

THIEU TELLS ALL

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Defend Anatoly Marchenko!

GRIGORENKO: Health undermined by years of imprisonment.

American Antiwar Militants Move Into Action

When Ford appeared at the 200th anniversary celebrations of the first battles in the American Revolution, in Concord, Massachusetts, April 19, he was confronted by 20,000 demonstrators protesting the U.S. role in Indochina, where freedom fighters have been carrying on a struggle like that of the American patriots of 1775.

"No more war, no more war," they chanted as the commander in chief of the American empire boasted of Washington's military strength and world role.

It was by far the largest protest demonstration Ford has faced since Nixon put him in the White House.

The demonstration, organized by the People's Bicentennial Commission, was preceded by an all-night rally that drew an estimated 30,000 persons by 2 a.m., and still had 12,000 by 6 a.m. These actions were part of a wave of protests across the United States against the threat of renewed military intervention in Indochina.

Although most of the actions have been modest in size, as is to be expected in initial efforts, they show that the American people will mobilize on a huge scale if Ford sends U.S. military forces back into Vietnam.

Teach-ins and demonstrations have taken place in dozens of cities. One of the largest was in Madison, Wisconsin, on March 22, shortly after Saigon suffered the first of its current military reverses. Seven hundred persons attended a rally to protest the threat of renewed involvement.

Eleven hundred persons attended a teach-in in Seattle April 16. The University of Washington student *Daily* commented: "For many it was their first exposure to this kind of antiwar involvement; teach-ins were a tactic developed by peace strategists

of the late '60s and early '70s."

When Ford visited San Diego, California, April 2 he was confronted by 150 demonstrators from a variety of groups. A large Socialist Workers party banner read, "U.S. Out of Southeast Asia Now; No More Aid to Thieu Regime; Vote Socialist in '76."

The SWP and the Young Socialist Alliance, the American Trotskyists, have played a leading role in organizing and building many of these protest actions. The SWP's 1976 presidential candidate Peter Camejo has been speaking in defense of the right of the Vietnamese to exercise self-determination at campaign rallies throughout the United States. In many cities, the U.S. Trotskyists have held public forums to explain the meaning of the revolutionary upsurge in Indochina.

Following Ford's April 10 "state of the world" address, in which he threatened to send troops to Vietnam under guise of "evacuating" Americans and their Vietnamese supporters, the Political Bureau of the SWP issued a statement calling for "immediate action by antiwar forces" to block Ford's war moves.

"Ford's hand can be stayed by an

immediate response from the antiwar movement—through meetings, teach-ins, rallies, and other actions—that will let him know that renewed aggression will be met by a massive outpouring of antiwar sentiment," the statement said. (The full text is reprinted elsewhere in this issue of *Intercontinental Press*.)

The revolutionary socialists are taking the campaign against U.S. military intervention into the labor movement. One project was to encourage antiwar supporters to join with their own banners in the April 26 march for jobs in Washington, D.C., called by the AFL-CIO.

Leaders of the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) urged all opponents of the war to join the April 26 demonstration to "make their feelings known."

In a statement issued April 16, they said: "The need of the American working people for massive government spending for jobs is in direct contradiction to the squandering of another billion dollars to back up the Thieu dictatorship."

NPAC proposed the following demands for April 26:

"Jobs, not war!"

"Not one GI to Vietnam!"

"Not one more penny for war in Southeast Asia!"

It is actions like these—and not "doves" in Congress, or the pressure of satellite governments—that will stay the hand of the war makers in Washington. It is to be hoped that the initiatives of the American antiwar protesters will be publicized and emulated in other countries. □

Open the Doors of Mao's Political Prisons

Week after week, a great number of pages in *Intercontinental Press* are devoted to the defense of political prisoners. From Attica to Vladimir prison, we support the campaigns demanding freedom for the victims of class justice and bureaucratic repression.

This is an elementary obligation of working-class solidarity. It is also an issue on which organizations of widely varying political views can unite in the effort to inform and mobilize international public opinion.

One case that deserves the attention of the international workers movement, and of all who support the right to free speech, is that of the Chinese Trotskyists—courageous revolutionary militants whose voices have been stilled for more than twenty-two years behind the bars of Mao's prisons.

It is a monstrous violation of proletarian democracy that these militants are left to rot in jail while the Mao regime boasts of its

generosity for having released 293 convicted war criminals, nearly all of whom were lieutenants of the late and unlamented Chiang Kai-shek.

Not only have these butchers of the Chinese workers been released but they have received the red-carpet treatment. Ten of them, including two of Chiang's former army commanders, have already arrived in Hong Kong on their way to Taiwan, escorted by Chinese public-relations and tourism officials. Once in Hong Kong they were given VIP treatment. Air-conditioned limousines whisked them off to local hotels.

Should they find Taiwan inhospitable, they have little to worry about. Mao has provided them with reentry permits, renewable every six months. His regime has publicly stated that they are welcome to return at any time. Little wonder they have thanked the chairman for his "magnanimity."

In contrast, every known revolutionist of

Next Week. . .

• "On A.I. Solzhenitsyn's Letter." Soviet historian Roy Medvedev's contribution to the debate over Solzhenitsyn's letter to Kremlin leaders.

• "How Committees Were Set Up in Portugal's Armed Forces." An interview with a Trotskyist Portuguese soldier in Lisbon.

Put them both on your list for must reading.

the Chinese Trotskyist movement remains in jail to this day. They, along with their friends, relatives, and sympathizers, have been behind bars since their arrest in police raids the nights of December 22, 1952, and January 8, 1953.

Not a single word has been heard from them since the time of their arrest. No charge has ever been brought against them. No public trial where they might have answered their accusers has ever been held.

It is not difficult to see why they were never put on trial. They had committed no crime. Their only "offense" was to have opposed the bureaucratic misrule of the Mao regime. They demanded the right—guaranteed in the Chinese constitution—to put forward publicly their revolutionary-socialist views. And they demanded this right for all other supporters of the Chinese Revolution as well. This is why Mao views their ideas as a far greater danger than those of the bloodstained Kuomintang agents and officials he has released.

Consider the backgrounds of the prisoners Peking has released. According to Mao's own press, the 293 war criminals who were freed March 19 include 219 officers of Chiang Kai-shek's army, 21 Kuomintang party and government officials, 50 Kuomintang police agents, and 3 officials who served under puppet imperialist regimes.

Compare the record, the decades of revolutionary activity, of the Chinese Trotskyists. They include:

- Chen Chao-lin, a founding member of the Chinese Communist party and the Chinese Trotskyist movement, a leader of the 1925-27 revolution.

- Chiang Tseng-tung, a leading activist in the Shanghai labor movement and a participant in the Shanghai uprising and general strike of 1925.

- Ho Chi-sen, a student leader in Peking in the early 1920s who joined the Chinese CP shortly after it was formed. He played a leading role, together with Mao, in the 1925-27 expedition of the Kwangtung revolutionary army.

- Ying Kwan, a leading activist in the Chinese CP in the Province of Anhwei during the 1925-27 revolution; arrested twice by the Kuomintang.

These are only four of the Chinese Trotskyists in Mao's jails. The years they put into the struggle to liberate China from the imperialists and the Kuomintang testify to the depth of their loyalty to the cause of the Chinese Revolution.

We ask all organizations that support the Chinese Revolution to join with us in demanding that they be freed immediately. It is a travesty of elementary socialist democracy that they be kept in jail while former Kuomintang police agents are treated as Mao's honored guests. □

April 28, 1975

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Thieu Tells All in 'Resignation' Speech

Saigon's puppet dictator Nguyen Van Thieu finally resigned April 21, bitterly denouncing the United States as "untrustworthy" because it violated a pledge to intervene again with full military support for his regime.

Thieu appointed as his successor the former vice-president, Tran Van Huong, described by a report in the April 22 *Wall Street Journal* as "an old, sick and crotchety politician with a reputation for honesty and ineffectiveness."

Thieu said Huong would immediately seek a cease-fire and peace negotiations with the rebel forces under the command of the Provisional Revolutionary Government.

But the common opinion in Washington, as well as Saigon, was that removal of the puppet would do nothing to save a military situation described by U.S. Army Chief of Staff Gen. Frederick Weyand as "desperate." General Weyand told the House Appropriations Committee April 21 that the insurgent forces now encircling Saigon "have the capability to overwhelm South Vietnam if they want to." He expressed doubt that the situation could be "stabilized" for very long.

Both Senate Democratic Leader Mike Mansfield and Republican Leader Hugh Scott said that Thieu's resignation had come too late.

The Provisional Revolutionary Government issued a three-point statement in Paris reaffirming the PRG's position that Thieu's removal was not enough to get a political settlement. The statement demanded an end to "all military and other United States interference in the internal affairs of South Vietnam" and replacement of the Thieu clique by an "administration which really wants peace, independence, democracy and national concord and which will seriously apply the Paris agreements."

In a broadcast monitored in Saigon April 21, the PRG said that "American military men and advisers disguised as civilians" should leave Vietnam within "two to three days, or in 24 hours, even."

"The broadcast was strongly threatening in tone," Malcolm W. Browne cabled to the *New York Times*, "and implied that if the conditions were not quickly met, a full-scale military drive would be launched on Saigon."

Hanoi officials cited by Agence France-Presse noted that Thieu had been replaced by his own vice-president, and that the same generals remained in power. "Negotiations with that administration can hardly be envisaged, the source said."



THIEU: To join Nixon at San Clemente?

In a television interview April 21, following Thieu's ouster, Ford expressed some hope that a political settlement could yet be reached with the liberation forces. He said that during the previous twelve hours there had been a "slowdown" in North Vietnamese military activities. The situation was "so fluid," he said, that nobody could be certain as to Hanoi's motives.

After a meeting with Kissinger during the day, Ford was said to be still pressing Congress to vote for his request for one billion dollars in military and other aid to the Saigon regime.

Kissinger told the House Appropriations Committee that the military aid was needed to "stabilize" a situation that he said was deteriorating so rapidly it could get out of control. He said that voting such aid "would bolster Saigon's weak hand in any negotiations that might be arranged," according to a report in the April 22 *Wall Street Journal* paraphrasing his remarks.

In a closed session, however, the secretary of state was apparently more frank with the committee. One member "said afterward that the Secretary based his entire argument for additional aid on the necessity for a rapid removal of all Americans" from South Vietnam, the *New York Times* reported April 22.

Meanwhile, the Pentagon assembled more forces off the South Vietnam coast.

"Over the weekend," *New York Times* correspondent John W. Finney reported from Washington April 21, "the Defense Department assembled five carriers, about a dozen destroyers, four amphibious craft and cargo ships off the South Vietnam coast for a possible evacuation mission. About 4,000 Marines are aboard the ships."

The *Times* report said the Pentagon had concluded that "the situation in South Vietnam was deteriorating so rapidly" that Washington "must plan on the immediate evacuation of all Americans and their dependents."

The *New York Times* military analyst Drew Middleton said April 22 that the Pentagon feared an "increasingly disorganized retreat" into Saigon by the puppet regime's troops.

"Ironically," he wrote, "these forces, who fought better than any other Government troops in the five-week campaign, are now regarded as the most serious danger to Americans in Saigon, as well as to politicians seeking an accommodation with the Communists. . . ."

"Combat troops that have fought well and have then been pulled out of the line for no reason apparent to them, an American general said, are likely to go berserk and attack anyone they regard as responsible for their retreat."

Thieu's Revelations

At one point in his resignation speech, Thieu paused and said, "Now I have told you the situation and how the allies have treated us. I am hiding nothing."

The latter assertion may be taken with a grain of salt, but it is clear even in the skimpy excerpts from his speech made available in the American press the following day that Thieu, in his bitter leave-taking, at least performed the service of revealing some of Washington's behind-the-scenes moves.

It is popular now to blame me for everything, Thieu said, "just as in 1963, everything was put on the head of the late Mr. Diem," the former Saigon ruler assassinated in a White House-backed coup. He then argued, with some persuasiveness, that it was wrong to blame the puppet when what had really happened was that Washington had cut the strings.

He had signed the 1973 peace accords for two reasons.

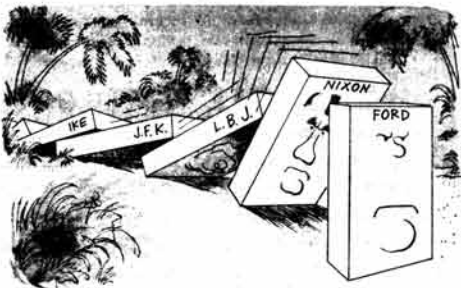
First, because he did not like the alternative: "The alternative solution was that I could take an airplane out of Vietnam on Oct. 26, 1972. . . . I also was told my life was threatened by Vietnamese."

Second, because he had received a "solid pledge" from Nixon that in case his regime was threatened, American troops and B-52 bombers would be sent back in to bail it out.

"President Nixon told me," Thieu said,

"that all accords are only pieces of paper, with no value unless they are implemented. What was important, he [Nixon] said, was not that he had signed the accord, but that the United States would always stand ready to help South Vietnam. . . ."

In other words, as the editors of the *New York Times* pointed out April 22, Thieu was led to believe that the "Paris 'peace'



Auth/Philadelphia Inquirer

agreements were in fact his license to continue the war under another guise."

From what has now been learned about Nixon's "secret correspondence," they continued, "it is reasonable to conclude that his American allies did little to disabuse President Thieu of this conviction."

Thieu said that as late as March 25 he had sent a letter to Ford urging a resumption of B-52 bombing raids. Furthermore, he said, he had proof that he had been told that he could count on such aid.

"Fighting tears," the April 22 *New York Daily News* reported, "Thieu then read a letter that he said was written in 1973 by President Nixon. The letter guaranteed all aid necessary for South Vietnam to defend itself, if Thieu would agree to the Paris peace accords."

"The Americans promised us. We trusted them," Thieu said. . . ."

Thieu's revelations also confirm that the White House explanation for the carpet bombing of North Vietnam in December 1972—one of the heaviest and most sustained bombing raids ever carried out—was a cynical fabrication.

The justification for the bombing Nixon and Kissinger gave at the time was that it was necessary to drive Hanoi to the bargaining table. Yet it is clear from Thieu's own account of his reluctance that he, and not Hanoi, was the obstacle to the signing of the accords.

The *New York Times*, in an editorial-page column by Tom Wicker April 22, pointed out that Thieu's report of his "understanding" with Nixon tends to "confirm that it was not Hanoi that reneged but Saigon that at first refused to accept the agreements negotiated by Mr. Kissinger and [Provisional Revolutionary Government representative] Le Duc Tho. That is almost entirely contrary to the official version given the

American people, who were told that Hanoi had to be forced to keep its word by the so-called 'carpet bombing' of Christmas, 1972."

Explosive Situation in Saigon

In the days preceding Thieu's resignation there was a growing realization in Washington that the position of the Saigon regime was hopeless. A secret Senate Foreign Relations Committee report described the military situation as "irretrievable." In the April 19 *New York Times* John W. Finney reported "mounting indications that the Administration did not expect the South Vietnamese Government to survive into May. . . ."

