heron, of the IMG, said the police simply assaulted the group.

Lord Justice Scarman commented: "Ideally, Mr Finch, as one can now perceive, would have been wise to let them alone: they had almost certainly lost the taste for causing further trouble that afternoon." But in the circumstances of that day's events he did not blame the inspector for his decision.

Turning to general criticism of the police, he wholly rejected accusations that the police attacked the left-wing demonstration for political purposes, and said the police had no reason for preventing the National Front march.

He found no grounds for criticizing the mounted police or the Special Patrol Group, adding:

I am not prepared to make any recommendations which would have the effect of reducing the ability of the most lightly equipped urban police force in the world to deal swiftly and decisively with disorder.⁴

The photographic evidence of specific incidents involving identifiable officers (particularly photographs of forceful arrests) does call for explanation by the officers concerned. I recommend that the commissar [Commissioner] be invited to seek explanation.⁵

He did not see how the commissioner could even begin to investigate accusations of police brutality, since practically no information was given about the officers concerned. He left it to the commissioner to decide whether to look into any particular allegations. He added:

Policemen are only human, and we are asking a lot in requiring of them that they exercise restraint at all times, even when they are viciously assaulted. But it is of paramount importance that they should exercise that restraint [particularly in situations where they may be tempted to take extreme measures out of a sense of fear or revenge].⁶

Public disorder was ugly, and the police

making arrests against vigorous opposition were no more attractive than anyone else engaged in a fight. "In all probability there were arrests in which excessive force was used." But he was satisfied that such cases were not the rule.

Lord Justice Scarman criticized the failure of the police to report any of the violent incidents. He pointed out that none of the foot police had stated in returns after the disorder that they had even drawn, let alone used, truncheons, though the mounted police had been scrupulous about that.

"Senior officers who gave evidence all explained that they saw nothing to report", he continued. But he did not accept that there were no incidents requiring explanation. The police must abandon the attitude that there were more important things to do during such an event than restrain, rebuke or report officers in respect of their conduct.

He did not believe that there was any misuse of truncheons by either foot or mounted police, though he suggested that the long truncheons of the mounted officers, which were not drawn at Red Lion Square, might be dispensed with.

Overall he judged the police response to have been forceful, but, with some possible exceptions, "disciplined and necessary". There was a case for public meeting places to be specifically provided in towns and cities.

He suggested several changes to the statute law. Section six of the Race Relations Act, governing the stirring up of racial hatred in a public place, was "merely an embarrassment to the police". It was hedged about with restrictions and was useless to the policeman in the street.

"The section needs radical amendment to make it an effective sanction, particularly, I think, in relation to its formulation of the intent to be proved before an offence can be established."

He did not recommend any change in the law to enforce notification of demonstrations to the police, but he suggested amending the Public Order Act, 1936, so that the senior officer at a demonstration had power to give a direction about the route to be taken.

Lord Justice Scarman said his experience in the inquiry convinced him of the need for an effective procedure for complaints against the police which enjoyed public confidence. He strongly recommended the early introduction of an effective independent element into the present procedure.

He also proposed that consideration should be given to publishing a pamphlet outlining methods of cooperation between police and demonstrators.

In his conclusions he suggested that there

sentence of the report reads: "I received a considerable body of evidence, written and oral, that the police were guilty of violent and arbitrary arrests."—IP

3. The portions in brackets were not included in the quote as printed in the *Times*.—IP

4. Scarman report, p. 41.—IP

5. Scarman report, p. 22.—IP

6. The section in brackets was not included in the quote as printed in the *Times*. The following

might be good reason to wonder whether magistrates always appreciated the gravity of an offence against public order.

He accepted that the Liberation officials who gave evidence were horrified by the violence. "I have sufficient faith in Liberation to leave it to them to come to their own conclusions as to their future conduct."

"Whatever one's view of the policies of the National Front, the fact remains that their demonstration on June 15 was disciplined and orderly."

The IMG Replies to the Scarman Report

[The following reply by the International Marxist Group to the Scarman report appeared in the March 6 issue of *Red Weekly*. The IMG is the British section of the Fourth International.]

* * *

The IMG is 'morally responsible' for Kevin Gately's death—that is the verdict of Lord Justice Scarman, making his report on the battle of Red Lion Square to Roy Jenkins last week. But Scarman did not propose a single significant change to the law. The ruling class has failed completely to use Red Lion Square as a pretext for a new legal assault on workers' rights.