The only thing that has prevented Saigon from falling so far, according to most observers, is that the forces of the Provisional Revolutionary Government have not yet moved to take it.

The last faint hope by Washington that the puppet troops might be able to mount a defense of the Saigon area faded with the encirclement of the provincial capital of Xuan Loc. On April 21 the liberation forces captured the town and another provincial capital, Ham Tan. The coastal enclaves of Phan Rang and Phan Thiet had fallen a few days before.

The huge Bien Hoa air base, the headquarters for the Saigon military region and only fifteen miles from Saigon, was virtually abandoned by April 20. An ammunition storage area at the base exploded April 15, shaking buildings in downtown Saigon. Shelling by long-range Communist guns forced the withdrawal of the military headquarters and the fighter squadrons based there to Tan Son Nhut airport in Saigon.

The road from Saigon to the Mekong Delta has been cut repeatedly by Communist forces, and by April 22 the road to Tay Ninh was closed. Saigon was almost completely encircled.

But even more disturbing for Washington and its puppets than the military victories of the liberation forces was the explosive situation within Saigon itself.

Top-ranking military officers, government officials, and the wealthy are making desperate preparations to flee. In two weeks the price of seaworthy wooden junks tripled to the equivalent of \$10,000. The main customers are field-grade officers in the Saigon forces. Refugees on the prison island of Phu Quoc off the south coast of Vietnam reported that a number of wealthy and prominent persons from Saigon had moved there, apparently intending to escape by boat to nearby Thailand. Scenes of panic following the encirclement of Xuan Loc were reported at Vung Tau, the port commanding the access to the sea from Saigon, as crowds of people sought places



New York Post

aboard junks to leave the country.

The market is glutted with houses, cars, and expensive appliances. Businesses are being offered for sale at giveaway prices. Typical of the rush to liquidate assets was an advertisement for a palatial Saigon villa. First advertised for the equivalent of \$125,000, within two weeks the price had dropped to a quarter of that.

Gold, a traditional emergency currency in Indochina, has become scarce. People are hoarding dollars. The black market price of dollars has rocketed to three times the legal rate.

Americans are becoming increasingly unpopular. "The specter is raised, by well-placed observers," said Philip McCombs in the April 20 *Washington Post*, "of Americans climbing aboard helicopters and flying away while U.S. Marines push away and possibly gun down their frantic and enraged former allies."

Observers were increasingly skeptical about "Operation Talon Vise," Washington's last-ditch plans to rescue hundreds of thousands of "loyal" Vietnamese.

Any attempt by the Pentagon to secure an escape route, a corridor from Saigon to Vung Tau forty miles away, would require an enormous number of troops—up to five or six divisions in some estimates.

Hundreds of Vietnamese, some of them present or former military officers, began arriving in the Philippines April 21 on an American airlift. It was feared that signs that the final U.S. evacuation was taking place might precipitate the total collapse of the Saigon regime.

"Unless there is a cease-fire or an agreement by the North Vietnamese army to let the South Vietnamese leave peacefully," predicted one State Department official quoted in the April 17 *New York Post*, "we will have a real mess." □

PRG Signals Readiness to Compromise With Saigon

By Dick Fidler

"Whether or not Saigon during the coming weeks comes under siege by the PRG guerrillas and their North Vietnamese allies—or whether Thieu attempts to 'put it back together again,' as General Weyand predicts—what is now in question is no longer the victory of the revolutionaries in Indochina, but the way they will deal with it," wrote Jean Lacouture in the May 1 issue of the *New York Review of Books*.

The noted French authority's assessment of the perspectives facing the People's Liberation Armed Forces (PLAF) is shared by military experts and on-the-spot observers in Saigon.

"Most Western military analysts believe that Communist strength around Saigon is now so overwhelming that the capital could be taken in days or hours," Malcolm W. Browne cabled from Saigon to the April 20 *New York Times*. The *Times*'s military analyst Drew Middleton said April 18 that "United States military sources" think "Saigon's hopes for preventing a defeat are minimal." In their view, he said, "the South Vietnamese have neither the manpower nor the weapons to reverse the situation."

All observers agree that only a major political deal with the liberation forces could head off the complete defeat of the puppet Saigon government.

The Provisional Revolutionary Government and the North Vietnamese leadership are seeking such a deal.

New York Times correspondent Flora Lewis reported from Paris in an April 16 dispatch that PRG officials there "have been engaged in intensive contacts over the last few weeks with antiwar Americans, French officials, West European diplomats and French and Vietnamese scholars.

"Some of these people," she said, "have also met with North Vietnamese representatives here. They report that the Communists all stress the desire to take up negotiations provided under the 1973 Paris agreements for a coalition council in South Vietnam to be followed by elections. They also report an expressed reluctance to press for a forceful and complete Communist take-over of Saigon."

The accords signed in January 1973 provided for the formation of a National Council of National Reconciliation and Concord, to be composed of three equal segments, including representatives of the liberation forces, the Saigon regime, and "neutralists." This body was to organize

"free and democratic general elections under international supervision." It was to function "on the principle of unanimity"; that is, the Saigon puppet regime could veto any proposal it did not like. These provisions of the accords were never implemented. Instead, Thieu launched military offensives aimed at seizing territory held by the PRG forces.

In his *New York Review* article, Lacouture noted that the PRG and Hanoi support a similar concept, "based on a tripartite system in which the right-wing and centrist representatives would each have one third of the places." The French journalist compared this proposal to a "Union of the Left," which in French terms, he suggested, would have as its center a figure even further to the right than François Mitterrand.

"This image of tripartism appears to represent a fundamental policy—one might say a 'password'—of the PRG," he said.

Lacouture, who is a biographer of Ho Chi Minh, reported that "all the talks I have had with leading Vietnamese revolutionaries turn on this policy of compromise. Madame Binh [the PRG's foreign minister], on arriving in Paris, made it clear that the aim of the PRG was to set up at last the political structures envisaged in the Paris accords. . . . 'We spent five years negotiating them,' she said, 'and they are all the more valuable to us.'"

Lacouture thought the PLAF would be content to allow Saigon "to remain for some time under 'bourgeois' administration," avoiding a battle to take the city. He said that the political settlement envisaged by the Vietnamese would require three steps: "First, the deposition of Thieu; second, the formation of a 'moderate' cabinet of transition; and third, the opening of negotiations with the PRG to create, at last, the coalition government that seems the only stabilizing apparatus that could keep Vietnam from falling once again into civil war."

Those in contact with the PRG and Hanoi representatives in Paris, Flora Lewis said in her April 16 dispatch, "offer several explanations of why they think the Communists still want a negotiated political settlement when they may have a military victory within their grasp."

Among these were the desire to avoid a bloody battle for Saigon; the "overwhelming problems of civil control once the war ends"; and the possibilities of receiving

greater international aid and recognition that a three-way coalition government would offer.

Lewis's informants also referred to "a feeling in Hanoi that Mao Tse-tung erred by marching into Peking in 1949, thus enabling Chiang Kai-shek and two million followers to flee and establish a rival government on Taiwan. Hanoi is said to feel that the error led to the long isolation of Peking and to the continuing problem of having two Chinese governments."

One important consideration not listed by these sources is the very strong pressure now being exerted on the Vietnamese by Moscow and Peking. The Soviet and Chinese bureaucrats are bending over backwards to demonstrate their desire not to upset the world relationship of forces between the capitalist countries and the workers states.

New York Times correspondent Christopher S. Wren described the Kremlin's strategy in an April 18 dispatch from Moscow. "Soviet diplomats analyzing the fighting in South Vietnam have told well-placed sources here that they do not expect the Communist forces to try to capture Saigon and win the war in the current offensive," Wren said.

"The diplomats drew their conclusions from conversations with North Vietnamese and Vietcong officials and their own reports from Hanoi, according to the sources, who are also Russians."

The views attributed to the Vietnamese clearly reflected the Kremlin's own policy. In fact, this is Moscow's way of indicating its readiness to help Ford out of his dilemma.

The *Times*'s sources in the Soviet foreign ministry suggested that the liberation forces moving toward Saigon "might prefer to hold the ground they have taken and let the fighting wind down." They said they "understood that the Vietnamese Communists were willing, as they have said, to undertake political discussions with an alternate government" that did not include Thieu.

The *New York Times* correspondent noted that "the Soviet press, which has usually supported Hanoi's line on the war, has stopped short of predicting immediate victory and has appeared cautious in discussing the United States. . . ."

In fact, the Kremlin has been so "cautious" that it was not until April 9 that a

Soviet leader even went so far as to comment directly on the recent events in Vietnam. And even then, Premier Aleksei Kosygin's remarks, made at a dinner honoring a Yugoslav delegation, avoided any mention of Washington's role.

An article in *Izvestia*, cited by the *New York Times* April 19, said that for the first time in two years Vietnamese developments opened a more real prospect for full implementation of the Paris agreements and that the North Vietnamese and PRG intended to observe them.

All the evidence indicates that Washington is quite prepared to accept a deal that would freeze the military lines where they now stand, leaving it in effective control of Saigon and perhaps a small enclave around the city. This would provide a base for the Pentagon, acting directly or through its South Vietnamese agents, to launch offensive operations against the liberation forces at some future date.

Twice before, in 1946 and 1954, the Vietnamese have forgone the victory they won on the battlefield to accept a political settlement that left an imperialist presence in their country. In each case, they were eventually forced to resume their long and costly struggle under less advantageous conditions.

The Ford administration's bellicose stance is designed to pressure the Vietnamese and their allies to yield the maximum possible concessions. Ford's threat to intervene again with troops indicates what Washington will do if it thinks it can get away with it.

In a major policy speech April 17, Kissinger attempted to blackmail Moscow and Peking with the threat that failure to achieve a satisfactory settlement in Vietnam would lead Washington to reexamine its policy on détente.

"We shall not forget who supplied the arms which North Vietnam used to make a mockery of its signature on the Paris accords," he said.

Kissinger even threatened diplomatic reprisals against U.S. allies like Britain, France, and Canada if they balked at carrying out Washington's orders. He said Washington could not "overlook the melancholy fact that not one of the other signatories of the Paris accords responded to our repeated requests that they at least point out North Vietnam's flagrant violations of these agreements. . . . one lesson we must surely learn from Vietnam is that new commitments of our nation's honor and prestige must be carefully weighed."

It was reported April 14 that the foreign ministers of the nine countries in the European Economic Community, meeting in Luxembourg, had turned down Washington's request that they make a unilateral appeal to Hanoi for a cease-fire in South Vietnam. But a whirl of diplomatic activity

related to Vietnam is going on in Western Europe, much of it centered in Paris.

French President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing has announced his support for a solution based on the 1973 accords.

Washington Post correspondent Philip A. McCombs reported from Saigon April 16



Interlandi/Los Angeles Times

that "officials of the French embassy have been meeting privately" with Thieu's opponents, including "former head of state, Gen. Duong Van (Big) Minh, Thich Tri Quang, leader of the anti-Thieu Buddhist faction, and the Buddhist lay leader, Sen. Vu Van Mau."

Even Nguyen Khanh, the South Vietnamese general who headed the Saigon government in 1964, following the assassination of Ngo Dinh Diem, has got into the act. In an article published in the *New York Times* April 17, Khanh said his personal contacts with PRG and North Vietnamese representatives in his French exile had convinced him that "we are as close as ever to a political solution" based on the provisions of the 1973 Paris accords. (He said that such a "government of national unity" in Saigon "would naturally encourage the investment of foreign capital to foster the quickest possible development of the country's natural resources, especially oil.")

Some sections of the U.S. ruling class, fearing that the South Vietnamese government will collapse before a political deal can be worked out, are urging greater haste on Washington. The *New York Times*, for example, has been campaigning to dump Thieu and implement the tripartite governmental formula of the Paris accords. This formula, the editors wrote April 14, "gives what is left of non-Communist South Vietnam the last possible hope of avoiding a total political collapse."

In the April 18 *New York Times*, Washington columnist James Reston noted that Thieu's foreign minister, Vuong Van Bac, had said that Saigon was prepared to

negotiate a settlement with the North Vietnamese—a sure sign that Washington favors a political deal.

"If South Vietnam is prepared to discuss a political settlement in its present military extremity, North Vietnam has little to lose by waiting and negotiating," Reston said. "Twice before, the North has felt it lost its military advantage by negotiating, but it now controls most of the peninsula, was never in a stronger position to pause and negotiate, and presumably would talk with the armies in place."

"What is needed now, and quickly, is a direct and specific démarche by Washington in Moscow for a faithful execution of the Paris accords and the U.S.-Soviet 'statement of principles.'"

At an April 19 news conference in Saigon, a PRG official reiterated the offer to reach a political settlement that would avert the military conquest of Saigon. Col. Vo Dong Giang, deputy chief of the PRG's military delegation sent to South Vietnam to supervise the 1973 cease-fire, reminded reporters that the PRG had issued an appeal on April 4 for "uprisings and attacks" in Saigon and surrounding Gia Dinh Province.

"But many of his references to an 'uprising'—a Vietcong euphemism for attack—were couched in the conditional tense, such as 'If an uprising takes place; if the Thieu clique remains obdurate,'" said *New York Times* correspondent Malcolm W. Browne. Col. Giang repeated the PRG's two conditions: that Thieu resign and that all U.S. "military advisers disguised as civilians" leave the country. The PRG says there are about 25,000 U.S. advisers still in South Vietnam.

Jean Lacouture was only stating the obvious when he wrote: ". . . if it becomes clear that gestures toward negotiation can lead to a braking of the revolutionary offensive, we can expect that there will perhaps be an overabundance of politicians" in Saigon willing to play a part.

Duong Minh Duc, the son of Gen. Duong Van Minh ("Big Minh"), told a news conference in Paris April 16 that his father was prepared to head a "peace government" in South Vietnam "to resume negotiations with the P.R.G." Foreign Minister Nguyen Thi Binh said in Algiers April 2 that the PRG was "ready to talk" with Minh.

It remains to be seen if all these elements advocating a compromise political deal will be successful. It is not excluded that the momentum unleashed by the collapse of Saigon's puppet armies and the advances of the liberation forces could yet inspire a mass uprising within Saigon itself, or result in the total breakdown of all civil administration in the city. In that case, the Provisional Revolutionary Government may well find itself forced to march into the capital, just as Mao's armies were forced to occupy Peking in 1949. □

People Cheer as Khmer Rouge Enter Pnompenh

By Peter Green

The population of Pnompenh gave a tumultuous welcome to the victorious Khmer Rouge troops when they entered the Cambodian capital on April 17.

"Three hours after the surrender," said an April 18 Associated Press dispatch, "thousands of students paraded along the main boulevards, waving banners to greet the Communist forces."

Crowds lined the streets, and from windows and roofs people "cheered and waved white strips of cloth as the black-clad troops walked triumphantly through the streets in groups of three or four." After five years of agonizing war, the only sounds of shooting came from the jubilant soldiers firing into the air.

"Communist troops reportedly embraced Government soldiers and lifted them aboard personnel carriers for a victory parade along the waterfront.

"Al Rockoff, a freelance American photographer, climbed on the hood of a jeep loaded with Communist-led soldiers, and the jeep drove up and down the streets."

"The popular enthusiasm is evident," said *Le Monde* correspondent Patrice de Beer in a dispatch from Pnompenh. "Groups form around the insurgents, who often carry American weapons. They are young, happy, surprised by their easy success. The republican soldiers quickly put up white flags. Processions form in the street and the refugees are starting to go home."

Scattered fighting was reported in a few enclaves held by the puppet forces, but most of them rapidly came under the control of the Khmer Rouge forces. In Poipet, on the border with Thailand, about 500 Khmer Rouge troops rode into town on captured jeeps. Many of them were girls and young boys, the April 20 *Washington Post* reported.

"From the border, 300 yards away, the reporters observed a Khmer Rouge leader addressing a large crowd and heard loud applause." About twenty soldiers later approached the border and shook hands with Thai civilians across the barbed wire barriers.

Washington Hauls Down Its Flag

The final collapse of the puppet forces came just five days after Washington grudgingly admitted defeat and airlifted its remaining officials out of Pnompenh.

U.S. Ambassador John Gunther Dean

had instructed his staff that he wanted the embassy "to go out in style, with dignity—not in panic like losers." The exit was anything but dignified, however.

The American officials had to scurry out by helicopter; their farewell committee consisted of a hundred or so staring children; Ambassador Dean left carrying the embassy flag in a plastic bag; and as soon as the helicopters lifted off, Cambodian military police ransacked the embassy and homes of the Americans.

In the final weeks of the puppet regime, the feelings of the populace became more and more overt.

First students and then teachers demonstrated in Pnompenh demanding an end to U.S. aid. Leaflets calling for peace circulated.

The Last Days of Pnompenh

The morale of the puppet troops had never been high, but it sank lower and lower, until toward the end the soldiers were resorting to cannibalism. The eating of slain Khmer Rouge soldiers apparently became a common practice. A dispatch by Jacques Leslie in the April 6 *Los Angeles Times* reported that mutinous troops had killed and eaten their paymaster after not getting paid for four months. The soldiers accused their officers of pocketing their pay.

"Our commander had wine and pork and chicken while we ate grasshoppers," a soldier said. "The commander could use wine to wash his face. He had three or four girls with him. But if a soldier was sick and wanted to go to the hospital in Phnom Penh, he had to pay a 10,000 to 20,000 riels (\$5 to \$10) bribe to get a helicopter ride."

Right up to the final day the Pnompenh regime tried to squeeze the last dollar from the suffering of the people under its control. After the liberation of Pnompenh, an official of the United Nations Children's Fund revealed that the regime had compelled UN authorities to pay costly air-freight charges to fly powdered milk for starving children into the country aboard the government-owned airline rather than permit the relief supplies to be flown in free. One report said that UNICEF had been charged as much as \$1,000 a ton.

President Lon Nol skipped the country with his plunder April 1. After a ten-day holiday in Indonesia, he arrived in Hawaii for "medical treatment," and was met by

Admiral Noel Gayler, the American Pacific commander. The U.S. government is footing the bill for his stay in Hawaii.

However, Washington's puppet ran into difficulties with some of his baggage. Events were moving too rapidly in both Cambodia and South Vietnam, and he apparently overestimated the stability of the fiefdom of his crony in Saigon. In late March, South Vietnamese officials asked a charter airline affiliated with Swissair to ferry out "some personal belongings" of the Thieu family as well as some personal effects of Lon Nol. The airline declined after it discovered the baggage included sixteen tons of gold, worth \$73 million.

As the end neared in Pnompenh, Lon Nol concentrated on other personal problems. *New York Times* correspondent Sydney Schanberg reported that two days before the liberation of Pnompenh, "the National Bank of Cambodia sent a cablegram to the Irving Trust Company in New York, asking the American bank, where it presumably has dollar credits, to confirm that it was carrying out an earlier order to pay \$1-million to Marshal Lon Nol." The earlier order had been sent on April 1.

"Perhaps the marshal was worried that if Phnom Penh fell to the insurgents before the transaction was confirmed, he would never get the money," said Schanberg.

Saukam Khoy, the acting president left behind by Lon Nol, put on a bizarre show of bravado and vowed there would be "no surrender," before he also fled with the last of the Americans.

The insurgents were too weak to break into the city, he said in an interview reported by Sydney Schanberg in the April 8 *New York Times*. But if they do, he said, "We will stand on the top floors of houses and fire down on them and kill them all."

He also said that the insurgent troops were peasant boys and therefore "don't know how to find their way in the city."

"We will kill their leaders and then they will get lost," he added.

The committee of generals that took over when Saukam Khoy and the U.S. embassy left also vowed to fight to the last. "There will be no surrender," said Premier Long Boret on April 13.

But with the Americans gone, everyone recognized the fall of the puppet regime would only be a matter of days or hours. The government radio continued to broadcast military music, nostalgically interspersed with tunes such as "Marching Through Georgia" and "Old Folks at Home."

Whose Bloodbath?

After five years of war in Cambodia, Sydney Schanberg reported in the April 13 *New York Times*, there are "a million Cambodians killed or wounded (one seventh

of the population), hundreds of thousands of refugees living in shanties, a devastated countryside, children dying of starvation and carpenters turning out a steady stream of coffins made from ammunition crates."

Having bequeathed this legacy to the people of Cambodia, any talk from Washington about a "bloodbath" following the rebel victory sounds like Hitlerite propaganda.

The actual liberation of Pnompenh itself belied such White House handouts to the press.

But reports of the mass of the population of Pnompenh cheering the Khmer Rouge as they entered the city is very dangerous news for Washington's propaganda machine, especially for its last-ditch maneuver to retain a toehold in Saigon by raising an alarm about a "bloodbath" of hundreds of thousands of "loyal" supporters there if the marines are not allowed to go in to rescue them.

So after the early reports from Pnompenh of the warm welcome given the Khmer Rouge and the rapid restoration of peace and order, the Western press began carrying stories about executions and beheadings, allegedly announced by the Khmer Rouge radio. However, the April 20 *Washington Post* reported that the broadcast was not over the regular frequencies of either the Khmer Rouge radio or Pnompenh radio.

According to Agence France-Presse, the *Washington Post* continued, "some observers believe the station, which calls itself the Voice of the Future Nation, is manned by a psychological warfare unit trying to sway local and international opinion against the new Cambodian government." Such operations are known to be carried out by the American Central Intelligence Agency.

In fact, soon after they set up headquarters in Pnompenh, the Khmer Rouge invited all ministers and generals of the former regime "who have not run away" to meet and help formulate measures to restore order. The Khmer Rouge had previously listed "seven traitors" whom they advised to flee, but said they were willing to work with anyone else—feudal elements, landlords, and comprador capitalists included.

Le Monde correspondent Patrice de Beer reported that he had seen the prisoners held by the Khmer Rouge at their headquarters in the former Ministry of Information.

"The atmosphere was relaxed," he said. "The prisoners—Lon Non [brother of Lon Nol], many generals, some ministers—were laughing and chatting with soldiers. There was one 'super traitor,' former Premier Long Boret, who had given himself up and had been well received."

Although Norodom Sihanouk and the Khmer Rouge leaders stated repeatedly they would never negotiate with the Pnompenh regime, Joseph Kraft reported in the April 8

Washington Post that a feeler for negotiations had been rejected by Washington early in the summer of 1974.

"According to the highest French officials. . .," said Kraft, "at that time the



South Vietnam government seeks carrier for orphans to Switzerland. —News item

Conrad/Los Angeles Times

rebels were pressing hard on the capital, Phnom Penh. But they were experiencing supply difficulties which promoted internal bickering. The Chinese hinted to the French that something might be arranged, provided the Lon Nol government was ready to step down.

"Paris conveyed the hint to Washington. Washington, according to the French, turned a deaf ear," said Kraft.

The reason Nixon and Kissinger rejected negotiations and banked everything on a military victory, according to Kraft's French source, was that "they did not understand that a soft, neutralist regime with a broad political base could both cover up an American defeat and thwart a Communist victory.

"This year, when further soundings were made, the Chinese were unwilling to play a role. As the very high official said: 'You cannot ask Peking to stop Communists from winning when they are on the verge of victory.'"

During the last days of the Pnompenh regime, various desperate proposals for a deal were made by Washington and its puppets.

George Bush, the head of the U.S. liaison office in Peking, delivered a note to Sihanouk during the night of April 11-12 inviting him to return to Pnompenh to take power, an April 12 dispatch in the *Washington Post* reported. Sihanouk said the Pnompenh regime had tried to contact him directly but eventually resorted to "a note from the U.S. government which informed me, last night, that everyone in Phnom Penh wanted my

immediate return to our capital, my takeover of power in Phnom Penh and my aid to get a cease-fire."

"I replied by a note to the U.S.A. that I would remain until the end at the side of the red Khmers, my allies whom I would never betray, and that there must be absolutely no frustrating of so deserved a victory," said Sihanouk.

A last-ditch proposal for conditional surrender from the Pnompenh regime was delivered to Sihanouk by the International Red Cross on April 16. In rejecting the offer, Sihanouk said "that if second-rank traitors wish to save their lives, they should immediately lay down their arms, raise the white flag and rally unconditionally. . . .

"As to the first-rank traitors, forming what they call the 'Supreme Council,' we advise them to flee Cambodia if they can, instead of wasting time digging bunkers."

The new government in Pnompenh would be "nonaligned, democratic and progressive," but not Communist, said Sihanouk in a statement issued April 15. During an interview broadcast the day before, Sihanouk defined his own future role as that of a "public relations officer for international affairs."

Representatives of the Cambodian Communists in Paris said their government would follow a policy of neutrality and nonalignment.

"This is not a tactical or temporary policy," said Chau Seng, a special representative of Sihanouk and Politburo member of the National United Front of Cambodia, at a news conference on April 17. "It is a fundamental and strategic position." He also said that Buddhism would remain the state religion. □

Highway Robbery

Most American workers took pay cuts last year—either directly in the form of a lower paycheck or indirectly in the form of inflation-eroded buying power. Executives in the country's oil monopolies fared somewhat better.

J.K. Jamieson, chairman of Exxon, the world's largest oil company, received a salary of \$676,667 last year, up 13.4 percent from the year before.

Raleigh Warner, Jr., chairman of Mobil Oil, came in second in the oil sweepstakes with a salary of \$596,000.

Maurice Granville, chairman of Texaco, didn't do so badly either. An increase of \$187,013 brought his salary up to a respectable \$460,761.

All three, however, have a way to go to catch up with the country's top corporate moneybags. Harold Geneen, chairman of International Telephone and Telegraph (ITT), reported that his total take last year was \$788,610.

Maoists Stage 'Revolutionary Theater' in Lisbon Streets

By Gerry Foley

LISBON—One day after the large reformist workers parties signed the "pact-program" of the Movimento das Forças Armadas (MFA—Armed Forces Movement), the government moved against one of the smaller left parties that rejected the agreement. On April 11, it issued an order banning the Frente Eleitoral de Comunistas (Marxistas-Leninistas) (Electoral Front of Communists [Marxist-Leninist]) from radio and television for five days. The reason for this step, the government representatives said, was that the FEC(ML) had been using its radio and TV time to attack the MFA and other parties rather than explain its program.

The FEC(ML), like the other Maoist groups, has directed its main fire against the Portuguese Communist party, which it calls "social fascist." Its denunciation of the CP's opportunism and the MFA's demagoguery has been clothed in a romanticized, extremist version of Stalinism. In short, it was an easy target for repression. However, coming at the time and in the circumstances it did, this move was obviously aimed at all those forces that might refuse to accept the class-collaborationist and military-paternalist "pact-program."

The president, General Costa Gomes, made this crystal clear in his speech following the signing of the "pact-program."

"Broad strata of our people have not yet felt the creative power that emanates from the exercise of democratic freedoms. On the other hand, small groups exist that have gotten drunk on freedom and are abusing it in demonstrations of anarchy, irresponsibility, and verbalistic opportunism.

"Therefore, it is important that the MFA and the political parties that are participating with it in this process assure that control will be maintained over the situation during the minimum period that many of us need to come to understand the legitimate uses of freedom, and that others need to stop the illegitimate use they are making of it.

"We must admit that we inherited from the previous regime a political ignorance that has enabled some reactionary parties with autocratic, violent, or dictatorial aims, clothing themselves with pseudorevolutionary phrases, to win a following."

It is true that there is a proliferation of demagogues in Portugal today. Of the twelve parties running in the elections,

there is not a single group that does not call itself socialist, even the royalists of the People's Monarchist party. The electoral broadcasts of the bourgeois PPD¹ would have been grounds for indictment under the Smith Act in the United States in the 1950s. Even the rightist CDS,² which includes most of the worthies and notables of the old regime who are still active in politics, has been saying that it is the only party that deserves the name "socialist." It criticizes the other parties for using the term "demagogically."

However, this demagoguery of the right, which has been clothing itself in "pseudorevolutionary phrases," was obviously not what General Costa Gomes, the friend and comrade-in-arms of General Spínola, had in mind. This kind of demagoguery is not "anarchic." It plays an important "stabilizing" role, since it is designed to convince the masses of workers that their exploiters are really on their side.

The frenzied folklore of the Maoist groups, on the other hand, represents only the tragic illusions and ignorance of layers of students who want to fight the exploiters hiding under "pseudorevolutionary phrases" as well as the bitterness of militant workers whose struggles have been betrayed by the Communist party.

In fact, the confrontation between the government and the Maoist groups more and more takes on the aspect of an elaborately costumed theatrical tragedy.

The demonstration the Maoists staged April 14 to protest the ban on the FEC(ML) was a dramatic and colorful scenario, almost operatic. Thousands of young people participated. The Lisbon morning paper *Diário de Notícias* estimated the crowd at 1,500. But the number of participants must have been several times that. Tight rows of youths marching seven and eight abreast, arm in arm, stretched for six to eight blocks. It was the largest Maoist demonstration I have seen in Lisbon, significantly larger than the demonstrations last summer in defense of the arrested editor of the paper of the MRPP.³

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

2. Centro Democrático Social—Social Democratic Center.

3. Movimento Reorganizativo do Partido do Proletariado—Movement to Reorganize the Proletarian Party.

The demonstration must have started in the Rossio Square in downtown Lisbon as I was on my way back from the industrial section of the city on the south side of the Tejo River. I was sure that I would not be too late because I was right behind a group of young teen-agers carrying red flags who were obviously going there.

I followed them and jumped on what proved to be the most direct ferry just as it was leaving. It landed at the Praça do Comércio. I followed the youths down the gangplank and then down the Rua da Prata toward Rossio. Suddenly, they turned toward the main street, the Rua de Ouro. When I got to the intersection, there were red flags as far as I could see.

The march went down the street toward the Tejo and then turned northwest along the street just before the highway along the river. It was only after it was in this long, wide thoroughfare that I could see how large the demonstration was. It was a forest of red flags. There were also a number of large elaborate banners. One had embroidered portraits of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, and Mao Tsetung, under the slogan "Long Live Marxism-Leninism." There were also embroidered banners with the symbols of the FEC(ML) and the Partido de Unidade Popular (PUP—People's Unity party).