In fact, faced with a mass of journalists' evidence about police behaviour, Scarman was forced to recommend that an 'independent element' be added to the procedure for investigating complaints against the police. Confronted with the ugly facts about the National Front, he even recommended that a 'radical amendment' of the Race Relations Act is needed to make it an 'effective sanction'. No wonder Scarman, and especially the press, make such a meal out of the IMG's 'moral responsibility' for Gately's death!

Despite a mass of evidence showing the use of police truncheons, Scarman concludes that nobody can be legally blamed. So on what does this 'moral responsibility' hang?

On the fact that the IMG 'started the trouble'? Perhaps we should point out that the police provocatively changed the route? Or point to the unprovoked assault on us by mounted police in Theobalds Road, and by SPG men in Boswell Street? But these are not the main points.

In Scarman's own words, 'failure to respect the rights of others' was the 'reason for the violence in Red Lion Square'. So, we would ask the following questions: Were the police authorities respecting the rights of others when they failed to question the effect of the National Front march on the families of coloured immigrants in this

The IMG's assault was inexcusable, but his Lordship added: "I do not expect that the IMG would accept any recommendations I might make as to their future conduct."

However, he noted that the incident was a defeat for the IMG members: they failed to reach their objective at the hall and isolated themselves from the other groups on the demonstration. "The lesson to be drawn is that there is no profit to be gained in attacking the police." □

country? Was the Government, a Government whose own social democratic colleagues were being tortured and murdered by fascists in Chile, 'respecting the rights of others', or more to the point, acting in the interests of the workers' movement, when they allowed the fascists of the National Front to drum their way through the streets?

If you are going to seriously discuss 'morality', then moral blame must rest with the Government, who flagrantly disrespected the rights of the working class majority in this country and of the racial minorities exploited here.

Perhaps our 'moral responsibility' stems from the fact that in Red Lion Square we intended to mount an 'illegal' picket? If you want to discuss the law, Lord Scarman, then we would reiterate the point we put to you in the Enquiry: Were the police and the Government applying even the existing laws against the fascists?

It is no use saying, as Scarman does, that 'there is a case for codifying our law as to public order so as to ensure that the fundamental human rights set out in the United Nations Declaration of 1948 and the European Convention of 1950 are protected by statute: and there may well be a case for re-shaping our race relations legislation: but these disorders, and the way they were handled by the police, throw no light on such broad questions'.

This is to bury one's head in the sand and pretend that such 'broad questions' as the re-emergence of a fascist movement in Britain, violence against black people and trade unionists, and the role of the authorities in giving protection to fascists, aren't relevant.

But such questions *won't* go away. It's no use talking about whether the police were defending 'public order' on 15 June. Many have died fighting fascism and many more will do so. What the police did on that day was to encourage and assist *real* threats to the democratic liberties of the majority of the population: to allow the fascists to go unimpeded to attack and try to demoralise

those forces committed to fighting fascism, and to get in some training of their own for smashing up the democratic liberties of workers and students in future.

The struggle to stop the growth of fascism in this country over the last 18 months shows one thing conclusively: we can expect nothing from the police and the courts except obstruction, repression and moral hypocrisy. The history of Germany, Italy and Chile all show the same point.

The labour movement should brush aside Scarman's advice, as the ruling class job it is. They should demand that the Labour Government dismantle the Special Patrol Groups and add its voice to the growing movement to stop fascists by the only available means: mass action of the labour movement on the streets coupled with a campaign of self-defence against the police. Any attempt to further attack the anti-fascist movement by victimising the IMG should be met with the solidarity of the whole movement. These are the real 'lessons' the Labour movement should draw. We should remember: there were no Kevin Gately's at Hyde Park Corner on 7 September, when anti-fascists gathered in their thousands, properly prepared to defend themselves against provocative, violent attacks. □

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Italian Trotskyists Call for Antifascist United Front

[The following statement was issued February 20 in Milan by the Political Bureau of the Gruppi Comunisti Rivoluzionari (GCR—Revolutionary Communist Groups, the Italian section of the Fourth International). The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

1. Some factory councils and other rank-and-file workers groups have begun to call for banning the Movimento Sociale Italiano [MSI—Italian Social Movement, the neofascists]. This move is a response not simply to the widespread antifascist sentiment. In the face of the provocations and attacks by fascist commando groups and the sharpening police and judicial repression against the workers movement and the vanguard groups in the factories and schools, the need has become clearer and clearer for a broad united mobilization that could give an active expression to this antifascist feeling. Such a mobilization is necessary, moreover, as a specific campaign within the broader struggle of the working class against both the official and unofficial means the bourgeoisie is using to intimidate and demobilize the masses, that is, to reinforce its authority and its control over society. It is a necessary weapon in the fight to roll back the offensive launched by the bourgeoisie, who are taking advantage of the economic crisis to try to use the clubs of inflation and the threat of unemployment to wipe out the gains the working class has won in broad struggles over the past six years.