At first I could not understand the slogan the crowd was chanting. It sounded like "Viva a supressão das vozes comunistas" (Long live the suppression of communist voices), which was hardly appropriate. That is what one man, who obviously did not sympathize with the demonstration, told me it was. Finally, I realized that it was "Vai a supressão das vozes comunistas" (Away with the suppression of communist voices).

In fact, this slogan was the most appropriate of all those chanted. In general, if an apolitical operatic producer had staged the scene, he could have hardly come up with more sonorous and meaningless slogans. The monitors led the crowd in chanting: "For a people's offensive against fascism," "Long live the struggle of the peasants of Madeira," finally almost exclusively, "Neither fascism, nor social fascism, people's democracy."

The slogans that dealt with the ban were abstract—and extremist-sounding—"Down with social-fascist censorship." But even these were not stressed.

The organizers had apparently gone to

considerable effort to build the demonstration. It included groups that claimed to represent Madeira as well as the Setenave shipyards in Setúbal, about thirty miles south of Lisbon. The morning papers said that the action was sponsored by three Maoist groups—the FEC(ML), the PUP, and the UDP (União Democrático do Povo—Democratic People's Union). However, all the monitors I saw wore FEC(ML) and PUP armbands, although I did see some individuals wearing UDP buttons.

The monitors had no difficulty in controlling the demonstration. The crowd seemed mostly made up of good-natured young people, essentially students and young teenagers. However, it was led by a grizzled character in a workers cap who looked as if he had been cut out of an old Socialist Realist painting portraying proletarian rebellion.

No one on the street seemed to take the demonstration seriously. It was apparently just a spectacle for them. Most of the people watching seemed amused and ironical. But older men in business suits hurried out of the way with tight lips. For them, the march must have been another sign of times gone mad.

Traffic was badly held up as the march turned upward from the "Baixo," the low-lying downtown area, through the steep, narrow streets leading to the Palácio São Bento, the government palace, where it was to end. Many of Lisbon's slow-moving trolleys must have been held up for as much as an hour. But there were few complaints. Apparently most drivers in Lisbon have gotten used to such demonstrations.

No police lined the route, as they do in other countries. There was only a jeep with about six military policemen that moved along just ahead of the march.

A dramatic moment came when the crowd reached the flights of stairs leading up the hill on which the Palácio São Bento stands. Tanks and armored cars were parked along the road leading past the palace on the top of the rise. Down below, at the top of the first flight of stairs, there was a line of more than 100 soldiers in battle dress carrying submachine guns.

The monitors took up positions just in front of the line of soldiers and began shaking their fists and shouting slogans. But at the same time, they held the bulk of the demonstrators at a safe distance from the cordon. The crowd with all its red banners surged in behind them. Thousands of persons began shouting, "Workers, peasants, soldiers, sailors, united they will be victorious" and "Down with social-fascist censorship." Thousands of fists started pumping up and down. It was an impressive display of "revolutionary theater."

The soldiers had apparently seen this sort of thing many times before. They showed no signs of fear or bewilderment. They had

ironic little smiles on their lips and seemed completely relaxed.

The organizers of the demonstration started a rally at the base of the steps. Few could really have heard what the speakers



COSTA GOMES: Worried about workers' "illegitimate use" of freedom.

said. The sound equipment was very poor. I caught something about the "so-called communist Alvaro Cunhal" (the CP general secretary). Someone spoke long and enthusiastically about the struggle of the peasants of Madeira.

The same chants started up again and went on and on. It became impossibly boring. I slipped away to have dinner in a little restaurant just below the level of the street where the rally was continuing. About every seven minutes I could hear a dull roar: "... fascism," "... fascism." When I came out an hour later, the crowd was just breaking up.

Youngsters were walking away in groups waving their red flags. One teased his companions by shouting, "PCP" (Partido Comunista Português—Portuguese Communist party). Another one of the group gave the kidder a quick dig in the ribs.

I wondered how much effect such a demonstration could have. The government could not dismiss it, despite its exotic and folkloric character. There were thousands of active young people there. Furthermore, they had come in defiance of some rather serious implied threats. It is true that there is a general feeling of freedom in Portugal that people are beginning now to get used to and take for granted. But the government

has applied repression against the Maoist groups at certain times, and several demonstrators have been shot in ultraleft actions. It will obviously take drastic measures to silence the currents that were represented in this demonstration.

On the other hand, it is vitally necessary for the MFA to get a consensus for its class-collaborationist program. Neither it, nor its reformist allies, can afford to ignore the critical voices on the left, especially in a period of general economic crisis, when it will be hard for any capitalist government to improve the lot of the masses of workers.

In these conditions, the coalition forces could lose their grip in a minute on key sections of the population and their contradictions could explode. Frustrated sections of workers could turn to the most bizarre sectarian and ultraleft groups for an alternative. There has already been a tendency for this to happen.

But in a decisive test, the government and the procapitalist forces could take advantage of the sectarianism and theatricality of the Maoist groups to launch a major offensive against all those who refuse to subordinate their principles to the political needs of a Bonapartist military lodge.

The future of the Portuguese revolution depends to a large extent on the capacity of revolutionists to get the young slogan-shouters and flag-wavers who took part in the April 14 demonstration to begin to think, to begin to see making the revolution as a task that requires skill and patience.

This is not a new problem. What it involves fundamentally is convincing young rebels that they can make a revolution in reality and not just in their own minds. It is the most difficult kind of educational problem, because it involves forming character too.

The Trotskyists in Portugal have an excellent and rare opportunity in their electoral campaign to show these youth how a revolutionary perspective can be made concrete, how to give direction to masses of workers who have rejected their former way of life and are looking for the leadership that can show them how to transform society.

A great deal depends on this process of education, because if an effective, real revolutionary party cannot soon be built in Portugal, the Maoists' revolutionary theater may culminate in a real tragedy for far wider sections of the population than the sadly deluded stratum of youth that follows these organizations. □

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Moscow Goes All Out for New Portuguese Government

By Marilyn Vogt

The manner in which the events in Portugal since March 11 have been presented in the Soviet Union's two major dailies, *Pravda*, newspaper of the Central Committee of the Communist party of the Soviet Union, and *Izvestia*, newspaper of the Supreme Soviet, i.e., the government, leaves no doubt that what the Kremlin rulers have in mind for Portugal is not a socialist revolution.

The articles generally report on the actions of the leading figures in the Armed Forces Movement (AFM); statements of the general secretary of the Portuguese Communist party, Alvaro Cunhal; and summaries of statements issued by the Portuguese CP. The underlying theme is full and uncritical support for the "progressive" military leaders.

Pravda has had almost daily coverage of the post-March events from the Soviet news agency correspondent in Lisbon, Vladimir Ermakov. His reports have been run regularly on the page in *Pravda* headed "International Information," which features reports from Tass's foreign correspondents. Ermakov presented an editorial of sorts on March 18 in the daily feature "Column of the Commentator." His article summarized the official line on Portugal.

As he viewed it, the March 11 attempted coup in Portugal, undertaken by reactionary generals with the support of the right-wing forces, was an attempt to stab the democratic forces in the back and restore a fascist order. It is analogous to moves by reactionary forces in Peru and Greece and is typical practice for imperialist conspirators.

The Portuguese situation is unique because of the particular circumstances that have developed since April 25, 1974, he said, when "the Armed Forces Movement, with the broad support of the people, overthrew the rotten dictatorial regime. Even then, imperialist circles did not conceal their anxiety at the possible consequences of this turn."

When it became clear that the country was on a course toward serious and deepgoing social and economic transformation, the commentary continued, the attacks of the reactionaries against the Armed Forces Movement and the "progressive forces supporting it" became overt. On September 28, 1974, led by Spínola, the reactionary forces tried to take power.



CUNHAL: Rave reviews in Moscow.

The failure of the recent attempted coup did not stop the reactionary forces. The March 11 assault was prepared for little by little, the article said. First came the international "anti-Portuguese press campaign" to create the impression that Portugal was in a state of hopeless chaos. Then the reactionaries, "taking advantage of the provocative activities of the Maoist and Trotskyist adventurers, widely resorting to sabotage and artificially kindling social conflicts, tried to . . . split the AFM, isolate the Communist party, and create in the country conditions that were conducive for a reactionary overturn."

The reaction was unsuccessful. "The joint efforts of the people and the AFM foiled the plans" within a few hours. But the reactionary forces will not give up. Ermakov concludes by saying: "Therefore, the call by the supporters of the democratic transformations for constant vigilance and solidarity so as not to allow the reaction to again gather its forces is extremely timely."

The idea that the "provocative" activities of "pseudoleftists" have played and will play into the hands of the reactionaries is repeated like a refrain.

However, the ferment among the workers and their efforts, despite the orientation of the PCP, to take direct control over their workplaces have not been totally ignored or slandered. In a report on March 14 entitled "Portugal Today" Ermakov stated: "In order to prevent the outflow of capital and economic sabotage, by a decision of the union of bank employees, all banks and exchange bureaus were closed."

The overriding theme of the mass actions, according to Ermakov, was support for the Armed Forces Movement. He quotes the Lisbon daily *Diário Popular*: "The soldiers were with the people and the people with the soldiers."

That more than support for the Armed Forces Movement may be behind some of the popular actions, however, might be detected by an astute *Pravda* reader, in that very same article.

Ermakov concludes his roundup of events with the following:

"Now, in conditions of confidence and calm, the broad mobilization of the masses in defense of the democratic transformations continues. In the factories and plants, workers are creating vigilance committees. All the more resolute is the demand of the left-wing forces to end the control of the monopolies and landlords. Still more sharply is posed the question of the need to nationalize private banks and insurance companies and disband reactionary groups. The failure of the conspiracy, many believe here, is leading to a definite polarization of class forces and an acceleration of the revolutionary-democratic processes in Portugal."

The "revolutionary-democratic processes" Ermakov is referring to go far beyond what the bureaucrats in the Kremlin and their followers in Portugal are prescribing. While Ermakov presented a selective and brief account of some of the activities of the workers in Portugal in this March 14 article, by far the bulk of his reports concern what the government is doing and saying, when the government is meeting, and what the government is supposedly discussing.

Demagogic proclamations of the various members of the Armed Forces Movement pledging support to democracy and calling for national unity are quoted extensively as proof of the government's reliability and merit. Interestingly enough, this same sycophancy characterized *Pravda's* cover-

age of the events in September 1974.

The Moscow Stalinists' official line of all-out support to the Portuguese government is caught in a couple of sentences in the March 17 *Pravda* paraphrasing an inter-

view Alvaro Cunhal gave *Diário de Notícias*:

"The General Secretary of the PCP stated that the creation of the Council of the Revolution is a necessary measure. The

participation of the AFM in the process of democratization is necessary and will remain necessary both before the elections to the constituent assembly and after them." □



Howard Patrick/Militant

Argentine PST leader Juan Carlos Coral speaking before an earlier meeting of 300 persons in Berkeley, California.

200 Persons Hear Coral at University of Puerto Rico

By José Pérez

RIO PIEDRAS, Puerto Rico—Two hundred people attended a meeting here held at the University of Puerto Rico April 7 for Argentine socialist leader Juan Carlos Coral.

The meeting was sponsored by the Social Sciences Department and the Pedagogy Department Student Council of the university, and by the Committee for Civil Liberties in Latin America, an ad hoc group associated with the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA).

One notable aspect of the meeting was the large security committee organized by student activists and a number of political organizations at the Río Piedras campus. Coral is well-known for his staunch defense of the Cuban Revolution, and it was feared that counterrevolutionary exiles, or gusanos, as students here call them, might try to disrupt the meeting.

One of Coral's meetings in the United States was attacked by gusanos. Organizers of the meeting also took into account the fact that in recent years there have been more than 150 terrorist disruption attempts by gusanos in Puerto Rico. The Puerto Rican government has failed to arrest even one of the perpetrators of these attacks.

This is one of the few times in recent

years that a marshaling squad for a meeting composed of activists and a broad range of student organizations has been constructed.

Students from both the University of Puerto Rico and the private Inter American University participated. The marshals included members of the Liga de Juventud Comunista (Young Communist League), the Unión de Juventud Socialista (Union of Socialist Youth), the Federación de Universitarios Pro-Independencia (Pro-Independence University Federation), the Naturales en Acción (Natural Science Students in Action), and the Mujer Intégrate Ahora (Women Join Together Now).

A large part of the audience that came to hear Coral was composed of longtime activists in the student and proindependence movements. After Coral's explanation of the growing wave of repression and right-wing violence in Argentina, much of the question-and-answer period focused on the kinds of strategy and tactics that can be most effective in combating right-wing attacks. The tactic of guerrilla warfare was a particularly heated topic of discussion.

After the meeting at the university, Coral met with Carlos Gallisá, an independentista member of the Puerto Rican legislature who recently joined the Puerto Rican Socialist party. The two socialist leaders

exchanged information about the struggles of their respective countries and pledged mutual solidarity in defense of democratic rights.

On April 8, Coral held a news conference in the chambers of the General Students Council at the University of Puerto Rico. Both *Claridad*, the daily newspaper of the Puerto Rican Socialist party, and *Avance*, a widely circulated weekly magazine, sent reporters. In addition an Associated Press dispatch about the news conference was carried in the U.S. Spanish-language news media.

At the news conference Coral emphasized the growing danger of a possible right-wing coup in Argentina.

"The government is caught in a vicious circle of increasing repression and terrorism, designed to stop strikes and other struggles, but the workers continue to mobilize," he said. "The Argentine capitalists and the imperialists are desperately looking for a way out of this vicious circle, through a military coup."

Coral said that such a coup would take away the remaining democratic rights of Argentine workers and that his party will fight against any attempted coup because of this. He appealed for increased international protests to stop such a coup. □

Desmond Trotter Loses Appeal, Sentenced to Hang

The campaign to save Desmond Trotter, a militant condemned to death on the Caribbean island of Dominica, has become more urgent with the rejection of his appeal by the British Caribbean Court of Appeal on March 19.

Trotter was framed up on a charge of murdering a white tourist and convicted on November 1, 1974. He was sentenced to hang.

The victimization of Trotter by the Labour party government of Prime Minister Patrick John was the culmination of a rising wave of repression against the workers, peasants, and youth of this small British colony, 400 miles southeast of Puerto Rico.

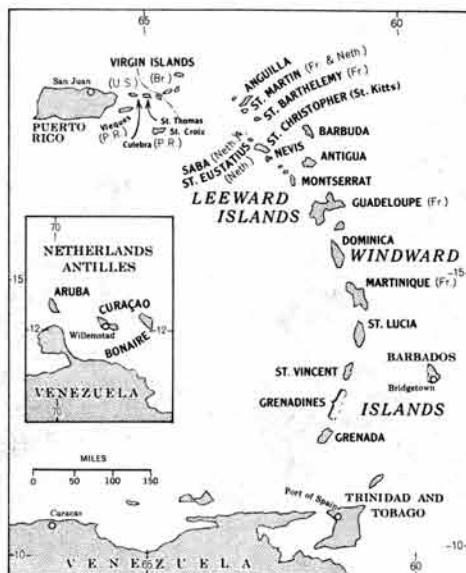
Since the late 1960s, protests and demonstrations against the regime have gathered momentum. In 1968 a Black Power movement emerged on the island. It published a magazine entitled *Black Cry*. Trotter was one of the main leaders of the movement. In 1972 it officially adopted the name Movement for a New Dominica, and Trotter became editor of its monthly publication, *Twaway*.

In July 1972 agricultural laborers at the British-owned Castle Bruce plantation went on strike and threatened to take over the estate and collectivize production. The government responded by organizing a witch-hunt throughout the island, especially against the MND, which had supported the striking workers. Trotter was suspended from his civil-service job, then transferred to another department. He was repeatedly harassed by the police.

After a general strike in June 1973 brought the country to a standstill, the regime reacted hysterically. It claimed that a "Castro-type" guerrilla movement was operating on the island. (The "evidence" brought forward for this assertion was the discovery of a shack in the jungle and two used 0.22 caliber cartridges.) Repression of the MND and of any militant youths voicing the slightest criticism of the regime was intensified.

During the annual carnival in February 1974, two young American tourists were attacked while camping in the countryside. The day after this incident another American tourist was shot. Although taken to a hospital, he was not seriously attended to until the following morning. He died.

Seizing on these incidents, the regime launched an all-out attack on the MND. Patrick John—then deputy premier—



blamed the killing of the American on "a few degenerate leaders who see themselves as the architects of a new society projecting new standards." An unofficial state of emergency went into effect in the capital, Roseau. Club-wielding police swept through the streets arresting and searching young people. In addition to the MND, their targets were the "Dreads," militant Dominican youths who had adopted a distinctive form of dress and wore their hair in long stiffened locks.

Two weeks later the village of Grandbay erupted. The villagers drove the managers off the estate, and Grandbay was placed under official emergency. Extra police were called in and property-owning volunteers were recruited into a rural constabulary with license to kill.

Against this background, Desmond Trotter and another MND member, Roy Mason, were charged on May 6 with the murder of the American tourist.

The trial itself was a farce. The prosecution's whole case was based on the evidence of two witnesses who later admitted that they had been threatened by the police into signing a statement. In a statement made at the office of lawyer Time Kendall, the secretary of the Caribbean Bar Association, they said: "We refused to sign the papers and we were then threatened that if we did not sign we wouldn't be allowed to go home. We did not know anything about what was stated on the sheets of paper but we were forced to sign after being threatened. . . .

"We were told to memorise what was on

the paper because we were going to be needed as witnesses on the day of the hearing. We were offered money to be witnesses. . . ."

The police identification parade was just for the record—Desmond Trotter was the only one on the line with the distinctive locks worn by the Dreads. The jury was composed almost entirely of local businessmen or managers.

In his statement to the court Trotter denounced the trial as a frame-up and explained why he thought he was being victimized:

"It is my belief further that because we make known our beliefs, without fear, and which are mainly that all land available in our country should be made available to those willing and dedicated to work it, and that the results of our joint labour should be shared among us according to our needs and the needs of our country as a whole. Further that all of us who are workers should seek to organize ourselves in a manner best suitable to us all so as to plan, govern and control our own destiny. Further, that we should make a determined and ceaseless effort to seek to eliminate all forms of oppression, exploitation and corruption inherent within our society. . . ."

"I once more pronounce that this case is nothing more than a vicious attempt by desperate men who have become insane with the power vested in them, and as a result seek to frame up I and I [the "Brethren of I and I," the Dreads] in their quest for greater power and unlimited corruption. I am innocent."

Mason was acquitted, but Trotter was found guilty and sentenced to hang. When the verdict was announced, hundreds of young people took to the streets of Roseau in protest.

After the trial the government rushed a special anti-Dread law through parliament. It made the wearing of long hair a criminal offense. It provided that any member of the Dreads found in a private residence may legally be killed.

During November and December 1974 the police raided homes of MND members and others. They seized the movement's duplicating machine and public address system, as well as books, files, tape recordings, and a large amount of personal property. This material had not been returned after sixteen weeks.

The campaign to free Desmond Trotter raised a total of \$10,801 to finance his appeal. When the appeal was rejected, the defense campaign announced it would take the case to the Privy Council in London, the highest court in the British Commonwealth.

To carry on this fight, more help is needed. Requests for information and letters of support may be sent to Movement for a New Dominica, 6 Canal Lane, Goodwill, Dominica. □

'We Are Now Facing a Slow Death in Jail'

[Reprinted below is an interview given in prison by a supporter of the Dreads, an organization of young militants on the Caribbean island of Dominica that is being brutally repressed by the regime of Prime Minister Patrick John. The notorious "Dread law" allows the arbitrary arrest of anyone wearing the characteristic long stiffened locks of the Dreads. It also allows private citizens as well as police to shoot on sight anyone with such a hairstyle found on private premises.

[The interview appeared in the March 21 issue of *Twaway*, the monthly publication of the Movement for a New Dominica.]

* * *

Twaway. Open repression seems to have slackened these last few weeks, probably because of the many solidarity messages, which makes it obvious that the world is watching Dominica, and also because the ruling Labour party is not only attempting to fool the people locally but 'image build' overseas in order to get election money. Has this slackening of repression that we feel out here been felt in the prison?

Answer. What is repression! Sleeping on cold concrete? Fear of food poisoning? No fruits? No sun? Shots being fired in your direction? No visits? No food for days? Threats on our lives? These are day to day realities inside. Repression never slackens in here, even inside we are now victims of brutalization under the present regime for talking about exploitation of man by man. As innocent youths we are being victimized and brutalized in all sorts of ways and are now facing a slow death in jail.

Twaway. We know that the inhuman "Dread" Law was meant to do just that . . . isolate the most politically conscious youth from workers and peasants and break you down mentally and physically, but what about prison regulations concerning basic human and prison rights? Are the brethren aware of these and have they been able to bring them to the prison authorities' attention when violated?

Answer. We are being taken away from society with no human and constitutional rights. As we enter the gates of the prison, we are welcomed by four coffin-shaped houses built of concrete and covered with galvanise. We are then taken to an area called the Officers' Office, where we are searched, issued orders, and taken to a

special cell known as Association 4, and then told we will be treated as Dreads. When we are thrown in the coffin-like cell, the Officers in charge tell us we have to make it out without a bed. Some of us get a blanket, the rest of us have to sleep on the bare cold concrete. As convicted prisoners, when we ask about our rights we are told we are lock-up, so we do not need to know the Laws of the Prisons. "I the Superintendent am the Law-maker. I give concessions."

As youths we make every effort to know our rights, and certain Officers tell us that as convicted Prisoners, only if we are on punishment, we are not supposed to be lock-up. But remanded prisoners are supposed to be lock-up and to receive an hour sun. But remanded prisoners are on the outside, and others, who the Authorities say are against the system, do not receive a minute sun.

We are being kept in the cell lock-up all day except to throw our slop-pails and to take a bath with not even time to make the sun rays dry the water. Sometimes our cells are not cleaned for a whole week. When we ask for a broom to sweep we are told by Officers, "Dreads don't use brooms."

Twaway. We know that "Dreads" especially are being singled out for harsher treatment . . . but could you cite some specific examples for us? And tell us what's happening with Brother Desmond. . . .

Answer. In Association Cell 4 at present there are 13 of us picked up under the Act. Seven of us have been already convicted, the other six are remanded prisoners, making 21 of us in the cell, the largest ever to be put in a cell. At night time when we are reasoning, members of the Dominica Defence Force threaten to blow off our heads if we continue to talk. When we report the incidents to the officers, all they tell us is that they should blow our heads out. Officers also tell us that they would throw tear-gas or gasoline in the cell to burn us as pigs and dogs without masters. And the "leaders" who were outside trying to expose our brutalization in the prison should be shot down. Another Officer told us that he would poison our food.

The Authorities have recently decided to ban certain people from bringing fruits to us. These Authorities have always tried to stop our brethren from bringing to us. Firstly they banned fruits such as tomatoes, guavas, cane, allowing only citrus and bananas. Seeing that it did not stop the Brothers they started limiting fruits to us

and refusing us visits. These efforts are geared especially to scare us more and brutalize us into total submission, for they know that the visiting Brothers (and bringing of the fruits) are a source of strength.

Our Freedom fighter Brother Desmond Trotter is facing his conviction of Death without being hanged in all sorts of ways and forms with Officers always at his door to watch every more he makes. I can remember on a Saturday we were surrounded by D.D.F. men who said they were searching for arms and ammunition, so we were brought to the Security Block for the day. Desmond was fasting at lunch-time. He asked that his food be left in the kitchen for him as there were too many flies in his cell. The cook did that. At 5.30 pm. he asked if he could get his food. The Officer in charge said that Dreads should not fast in Jail and it's too late to bring food in the Block, so our Brother did not eat for the day in question. Another night whilst sleeping he was awakened by an explosion. When he checked, it was a bullet from a 303 rifle which hit the concrete just above his head. Whenever Desmond is brought out of his cell to bathe or not, the Officers put handcuffs on his hands. I asked an Officer how he can bathe with handcuffs on his hands. The Officer's reply was: "Dreads should be treated like pigs with no rights given to them."

Twaway. So then the term "rehabilitation" where prison officials assist in preparing you for a fresh start in society seems to be a farce. The sometimes "forgotten" H.M. Prisons are being re-enforced and built up whilst basic conditions degenerate further. . . . We will do our best to expose the conditions you describe and hope you all will keep strong and keep pushing for what the regulations say you all are due. . . . □

\$100 Million Trade Accord Signed by Ottawa, Havana

Ottawa has negotiated a sizable trade agreement with Havana. The accord, under which the Canadian Export Development Corporation will grant a \$100 million one-year line of credit to Cuba, was signed during a four-day visit to Cuba by Alastair Gillespie, the Canadian minister of industry, trade, and commerce. His visit ended March 23.

According to the March 25 issue of *Granma*, the newspaper of the Cuban Communist party, talks are expected to start soon between Ottawa and Havana with a view to negotiating an air transportation agreement between the two countries.

Granma also reported that Carlos Rafael Rodríguez, Cuba's deputy prime minister, was invited to attend Canada "in the near future."

The Struggle Continues Against 'Russification' of the Ukraine

By Marilyn Vogt

A new issue of the samvydav journal *Ukrainian Herald* is now circulating in the Ukraine, the largest of the non-Russian republics in the Soviet Union, according to a report from the New York-based Committee for the Defense of Soviet Political Prisoners (CDSPP).

The *Ukrainian Herald* has been the object of an intensive secret-police crackdown for more than two years. In the repressive drive, hundreds of workers, students, and intellectuals have been arrested. In the many trials that have been held, defendants have received some of the harshest terms meted out since Stalin's death. Their "crime" was to have protested the Russification of the Ukrainian Republic and to have defended other victims of the repression.

Six issues of the *Ukrainian Herald* had appeared when the journal temporarily halted publication at the height of the KGB (Soviet secret police) crackdown in 1972. In the spring of 1974, issues No. 7 and 8 appeared in a combined form, providing details on the arrests of Ukrainian activists and on other aspects of the repression.

The reemergence of the *Ukrainian Herald* shows that the struggle is continuing even though it has been deprived of some of its most articulate representatives, such as Ivan Dzyuba, Valentyn Moroz, and Vyacheslav Chornovil. Another sign of ongoing ferment are the reports of continuing arrests and trials.

The CDSPP reported an example of the developments since 1972, based on information contained in the Russian samizdat journal *Chronicle of Current Events*, issue No. 33:

"On August 9, 1973, an Ivano-Frankivsk regional court reviewed the cases of five young Ukrainians who were accused of forming an 'illegal, anti-Soviet organization called the Galician Union of Ukrainian Youth.'*

*Galicia, a region of the Ukraine that was annexed by Poland in the fourteenth century, is now in the western part of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. This region was part of the area annexed by Stalin as a result of his pact with Hitler before World War II. What now comprises the western section of the Ukrainian SSR including Galicia was the scene of a pro-socialist, anti-Nazi, but also anti-Stalinist and anti-Russification guerrilla movement involving hundreds of thousands of Ukrainians during World War II and for nearly a decade after the war. The movement was finally crushed, ruthlessly,



IVAN DZYUBA

"The accused were: Dmytro Hrynkiw, who was born in 1948, had a secondary education, and worked as a locksmith; Mykola Motryuk, who was born in 1949, and worked as a locksmith; Ivan Shovkovyy, born in 1950 and employed as a locksmith; Dmytro Demydiv, who was born in 1948 and worked as a mechanical engineer; Roman Chupriy, born in 1948, a student at the Polytechnic Institute in Lviv.

"All five men were tried under Articles 62 (anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda) and 64 (organizational activity with an intent to commit extraordinarily dangerous anti-State acts, as well as participation in an anti-Soviet organization) of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR.

"Hrynkiw, Motryuk, and Shovkovyy were additionally charged with theft. Shovkovyy was charged with Article 222 (illegal possession of weapons; owning or making weapons or explosives) and Hrynkiw with the 'appropriation of state or public property; theft.'

"The defendants were accused of conspiring in the Fall of 1971 to form 'an illegal anti-Soviet organization whose purpose was to engage in struggle against Soviet authorities for the separation of the Ukrainian SSR from the USSR, and the creation of a

ly, by Stalin in the early 1950s. Many of those who survived are still in prison camps today.

so-called "independent Ukraine" through recruitment of new members into their organization, through ideological indoctrination of new cadres and others, and through the establishment of ties with other organizations which are enemies of the Soviet Union, among them foreign organizations."

Hrynkiw was charged with founding the organization, naming it, and being its leader.

"From February 1972 to March 1973, the organization met nine times. At these meetings various papers were presented, nationalist ballads were sung, and 'books of an "anti-Soviet, nationalist character" were read.'

Some of the defendants were charged with appropriating weapons and ammunition. In addition, Hrynkiw was charged with stealing two "starter's" pistols (used in sporting meets) and giving them to Shovkovyy so that they could be made into firearms. Shovkovyy was accused of constructing a long-barreled pistol that was supposedly turned over the group for use in target practice.

"During the closed trial," the committee reports, "all the accused 'recanted fully, and gave full details of their activities, including dates and events.'"

Attempting to force dissidents to "recant" and issue statements "confessing" the allegedly anti-Soviet nature of their activity has become a consistent feature of the repression since 1972. Well-known dissidents such as Valentyn Moroz, Pyotr Grigorenko, and Vladimir Bukovsky, who have been able to hold out despite the brutal physical and psychological treatment, are still suffering the consequences.

In the case described in the CDSPP release, the regime was able to get seven other members of the organization to corroborate the defendants' testimony and "Hrynkiw's 'nationalist notebooks were presented' as further evidence."

Ordinarily, those who have been forced to recant are released or receive fairly light sentences. These five Ukrainians, however, despite their "confessions," received harsh terms.

"The court . . . sentenced Hrynkiw to 7 years in camps of strict regime and 3 years exile, Shovkovyy and Demydiv to 5 years strict regime camps. Chupriy and Motryuk each received sentences of 4 years in camps of strict regime."