2. The need for a specific antifascist mobilization has become all the more evident in view of the fact that a whole series of moves by the courts have shown how ephemeral the bourgeois "antifascist campaign" in recent months has been. The indefinite postponement of the Piazza Fontana massacre trial, the release of the defendants in the case against Ordine Nuovo, and the attempt to put over the view that Bertoli was just an "anarchistic individualist" have given the fascists a breathing space and a chance to resume the initiative on a broad scale.

3. The trade-union bureaucracy has failed to respond adequately to the attack on the buying power of wages and salaries and on employment. As a result, there is a danger of disorientation among the workers, and particularly among the petty-bourgeois strata that feel especially hard hit by the crisis. At the same time, the threat of spreading unemployment can lead to demoralization and desperation, above all in regions that are beginning to see the return of thousands of emigrants. In these condi-

tions, fascist demagogues may find greater opportunities and might be able to get the "classical model" of growth going, that is, create a pole of dissatisfaction that could attract sections of the petty-bourgeois masses and subproletariat, and involve these masses in demagogic antiestablishment campaigns where the real target would be the working class.

Therefore, it is essential to encourage and reinforce by every means possible a mobilization involving the decisive sections of the working class in militant opposition to any fascist moves, a struggle that can bring into motion masses of workers and students.

4. The concrete form that the call for a national antifascist campaign has taken suffers, however, from some fundamental defects. The slogan "Outlaw the MSI" is wrong—and not only because it sows illusions about the capacity of bourgeois "democracy" to wipe out the fascist gangs, the watchdogs of the bourgeoisie. The call for a popularly initiated bill for banning the MSI (a law that would have to be approved by both houses of the legislature!) deepens such illusions and gives them a clearly legalistic and parliamentary character.

Finally, in view of the manner in which some extraparlimentary left forces have begun to support this campaign, there is a suggestion that it will be extended to the democratic and antifascist sections of the bourgeoisie. As a result, there is a danger that popular-frontist positions will come to the fore—class-collaborationist antifascism in the style of the CP.

5. In view of these two factors, that is, (1) that a national antifascist campaign is needed, and (2) that the way in which the campaign has been launched is incorrect, revolutionary Marxists must make their position absolutely clear. In the first place, we do not think that the workers and students who are mobilizing in this campaign are motivated by legalistic and parliamentary objectives. Even if such attitudes exist in some sectors, they will be refuted by events as the campaign develops, and especially by the political vicissitudes the country will go through.

We believe, rather, that this mobilization expresses, if in a distorted way, a desire to take up the fight directly and in an effective way against the fascists and their protectors. Secondly, we think it should be made clear that all political forces in the working class, including the large traditional parties, must be involved in this mobilization. The so-called democratic and antifascist wings of the bourgeoisie, however, must be kept out. These elements say they are ready to oppose fascism. But they deny its class nature and even try to use their antifascism

as a means to consolidate and reinforce the anti-working-class bourgeois class state. The only slogan that can effectively broaden the antifascist mobilization is the call for a working-class united front.

6. Training for self-defense must be an important part of the antifascist campaign. Response to the fascist attacks cannot be conceived of in the framework of minority initiatives, which are highly vulnerable to reprisals by the bourgeois state apparatus.

Self-defense cannot be left to spontaneity or improvisation. It must be based on teams of monitors formed by the organizations of the working-class movement, on factory and school picket groups. The No. 1 task will be to defend demonstrations, centers of political activity, headquarters, and activists in the most exposed positions. This task can in no way be delegated to the "regular" armed bodies of the bourgeoisie. You don't have to go very far back in history to see that the actions of the riot troopers, the police, and the courts have not effectively safeguarded the freedom and security of the workers and radicalized students. It is necessary, moreover, to assure that the tricks and provocations of the fascists do not go unpunished. The fascists want to demonstrate that they can act with impunity because it is through a show of force that they gain the prestige to attract, polarize, and activate sections of the petty bourgeoisie and subproletariat.

7. The Gruppi Comunisti Rivoluzionari, the Italian section of the Fourth International, will participate energetically in the antifascist campaign. We will not take part in the organizing committee because of the errors we have noted, and we will not participate in the illusory activity of collecting signatures. We will be present, however, in all the mobilizations and in all the rank-and-file groups that are formed during the campaign, and we will push for the formation of such groups where we work, go to school, and are active politically. In these bodies, the revolutionary communists will put forward the slogan of a working-class united front as well as strive actively to promote organization for self-defense, and will take an active part in such work.