'Chronicle of Current Events': Uncensored News From the Dissident Movement in the Soviet Union

The Stalinist bureaucrats' usual approach to opponents of Russification in the Ukraine like these young people is to label them "bourgeois nationalists" or to claim that they are somehow linked with antisocialist organizations abroad. The writings and statements of Ukrainian activists that have become available abroad show that these charges are false. In fact, it is these fighters in Ukraine today who carry forward the ideas of the Bolsheviks under Lenin and Trotsky. They demand full national rights for Ukrainians, self-determination for the Ukraine, and an independent or independent socialist Ukraine. (Incidentally, these demands are for rights guaranteed by the Soviet constitution.)

None of the Ukrainian dissidents' writings have called for a restoration of capitalism or tsarist rule. The proponents of tsarist policies today are Stalin's heirs in the Kremlin. They, in their Russification policy, are actually enforcing the very tsarist policy toward non-Russian peoples that the Bolsheviks, led by Lenin and Trotsky, set out to abolish after the October Revolution in 1917.

The actions and statements of the regime's victims provide a clear definition of where these dissidents stand. One example is an incident involving four Ukrainian women political prisoners, reported in a March 10 press release from the CDSPP:

In September 1974, these four women, now serving long terms in Mordovian Prison Camp 19 following their arrest in 1972, demanded that they receive the minimum wage for their work in the labor camp. Nadia Svitlychna, Iryna Stasiv-Kalynets, Nina Strokata, and Stephaniya Shabatura made their demand known in a statement sent to the camp administration. They said they wished to donate their earnings to a fund for victims of the Chilean junta. They were responding to an appeal that had appeared in issue No. 13 of the Soviet journal *Novoye Vremya* (New Times).

In another statement, they asked that they "be allowed to send delegates from the ranks of women political prisoners to the congress of the International Democratic Federation of Women."

All their requests were denied. □

Find Cops Generally Diseased

Corruption is a natural "disease" of cops, according to a study issued March 30 by the Police Foundation in Washington, D.C.

Wisconsin University law professor Herman Goldstein, reporting on the findings, stated, "Corruption is endemic to policing. The very nature of the police function is bound to subject officers to tempting offers."

During the past seven years, one of the most consistent and complete sources of information of developments within the dissident movement in the Soviet Union has been the samizdat journal *Chronicle of Current Events*. This journal has been the target of continued secret-police attacks that have led to hundreds of arrests and scores of trials.

As a result of the toll taken by the crackdown, the *Chronicle* did not appear for nearly a year and a half. It has now resumed publication, however, and issue No. 34, dated December 31, 1974, is circulating inside the Soviet Union. Copies have made their way abroad, and Khronika Press¹ of New York has announced that it will publish a Russian-language edition of this issue at the end of April.

The *Chronicle* appeared nearly every two months from April 1968 until October 1972 (issues No. 1 through 27). After an eighteen-month lapse, the journal reemerged in the spring of 1974. Since then, issues No. 28 through 34 have appeared, reporting on events between October 1972 and December 1974. Two of them were special issues:

No. 31 (dated May 17, 1974) was devoted to the struggle of the Crimean Tatars for the right to return to their homeland in the Crimea.

No. 33 (dated December 10, 1974) focused on conditions in Soviet prisons and prison camps.

The thirty-four issues of the *Chronicle* contain a running account of the activities of many dissident currents and of the bureaucracy's attempts to stop their protests and crush the samizdat network through which uncensored discussion and information flow.

This journal is invaluable as a source of information on contemporary events inside the Soviet Union. Of the samizdat journals that have emerged in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe in the past decade, the *Chronicle of Current Events* has the widest circulation outside these Stalinized workers states. Many issues are also available in English translation in one form or another.

While at the present time there is no single source from which all thirty-four issues may be obtained, the bulk of them can be obtained as follows:

• The information in issues No. 1 through 11 (April 30, 1968, through December 31, 1969) is available in a book, *Uncensored Russia*,² edited by Peter Reddaway.

1. 505 Eighth Avenue, New York, New York 10018.

2. American Heritage Press, 1221 Avenue of the Americas, New York, New York 10020. 499 pp.

way. Reddaway, a professor at the London School of Economics, has done considerable research and writing on the Soviet opposition today. He has broken down the information in the first eleven issues of the *Chronicle* by subject, devoted a chapter to each major topic, and presented the material in each chapter chronologically.

In addition, he has added abundant explanatory material. He has done this both in the text, to connect the *Chronicle* material, and in the annotation. The notes explain the terms the *Chronicle* uses, provide further details on particular cases and topics, and refer readers to additional source material.

• Issues No. 12 through 27 (February 28, 1970, through October 15, 1972) are available from Amnesty International.³ Issues No. 16 through 27 (No. 16 is dated October 31, 1970) are available in English in printed form with an index of proper names added for each issue.

• Issues No. 28 through 34 (December 31, 1972, through December 31, 1974) are available from Khronika Press. At the present time these issues are available in Russian only. The Russian editions are accompanied by an index of proper names.

• Issues No. 28 through 31 are to be available in English translations from Amnesty International in May. □

3. 53 Theobald's Road, London WC1X 8SP, England.

In Case You Didn't Know

"Far from being an International, the Usec is actually a rotten bloc between the petty-bourgeois radical International Majority Tendency (IMT) and the social-democratic reformists of the misnamed Leninist-Trotskyist Faction (LTF). The IMT is itself a putrescent centrist swamp inhabited by a wide variety of creatures ranging from South American semi-Guevarists to Bala Tampoe (the Leonard Woodcock of Ceylon), gathered around the patriarchs of Pabloist revisionism, Ernest Mandel, Pierre Frank and Livio Maitan. The more notorious spokesmen for the LTF include Joseph Hansen of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party (SWP), that Karl Kautsky of the second mobilization, and Nahuel Moreno of the Argentine PST, a political chameleon who in the last quarter century has capitulated to just about every conceivable political tendency . . . except Marxism."—*Workers Vanguard*, the biweekly of James Robertson's Spartacist League.

Defend Anatoly Marchenko!

By Boris Shragin

[Translated by Marilyn Vogt]

Anatoly Marchenko has now been arrested again, and again tried and sentenced, this time to four years of internal exile. This is his fifth conviction. If he has to serve another term, then the sum total of years taken away from him will be nearly fifteen—if Anatoly Marchenko lives that long.

I will relate the sad story of Marchenko's life to anyone who will listen, because even amid the tragic events of our time, when masses of innocent people perish, an individual fate like that of Marchenko's deserves universal concern. Anatoly Marchenko is the victim of a crime committed repeatedly by the most powerful state of the contemporary world—the Soviet Union.

Anatoly Marchenko was born and grew up in Siberia, in the city of Barabinsk. His father was a railway worker; his mother a charwoman. After completing eight grades, Marchenko had to support himself; and his migratory life as a construction worker began. But soon misfortune befell him. He was arrested by the police on the false charge of taking part in a fight and was convicted by the court. This is a rather common practice of Soviet justice; the authorities prefer to convict the first person who comes into their hands if the real culprit remains undiscovered. Arbitrariness has also an "educative" value because it inspires in its victims a feeling of defenselessness. It teaches submissiveness and fear before the unlimited power of the state.

However, arrest and confinement in a corrective labor camp had quite another effect on Marchenko. The mock justice, the humiliating way the prison guards and wardens treat the prisoners, and the malnourishment and backbreaking work in the camp made him extremely indignant. He was young and wanted to be free; so he

Boris Shragin is a Soviet political dissident now in exile in the United States. He wrote this article especially for Intercontinental Press although he disagrees with our editorial positions on various issues related to the nature of Bolshevism and the character of the Soviet regime.

He was dismissed from his post as research officer at the Soviet Institute of the History of the Arts after signing a protest sent to the Budapest Conference of Communist Parties in 1968. The statement denounced political repression in the Soviet Union, particularly the treatment of political prisoners. Other signers included Pyotr Grigorenko and Aleksei Kosterin.



MARCHENKO: Survived Kremlin's efforts at "reform" by starvation.

escaped from the camp. In a few months he was arrested while trying to cross the border into Iran. That time, he was sentenced to six years in a strict-regime camp for "betraying his native land"; Anatoly Marchenko became a "political prisoner."

He spent nearly two years in the dreadful Vladimir prison, where the prisoners are kept in cells that are damp and cold in the winter and stuffy and hot in the summer. The normal diet, already at a semi-starvation level, is decreased for every conflict one has with the authorities. The prisoners there experience constant physical suffering, year in and year out.

This is where Vladimir Bukovsky and Valentyn Moroz are now being held and where Yuli Daniel, Aleksandr Ginzburg, and other well-known dissidents were kept at an earlier time.

In Vladimir prison, Anatoly Marchenko contracted meningitis, and because he did not receive medical treatment he became deaf in one ear. Marchenko, like many other political prisoners in Soviet prisons, has developed a bleeding stomach ulcer. One could conclude that aggravation of the prisoners' ulcerated and ailing stomachs is a conscious and scientifically thought-out goal of the Soviet prison administration.

Here are some facts published later by Marchenko himself: A prisoner in a strict-regime corrective labor camp receives 2,400 calories a day—the norm for a seven- to eleven-year-old child. Under punishment, the quantity of food received is lowered to 1,300 calories. This corresponds to the norm for a child from one to three years old. And this while doing exhausting labor!

We, Marchenko's new Moscow friends, who became acquainted with him after he had served his six-year term, could see the results of the excellent work of the Soviet prison wardens and guards. After being in camp, Marchenko was twice on the verge of

Marchenko Sentenced to Forced Exile

Anatoly Marchenko was sentenced to four years in exile March 31 on trumped-up charges of having violated the conditions of his parole. He will now be forced to reside in whatever area of the Soviet Union Kremlin authorities designate.

death; he underwent two very serious operations and six blood transfusions. He spent five months in the hospital. It is safe to say that he would not have survived if a sizable circle of Moscow intellectuals had not looked after him. But how many ordinary workers in the Soviet Union who may have traveled the same road Marchenko did remain unknown and receive aid from no one? Even during his illness, he was subjected to persecution; he was not given the opportunity to live either in Moscow or in any other city; he was compelled to work as a loader, although this was strictly forbidden by physicians.

But during the short time he was free, in 1967, Anatoly Marchenko did more than receive medical treatment. He wrote a book, *My Testimony*—an impressive narrative on the post-Stalin Soviet camps for political prisoners. From precisely this book of Marchenko's we found out that the statements of the leaders of the state, saying that rule of law had been restored in the Soviet Union, were a lie. People learned that while their lives were going on, there were the dreadful lives of those in the prisons, where the wardens and guards of Stalin's school all torture prisoners the same as before.

Marchenko wrote in the preface of his book: "I would like this evidence of mine concerning the Soviet camps and prisons for political prisoners to come to the attention of humanists and progressive people in other countries—those who stick up for political prisoners in Greece and Portugal and in Spain and South Africa.

Intercontinental Press

Let them ask their Soviet colleagues in the struggle against inhumanity: 'And what have you done in your own country to stop political prisoners from being, say "reformed" by starvation?' Soviet magazines would not publish Marchenko's book. But it soon appeared abroad in Russian and was also later translated into English.

Marchenko knew that revenge would be taken against him. "It seems a likely supposition that the authorities will try to be revenged on me and to escape the truth that I have told in these pages by an unprovable accusation of 'slander.' Let me declare, therefore, that I am prepared to answer for it at a public trial, provided that the necessary witnesses are invited and that interested representatives of public opinion and the press are allowed to be present."

But the authorities, in a cowardly manner, evaded this challenge from a courageous and honest man. Police spies began to follow Marchenko continuously. Several times, KGB agents, disguised as civilians, openly attacked him in the street. Not one doctor consented to make a record of the evidence of the beatings on Marchenko's body.

Finally, he was arrested and quickly tried on a charge of violating the rules that restrict the movement of a political prisoner even after being released from prison. I was present at that trial. The attorney Kamenskaya spoke about Marchenko in such a way that even the militiaman standing behind Marchenko got tears in his eyes.

All the prosecutor's arguments were refuted, and then he said: "I agree that the pieces of evidence I have presented, taken individually, are not convincing; but taken together dialectically, they are irrefutable." This is an odd notion of dialectics if one takes into consideration that the argument was over whether or not the defendant was in one place or another at a particular time!

Marchenko was sentenced to a year in corrective labor camps. But shortly before the end of this term, he was again brought to trial, this time for allegedly having had anti-Soviet conversations in the camp. Two more years were added to his sentence.

Marchenko's most recent arrest took place February 26 in the city of Tarusa, where he had been kept under militia surveillance. Agents of the authorities burst into his home, having broken the lock on the door and prepared for a genuine pogrom. After bringing Marchenko to prison, they immediately beat him. He was taken to the trial in handcuffs; all the papers he had prepared for his defense were confiscated beforehand.

He was denied the right to defend himself. Instead, an unfamiliar attorney, who somehow "forgot" to present a statement for the defense, was forced upon him. The charge was supported by the testimony

of two militiamen. But when Marchenko demanded that ten other witnesses be called, people who were residents of Tarusa and who would confirm that these guardians of order were lying, the court refused. Marchenko's wife, Larisa Bogoraz, for her part, immediately brought charges against the two militiamen, accusing them of perjury. But there can be no doubt as to the outcome—the Soviet state is able to protect criminals who carry out its will.

The trial was so disgraceful and cynical that even many dissidents, who have seen a great deal—and among them was academician Andrei Sakharov—who managed to be present at the trial, were astounded. It was as if the judge and the prosecutor and the militia purposely wanted to demonstrate that they had total disrespect for the law. They savored their position of impunity and mocked the victim.

Several months ago Anatoly Marchenko

stated he was renouncing his Soviet citizenship. He presented an announcement of his intention to leave the Soviet Union and go to the United States, having received an invitation from an American teachers' trade union.

Evidently, the authorities decided to commit a new crime so as not to let a dangerous witness out of their hands.

In his final statement, Anatoly Marchenko asked all people who value justice to support him. Since the first day of his arrest, i.e., for almost one and a half months now, he has been on a hunger strike. He has said that it will be ended either by his freedom and his right to go to the USA or by his death. And I know he had the determination; he will not turn back.

Anatoly Marchenko's life is in danger.

Freedom for Anatoly Marchenko!

April 2, 1975

Health Undermined by Years in Soviet Prison-Hospitals

Pyotr Grigorenko Suffers Heart Attack



GRIGORENKO: Was imprisoned in asylum to cure his "reformist illusions."

According to a recent report, dissident Soviet Marxist Pyotr Grigorenko suffered a heart attack at the end of January. A former general in the Soviet army, Grigorenko was released from confinement in a psychiatric prison-hospital in June 1974 after having served five years in such institutions because of his activities in defense of the oppressed Crimean Tatars. He is now sixty-eight years old.

Grigorenko had worked closely with the Old Bolshevik Aleksei Kosterin, who died in 1968, hounded to death by the KGB. Like Kosterin, who had spent seventeen years in

Stalin's camps, Grigorenko devoted himself to the fight to restore democracy in both the Communist party and Soviet life in general.

Because of his protests, Grigorenko was expelled from the party, sent to the far eastern part of the Soviet Union, and finally, in 1964, sent to a psychiatric prison-hospital to be "cured" of his "reformist illusions."

After his release in 1965, Grigorenko resumed his protest activities. It was then that he met Kosterin and began working with him in defense of the right of the Crimean Tatars to return to their homeland. He continued these efforts after Kosterin died.

Grigorenko was arrested again in 1969 and was sent back to a psychiatric prison-hospital for additional "rehabilitation." International protests eventually forced Stalin's heirs to free him in June 1974, even though he had refused to renounce his views.

The appalling conditions of his confinement leave little doubt that the Kremlin bureaucrats were trying to destroy his health by subjecting him to extreme physical hardships. Under this treatment he suffered several heart attacks and became partially blind.

The report of his recent heart attack is the first news on Grigorenko's health since his release. The report said that he had recovered somewhat since January and could stand up and walk about a small area in his home. □

In Defense of Vladimir Bukovsky and Valentyn Moroz

[George Novack, a leader of the Socialist Workers party, spoke at a rally held in New York March 18 as part of the international campaign to win the release of Soviet dissidents Vladimir Bukovsky and Valentyn Moroz. Pavel Litvinov, who was to have been the featured speaker, was unable to attend the meeting, but another Soviet dissident in forced exile, Boris Shragin, took his place.

[Other speakers included playwright Eric Bentley, civil-rights attorney Conrad Lynn, literary critic Alfred Kazin, Margrit Wreschner of Amnesty International, Adrian Karatnycky of the Committee for the Defense of Soviet Political Prisoners, and exiled Czechoslovak literary critic Antonin Liehm.

[We reprint below the text of Novack's remarks.]

* * *

The spirit of this meeting was eloquently expressed by Ivan Yakhimovich, the model collective farm chairman in Latvia and Soviet dissident, who wrote a stirring appeal addressed to the Soviet people on the eve of his arrest on March 25, 1969. It concluded, "When human rights are violated, especially in the name of socialism and Marxism, there can be no two positions. Then your conscience and your honor must command. . . . The great of this world are only great because we are on our knees. Let us arise!"

In this letter, Yakhimovich pays tribute to the courage displayed by Pavel Litvinov and Larisa Bogoraz-Daniel when they went out on Red Square in Moscow on August 25, 1968, in protest against the Kremlin's invasion of Czechoslovakia and in support of the Czechoslovak movement for socialist democracy. He traveled to Moscow to see Pavel Litvinov and to learn the truth about the views of his colleagues, and later joined with Pyotr Grigorenko in calling for the withdrawal of Soviet troops.

Yakhimovich was only one of the many people in the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, in this country, and around the world who responded in sympathy and solidarity with this daring act of defiance and its slogans: "Hands Off Czechoslovakia" and "For Your Freedom and Ours."

I'm sorry Pavel Litvinov could not be with us tonight, because I wanted to tell him what some of our thoughts were when we heard about that action. What brave and noble people this besieged band of Soviet



BUKOVSKY

oppositionists are! How magnificently are they carrying forward the traditions of the remarkable Russian intelligentsia of the nineteenth century mentioned by Alfred Kazin. They're the keepers of the conscience of the Russian people and the other peoples in the Soviet Union. Through them the ideals of the October Revolution are kept burning bright, no matter how much the Stalinist bureaucrats fear its flames and work to extinguish them.

The invitation to speak at this meeting happened to coincide with the news that Maria Joffe, the companion of A.A. Joffe, had arrived in Israel after being exiled from the Soviet Union in early January. Joffe was the associate of Lenin and Trotsky, a well-known Soviet diplomat and Left Opposition leader, who committed suicide in 1927 in protest against Stalin's expulsion of Trotsky and Zinoviev from the Communist party. Maria Joffe spent many, many years in the Soviet concentration camps and is today one of the few survivors of the first generation of dissenters there.

From the Joffes to Litvinov, Bukovsky, and Moroz, there have already been three generations of oppositionists who have crowded the Stalinist prison cells, camps, and now psychiatric wards, purely for insisting on the rights of free expression guaranteed by the Soviet constitution. This

is a long time. I know this only too well, since I have been involved for over forty years in defending the victims of Stalinist repression and frame-up.

Way back in 1934, I helped form a committee of American intellectuals to secure asylum in the United States for Leon Trotsky, then hounded in France by both fascists and Stalinists. We delegated Morris Ernst, who was general counsel of the American Civil Liberties Union and a friend of the Roosevelt family, to go to Washington and apply for that permit. He had a Sunday night dinner with President Roosevelt and at the end of the dinner he said to the president, "I have a friend who is in difficulty and I would like to get permission for him to enter the country."

The president asked: "Who is your friend, Morris?"

He said, "Leon Trotsky."

Well, I imagine that Roosevelt's cigarette holder dipped a bit at that point. And he answered: "Well, I'll have to consult the secretary of state, Cordell Hull, about that."

The visa was not forthcoming, among other reasons because some months before, in November 1933, the Soviet foreign minister, Maxim Litvinov, Pavel's grandfather, had come to Washington and negotiated the first détente agreements with the U.S. Roosevelt did not care to affront Stalin by permitting his arch-opponent to come to this country.

Two years later, the first of the Moscow frame-up trials were staged. We did our best to expose these as frauds and save the lives and reputations of the Old Bolsheviks slandered and slaughtered in connection with them. Roosevelt's ambassador to Moscow, Davies, endorsed the verdicts.

The business of defending Soviet political prisoners has been what Irving Howe once called "steady work." That has been the reason for the formation and activity of this coalition.

The dissenters who are subject to repression encompass a very broad and variegated spectrum of views and political positions. Yet they are objectively united by their common repression under the Brezhnev regime, which treats them so harshly and denies them the most elementary human rights.

We in turn are obligated, despite our ideological and political differences, to join together on their behalf. For example, I don't share the view expressed by Alfred Kazin that the regime in the Soviet Union today is Leninist. I think it's Stalinist.

That's the antithesis of Leninism. Nor do I believe that, in light of what Washington has done in Vietnam and Cambodia, one can call the Soviet Union the *most* murderous regime in the world today. But nevertheless, let's say the leaderships in Washington and Moscow are in competition with each other in that respect. We're against both kinds of criminals.

We can unite in opposition to the injustices inflicted by them and let the dissidents know that they are not isolated in their struggle. We can put the Kremlin and the KGB on notice that they cannot commit their misdeeds without provoking the widest possible outcry and strong protest. I was happy to hear from Boris Shragin tonight, who recently came from the Soviet Union, that such expressions of sympathy and solidarity are very keenly welcomed there.

In reading *A Question of Madness*, in which Zhores Medvedev and his brother Roy tell how the Soviet biochemist was railroaded into a mental hospital by the Soviet police, I was impressed by the way the scientific and intellectual community rallied to their side and conducted a formidable protest that led to his release. It is quite possible that Boris Shragin had a part in it. [Shragin nodded assent.] Today Zhores Medvedev is living in exile in England, deprived of his Soviet citizenship.

The successful action of their colleagues at that time should be an example to us on how to mobilize the forces of progressive public opinion in this country—no matter how small we may be at any given moment—and come to the rescue of the victims of repression in the USSR.

Our immediate objective concerns the cases of Vladimir Bukovsky and Valentyn Moroz.

We are especially obligated to speak out on Bukovsky's behalf, because for ten years now he has been imprisoned and brutally mistreated for organizing demonstrations against the arrests of his fellow dissidents—Sinyavsky, Daniel, Galanskov, and Ginzburg—and for exposing the abuse of psychiatric methods against political oppositionists. We can do no less than he has done: Insist that he be liberated and permitted to go where he pleases and do as he sees fit. He should be allowed to enjoy at least a particle of the freedoms promised by the program of socialism and in accordance with the Soviet constitution itself.

It is impossible to speak about the fate of the literary critic Moroz without bitter anger. He has become a living symbol—fortunately still living in spite of all the savage brutality inflicted by his persecutors—of unbreakable resistance to the inquisitorial methods to which he has been subjected, which have broken so many others, including the brilliant scholar Ivan Dzyuba. He is being so severely punished because he is such a passionate partisan of

the revival of the Ukrainian national culture, its heritage, and its aspirations. And that is what the Russifiers are trying to extirpate.

As a Marxist I am an internationalist, not a nationalist of any kind. And yet I learned from Marx, Lenin, Luxemburg, and Trotsky that the socialist movement is opposed to any form of national oppression, whether it relates to the Kurds, the Azerbaijanis, the Jews in the Soviet Union, the Palestinians, the Ukrainians, or the Latvians, and that socialism aims to create the conditions that can give rise to the full and free development of every nationality and the special contributions they can make to world culture.

The upholders of the Stalinist order have callously trampled upon the right of self-determination in many instances, and not least in regard to the forty million or so Ukrainians under their rulership.

Moroz is their most courageous, learned, and talented spokesman, and the protection of his life and liberty is inseparable from the defense of the rights and freedoms of the whole Ukrainian people today.

Let us hearken to the voices of these Ukrainians in their own words. Dzyuba in 1965: "There are epochs when the decisive battles take place in the arena of social morality and civic conduct, when even elementary human dignity, opposing brutal pressure, can become a great rebellious-revolutionary force. To such epochs, in my opinion, in a great measure also belongs our epoch. . . . That is why perhaps nothing else has at present such significance as the loftiness of civic conduct."

Now Moroz, who has laid his life on the line and has embodied these words in deeds, from the statement to his judges at his second trial in 1970: "The court will try me behind closed doors. It will still be a boomerang even if no one hears me, even if I remain silent in solitary confinement in Vladimir prison. *There is silence which is louder than shouting.* And even having destroyed me, you will not be able to silence it. It is easy to destroy, but have you ever considered the fact that the dead are often of greater significance than the living? The dead become a banner. The dead become a symbol which inspires brave souls to new sacrifices."

And even at death's door, Moroz has not been silenced—and his supporters here and elsewhere in the world will not be silenced either about his case. In his *Report From the Beria Reserve*, Moroz reminded the KGB and its masters how the tyrant Stalin was glorified at his death in 1953 and three years later was exposed by his own successors as a murderous criminal.

We have just witnessed a comparable reversal here in regard to Nixon and his lawless gang of highly placed agents.

Let the mighty who desecrate democratic



MOROZ

rights in the name of socialism or of democracy beware! The victims of yesterday and today will be avenged by the people, who will be the victors of tomorrow.

Let me close by repeating the thought of our own revolutionist of 200 years ago, Tom Paine. He wrote in *The American Crisis*—and it's fitting to remember it on this bicentennial anniversary—"Though the flame of liberty may sometimes cease to shine, the coal can never expire."

That's for Moroz and Bukovsky. □

Chornovil Transferred to KGB Prison in Lviv

Vyacheslav Chornovil and two other Ukrainian dissidents, Ivan Hel' and Mykhaylo Osadchiy, all of whom were sentenced to long prison terms following their arrest in 1972, have been transferred to a KGB prison in Lviv. The KGB has been exerting considerable pressure on Chornovil to force him to renounce his views.

Chornovil made available an account of the mass arrests and trials conducted by the KGB in the Ukraine in 1965 and 1966 in a compilation that circulated in samvydav. It was eventually published abroad in English translation as *The Chornovil Papers*.

Chornovil had been a close collaborator of the Ukrainian Marxist Ivan Dzyuba, who was also arrested in 1972 and subjected to such pressure that he was made to recant. Dzyuba has written the informative study *Internationalism or Russification?*, a Leninist critique of the oppressive policies Soviet bureaucrats have implemented in relation to the non-Russian peoples in the USSR (a Monad Press book, distributed by Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. 262 pp. \$2.95 paperback).

AROUND THE WORLD



Honduran Unions Demand Take-over of United Brands' Banana Holdings

The February 3 suicide of Eli Black, head of the U.S. multinational conglomerate United Brands (the successor to United Fruit), has opened a Pandora's Box. Because Black's suicide was attributed to concern over business reverses, the U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission began an inquiry into United Brands operations. It discovered that in August 1974 Black had authorized a \$1.25 million bribe to "high officials" in Honduras. The bribe persuaded the regime of Gen. Oswaldo López Arellano to lower the export tax on bananas, saving United Brands \$7.5 million.

Subsequently, United Brands was charged with paying \$750,000 to officials of another government, thought to be Italy, "in connection with the securing of favorable business opportunities." It was also learned that the \$1.25 million bribe was only half of what the company had agreed to pay.

United Brands has so far refused to reveal who the bribe was paid to, but López Arellano has repeatedly been mentioned as the recipient.

Although it is not illegal under U.S. law for an American company to bribe a foreign official, such transactions cannot be treated as ordinary business expenses for tax purposes. Thus, in addition to the SEC charge that United Brands "misrepresented" the savings in its stockholders report when it said they came from "negotiations" between the company and the Honduran government, the U.S. Attorney's office is checking on possible tax violations by the company.

Honduran labor unions and student groups have responded to the disclosure by demanding that the country nationalize United Brands' holdings.

Dubcek Told He Can 'Pack His Bags'

Alexander Dubcek, the former leader of the Czechoslovak Communist party who was ousted after the 1968 Soviet invasion, was "invited" to leave Czechoslovakia by present CP head Gustav Husak. The move followed the publication in several Western newspapers of extracts from a letter Dubcek wrote to the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly last fall, criticizing the Stalinist regime.

Calling Dubcek a "weak, irresponsible

gambler" and a "traitor," Husak said April 16 that he could "pack his bags tomorrow and move to any bourgeois state; he can go tomorrow to his patrons and protectors."

Dubcek's letter criticized the lack of freedom in Czechoslovakia and charged the Communist party with purging thousands of persons from their jobs. Dubcek said he was under constant watch by as many as six secret police at a time.

Argentine Opposition Party Links Regime to Right-wing Murder Gangs

In a departure from past policy, the main bourgeois opposition party in Argentina has openly suggested that the Peronist regime is closely linked with the right-wing murder gangs that have been gunning down worker militants and left-wing political figures for more than a year.

On April 1 the Unión Cívica Radical (UCR—Radical Civic Union), led by Ricardo Balbín, presented a resolution in congress challenging the regime to explain why, in view of its success in crushing left-wing guerrilla groups, it has yet to arrest a single right-wing terrorist.

After referring to the climate of fear in the country, the statement said, in part: "If our security forces were either incapable of

or ineffective in stopping the violence, it would be a disgrace but at least the situation we refer to would be explained. This is not the case, however. The security forces have shown their capability and effectiveness in investigating and stopping the violence unleashed by the extreme left. . . . they are baffled, however, when cases of right-wing violence occur. This began with the AAA [Alianza Anticomunista Argentina—Argentine Anticommunist Alliance] and continues with the criminal acts the country is now witnessing in astonishment. Up to now, we do not know of a single investigation, of a single arrest, or of a single case that has been brought to conclusion. This impunity, which cannot be attributed to inefficiency on the part of our security bodies, indicates that the government itself is involved. . . ."