For a workers united front against fascism!

For workers self-defense against the armed gangs of the state!

The MSI's protectors won't outlaw it; we ourselves must impose a ban. □

Argentine Peso Devalued

The Argentine government devalued the peso by 50 percent March 4, raising the official rate from ten pesos to a dollar to fifteen to a dollar. The devaluation is expected to aggravate the inflationary spiral in Argentina, where the cost of living rose 53 percent in 1974.

Thornett Replies to Attacks on Redgrave Loan

[Last week we published two reports taken from the British press concerning a £4,000 lawsuit filed by Vanessa Redgrave of the sectarian Workers Revolutionary party (WRP) against Alan Thornett, who was expelled from the organization together with several hundred members of the tendency he belonged to. Below, we are publishing a statement on the lawsuit that appeared in the March 6 issue of *Socialist Press*, the fortnightly paper of the Workers Socialist League (WSL), the new organization set up by the expelled group. The statement appeared under the headline "We Reply to Press Slanders." We have corrected obvious typographical errors.]

* * *

The decision of Vanessa Redgrave, a Political Committee member of the WRP, to take Alan Thornett into the High Court for the return of £4,000 lent to him last May became—by last Monday [March 3]—the basis of a witch-hunt against the Trotskyist movement in the capitalist press.

Most of the press slanders, in one way or another, seek to connect Comrade Thornett with corruption, suggesting that at the time workers were on strike in support of him last year Thornett was receiving large sums of money. Any such insinuation under the atmosphere of witch-hunt prevailing in British Leyland is highly damaging and endangers not only Comrade Thornett and the WSL but the trade union movement in the plant.

Because of this Comrade Thornett issued a written statement on Tuesday which was deliberately confined to an explanation of the circumstances and purpose of the loan and specifically excluded any political material in order [to prevent] this being used against the WRP or the WSL under witch-hunt conditions. The full text of the statement was as follows: "I am making this statement to clear up the distortions and inferences which have appeared in the press over the past two days concerning the writ served on me regarding the £4,000 loan made to me by Miss Vanessa Redgrave last May.

"Following my divorce, I was left with the choice of either selling my house or raising half its value (£4,000) as a settlement. The loan from Miss Redgrave was a personal arrangement to deal with this problem and was considered only after it had proven impossible for me to raise the money through any of the building societies. Having received the loan it never remained in my hands but was passed on immediately to my ex-wife.

"The loan was made on the basis that repayments would be made in the normal way once the details were agreed. In June

the solicitor acting for me wrote to Miss Redgrave pressing for a final arrangement to be concluded. A reply was received six months later demanding repayment in full by February 11th 1975. I replied to this through my solicitor proposing a reasonable monthly figure for repayment. This was rejected by Miss Redgrave.

"The loan therefore was received in good faith and with Miss Redgrave having full knowledge that I would only have the resources to repay it on an instalment basis. In these circumstances it is regrettable that this entirely unnecessary action has been brought."

No other statement has been issued by Comrade Thornett or any other member of the WSL on this matter. Newspapers such as last Wednesday's *Telegraph* which give the impression that other statements have been made, or that Comrade Thornett has spoken to them, are guilty of fabrication.

The WRP Political Committee statement of Wednesday March 5th, made during this witch-hunt and attacking the WSL publicly, is gross political irresponsibility.*

The statement accuses Comrade Thornett of triggering the witch-hunt when it was entirely precipitated by Vanessa Redgrave's completely unnecessary High Court action pressed under conditions where she knew

*The reference is to a statement published in the March 5 issue of *Workers Press* under the title "THORNETT EXPULSION."—IP

full well the consequences. This action was also pressed after a reasonable arrangement for the return of the money had been offered, the details of which were still negotiable.

The most incredible claims made in the WRP statement are that Thornett, who is being witch-hunted by the capitalist press, the employers and the right wing in the T&G as a continuation of a previous victimisation is "the darling of Fleet Street," that he has had a "great reception in Fleet Street circles." It goes on to say that "the same papers that vilified him are encouraging him" and that he is "feted in the capitalist press."

The most obvious lies contained in the statement are the expulsion figures—put in to lend credibility to the argument. All the figures are invented but Oxford and Yorkshire are the most blatant. The statement says that there were 26 expulsions in Oxford and 1 in Yorkshire. Yet at the August Central Committee meeting there were 109 registered members in Oxford. Since there are now only two members left that would appear to leave 107. In Yorkshire the WSL has three branches made up almost entirely of members expelled from the WRP.

The WRP statement directs away from politics claiming a "personal" split. In reality the expulsions were to silence criticisms by organisational methods. □

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