KGB Agents Arrest Two Members of Moscow Amnesty International

Andrei N. Tverdokhlebov, the secretary of the Soviet chapter of Amnesty International, and Mikola Rudenko, a Ukrainian member of the chapter, were arrested by the Soviet secret police April 18, after their apartments were raided and searched. The KGB agents also searched the apartments of two other members of the Amnesty chapter, Valentin F. Turchin and Vladimir Albrekht. Rudenko was reportedly released April 20.

Another member of the group, Sergei Kovalyov, was arrested in December. The official charge was that he was connected with the publication of an underground religious journal in Lithuania. Andrei Sakharov has suggested that this charge was merely a pretext to enable the authorities to imprison Kovalyov in Vilna, the Lithuanian capital, isolated from dissident circles in Moscow.

Can't Use Base to Supply Israel, Lisbon Tells Washington

The Portuguese government has informally told the United States that it will not be allowed to use an air base in the Azores to resupply Israel in a new Middle East war, the State Department said April 8.

At a Lisbon news conference the same day, Premier Vasco dos Santos Gonçalves said, "We will never allow our bases to be used against Arab countries." However, he



RICARDO BALBIN

said that Portugal would honor existing treaties and agreements until an elected government takes office and decides future policy.

The Pentagon has used the base at Lajes on Terceira Island since 1946. The latest agreement expired in February 1974. Negotiations to renew it have been suspended for some months.

Lisbon is said to be willing to extend the base agreement with the understanding that the base be used solely in the framework of NATO. It may be seeking a sizable fee for Washington's continued access to the base.

After the October 1973 Mideast war, Portugal was subjected to a total embargo by Arab oil producers in retaliation for letting the U.S. Air Force use the base to refuel planes supplying Israel.

Pentagon officials say they can refuel the giant C-5 transport planes in midair, but a spokesman described such a situation as "a logistics nightmare."

South Korean Executions Protested

Seven American missionaries picketed the U.S. embassy in Seoul April 16 to protest the recent execution of eight Korean political prisoners. The clerics wore black hoods over their heads and nooses around their necks. They chose the embassy as the site for their protest in order to focus attention on the military and economic aid Washington provides the Park dictatorship.

In New York, a group of 150 Americans and Koreans held a memorial service for the eight outside the South Korean consulate.

British Labour Government Blames Unions for Inflation

The budget announced April 15 by Chancellor of the Exchequer Denis Healey marked a frontal attack by the Labour government on the wage demands of Britain's unions. According to a summary of his remarks in the April 16 *New York Times*, he told British workers that they "spend too much . . . they work too little, they demand unrealistic wages, and they will sink quickly into brutal poverty unless they mend their ways."

He compared Britain's workers to a famous series of engravings by Hogarth depicting a man wrecked by debauchery.

"A rake's progress of this nature could not last for long," he said. "The patience of our creditors would soon be exhausted. We would then face the appalling prospect of going down in a matter of weeks to the levels of public services and personal living standards which we would finance entirely from what we earned. I do not believe that our political or social system could stand the strain."

The budget called for an increase in taxes

of nearly \$3 billion, to be matched by a cut in public spending of an almost equal amount and an increase in unemployment to the one million mark. Such drastic measures were needed, Healey said, because wage increases (now averaging about 30 percent) were too high.

Some Labour party members of Parliament voiced their disapproval of the budget by walking out during Healey's speech. In fact, little applause was heard from the Labour side of the chamber.

The British bourgeois press hailed the budget. The *Financial Times* and the *Daily Telegraph* cited Healey's "courage," and the *London Times* stated that "wages are still running far ahead of prices, creating a false prosperity. . . . Yet we do have a Chancellor who is facing the crisis of inflation with firmness and decision."

President of Chad Killed in Coup

Ngarta Tombalbaye, the president of Chad, was killed April 13 in a military coup. He had been president of the drought-stricken African country since it received its formal independence from France in 1960.

Brig. Gen. Noël Odingar, the acting army chief of staff, charged in a radio broadcast after the coup that the military had been ridiculed and humiliated by Tombalbaye.

Several officers, including Brig. Gen. Félix Malloum, who was later named head of the new Supreme Military Council, were released from detention. Malloum had been under arrest since August 1973 on charges of plotting against the regime.

Odingar called on the French troops stationed in the country not to interfere with the change of regime. The French forces have been in Chad since 1968 to help the regime fight the guerrillas of Frolinat (Front de Libération Nationale—National Liberation Front) in the northeastern part of the country.

The new military rulers said they intended to maintain all of Chad's present international agreements.

Counterrevolutionary Optimism

The Central Committee of the Taiwan Nationalist party said in an open letter to the Chinese people April 12 that despite the death of Chiang Kai-shek after twenty-six years of exile, they were determined to continue their struggle to regain control of the Chinese "mainland."

Unemployed in Flint, Michigan, Ride City Buses Free of Charge

In a move that deserves widespread support and adoption elsewhere, unemployed workers in Flint, Michigan, have been granted the right to ride city buses free. They simply show their unemployment compensation cards as they step aboard.

The city's action, which took effect April



Pierotti/New York Post

14, followed pressure from the United Auto Workers union. Flint is the headquarters of the Buick Division of General Motors and has been hit hard by the slump in the auto industry. Nearly one person in five, 19.6 percent, in the Flint work force is without a job.

Spirit of '76

The Bicentennial Freedom Train, which is touring forty-eight states in commemoration of the two-hundredth anniversary of the American Revolution, was picketed in Portland, Maine, by protesters carrying signs and distributing leaflets demanding, "Jobs, not circuses."

The demonstrators called the train "a ripoff." Among the treasures of Americana it exhibits are an electric chair, President Ford's Bible, a Howdy Doody doll, and Amelia Earhart's goggles.

Inflation Sweeps Latin America

The inflation rate for Brazil in 1974, according to official government figures, was 34.5%. But this figure may be low. The regime has admitted that during the late 1960s and early 1970s, when the rate was said to be about 15%, it was actually higher. "One can manipulate figures of inflation quite easily to make things look better or worse, depending on one's needs," a Finance Ministry official admitted.

In Venezuela, which has acquired increased revenues through the higher prices for its oil exports, inflation has risen to 10% and could go higher. Argentina's inflation rate for 1974 stood at 40%, and early estimates for 1975 indicate that it may reach 40% for the first six months of this year.

In Chile, which has the highest inflation rate on the continent, prices in 1974 rose 375%.

'Hearts and Minds'

Reviewed by Robert Dumont

From the beginning, *Hearts and Minds* was controversial. Acclaimed last year at Cannes, the film was shelved while rumors mounted that Columbia Pictures was holding back its release on political grounds. The hawkish *New York Daily News* refused to print Rex Reed's rave review. The *New York Times* headlined an article, "First An Undeclared War, Now An Unseen Film."

But there is a ready market today for a good antiwar film, and *Hearts and Minds*, now being distributed by Warner Brothers, is making the rounds of movie houses in the United States and Canada.

And on April 8 it won this year's Academy Award in the "best documentary" category.

Hearts and Minds is powerful propaganda, in the best sense of that word. The film traces the roots of Washington's involvement in Vietnam back to the end of the Second World War and the emergence of the United States as the strongest imperialist power. News documentary footage shows Truman, Eisenhower, and Dulles each defending France's attempt to hold on to its Indochinese possession. (Eisenhower explains that Vietnam is strategically important for its "tin and tungsten.")

One after another, Kennedy, Johnson, and Nixon proclaim their government's intention to "win the war." A vignette much appreciated by American audiences today shows Nixon presenting Thieu to the press at Honolulu as "one of the greatest presidents I know."

Three decades of involvement in "the big muddy"—but when an interviewer asked Walt W. Rostow, a former adviser to Kennedy and Johnson, why the United States was in Vietnam, Rostow explodes, "You don't really expect me to answer that goddamn question..." and begins to mutter incoherently.

The strongest aspect of *Hearts and Minds* is its portrayal of the brutality and destructiveness of U.S. intervention in Vietnam. This was a civil war, Daniel Ellsberg explains in an interview, but once the United States entered, it became a war between the Pentagon and virtually the whole Vietnamese people.

The genocidal nature of the war is shown in a succession of images that contrast the impersonal technology of aggression and the inhuman attitudes of the Pentagon protagonists with the suffering of the Vietnamese victims. Scenes of B-52s drop-



Herblock/New York Post

ping swaths of 500-point bombs alternate with the grief and rage of a North Vietnamese peasant whose daughter has been cut to pieces by antipersonnel bombs.

In one of the most poignant scenes, an elderly Vietnamese woman, whose sister, home, and possessions have been destroyed by bombs, begins to weep quietly as she tells us that now she has nothing to sell, that she is too old to do anything, that she is quite simply "so unhappy."

Tankers fly low over rice paddies dropping clouds of defoliants; a carpenter who is building tiny coffins for children explains that many people in his village have become seriously ill and some have died from eating poisoned vegetables and fruit.

A returned U.S. prisoner of war, giving a gung-ho address to schoolchildren in New Jersey, responds to their question "What was Vietnam like?" with, "Well, if it wasn't for the people, it was very pretty."

A deeply moving scene of children grieving at the graves of their parents in a cemetery near Saigon is followed by retired General Westmoreland, beside a quiet pond on his antebellum Southern estate, telling us, "The Oriental doesn't put the same price on life as the Westerner."

Effective use of flashbacks, interviews, and the intersplicing of old war films and newsreels enhances the impact of *Hearts and Minds*. But the film's real strength is the story itself. Producers Peter Davis and

Bert Schneider have put together a powerful portrayal of the horror of the war, and the awesome might of the U.S. war machine.

Less effective is the film's attempt to explain why Washington did not win in Vietnam. Its portrayal of the opposition forces in Vietnam is rather sketchy, limited to interviews with Buddhist monks and a Catholic priest, and an excerpt from a North Vietnamese propaganda film of "Uncle Ho" being greeted by small children with happy faces. There is certainly enough said in the film to indicate clearly why the United States could not win the "hearts and minds" of the Vietnamese people. But what finally forced U.S. imperialism to pull back?

Antiwar GIs and veterans explain their revulsion at the war. Clark Clifford, Johnson's war secretary, tells us that "I could not have been more wrong" to support the war. But even putting aside any doubts as to Clifford's credentials as a latter-day dove, the question remains: What made Clifford come to that conclusion?

In what amounts to a good summary of one of the film's basic themes, Daniel Ellsberg tells an interviewer: "It's a tribute to the American public that its leaders knew they had to be lied to. It's not a tribute that it was so easy to be lied to."

But was it so easy? No war in U.S. history was so unpopular. Millions of Americans from the beginning questioned what their political leaders were doing in Vietnam: Among the earliest manifestations of the antiwar sentiment were the giant teach-ins, in which students sought to find out the truth about the Vietnamese revolution and Washington's attempts to roll it back.

By 1971, polls indicated that a clear majority of Americans were opposed to the war. A key factor in staying the Pentagon's hand was the creation and growth of a powerful antiwar movement that mobilized in the streets in massive demonstrations around the theme "Out now!"

Hearts and Minds barely indicates this important aspect of the war. It suggests instead that "we are all accomplices." The audience is shown many prowar rallies. But there is only one brief shot of an antiwar demonstration in the whole film.

Despite this weakness, *Hearts and Minds* is an impelling indictment of Washington's war. It is not hard to agree with a reviewer in a leading Canadian daily who wrote that if a film like this had been made earlier, "and especially if it had been made on the major television networks," the war might have ended much earlier. □

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El Punto que se les Pasó en el Discurso de Ford

[Esta es una traducción del artículo "The Point They Overlooked in Ford's Speech" publicado en *Intercontinental Press* el 21 de abril.

[La traducción es de *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

La publicidad por adelantado que recibió el discurso de Ford del 10 de abril despertó bastante curiosidad. ¿Podrá el elegido de Nixon a ocupar la Casa Blanca, valerse por sí mismo? ¿Hará el tan esperado balance de la costosa intervención en los asuntos internos de los pueblos de Indochina? ¿Anunciará que ha ordenado la evacuación de todas las fuerzas norteamericanas de Saigón?

La curiosidad aumentó más debido a los informes que se filtraron al respecto de la identidad de los que participaban en la elaboración del documento que leería Ford. El discurso sería la declaración con mayor autoridad de la política exterior planeada por la Casa Blanca.

Se informó que Winston Lord, director del Personal Planificador de la Política del Departamento de Estado, había elaborado el proyecto fundamental en consulta con dos colaboradores de Kissinger, Lawrence S. Eagleburger del Departamento de Estado y el teniente general Brent Scowcroft del Consejo de Seguridad Nacional. Tanto Ford como Kissinger debían revisar los proyectos. Kissinger se suponía hacer un proyecto final.

Después, dos de los escritores de discursos sobre política exterior, Robert T. Hartman y su asistente, Milton Friedman, adecuarían el texto para que se acomodara al "lenguaje y la cadencia" del viejo burócrata gris de la máquina política republicana.

Ford hizo una magnífica interpretación del texto que se le entregó para que leyera. Aún así, el discurso, si le hacemos caso a la prensa, resultó ser un fracaso. Lo cierto es que el discurso no cautivó al público norteamericano. Al día siguiente, la Casa Blanca recibió más de 200,000 comentarios, según una emisión de televisión. De éstos, las dos terceras partes no le eran favorables.

El columnista liberal Harriet Van Horne expresó cuál era el consenso: "Estupidez ciega, terco como una mula, así lo vemos hoy en día. Y nuestro instinto nos dice que es una manifestación aparente y visible de disturbio y miedo internos. . . . No importando cuán limitada sea la mente de Ford, va más allá de la credulidad si se imagina que conseguirá que el Congreso le va a dar 1,000 millones de dólares para otra tanda sangrienta en Vietnam."

Inclusive el *New York Times* manifestó su



Alternativa

preplejidad. En uno de sus titulares el 13 de abril decía, "Extraña Empresa la del Sr. Ford." Este iba acompañado por otro titular: "Pidió Ayuda para Saigón que Sabe que no Puede Conseguir."

Lo que confundió a los comentaristas es el saber que Ford no tenía ilusiones de que el Congreso le diera a Thieu otros 722 millones para "abastecimiento militar" y 250 millones para "ayuda económica y humanitaria" para la fecha límite del 19 de abril.

Los comentaristas también sabían que Ford no esperaba que su pedido tendría apoyo popular en los Estados Unidos. La última encuesta Harris mostraba que el 75 por ciento del pueblo norteamericano se opone a que se le dé más ayuda militar a Saigón.

Entonces, ¿qué objetivos perseguía el discurso? Se han hecho varias suposiciones:

- La administración quiere culpar al

Congreso demócrata del inminente colapso del régimen de Thieu, para sacar a relucir esta cuestión en la campaña presidencial de 1976.

- Kissinger quiso que este pedido le dé tiempo. Sin este tipo de posturas Thieu pudiera volverse en contra de los norteamericanos antes de que los preparativos de evacuación puedan ser terminados.

- Kissinger quiso asegurarles a los gobiernos reaccionarios, como Israel, que la Casa Blanca mantiene sus "compromisos."

- Ford quiso indicarles a los derechistas tanto del Partido Republicano como del Partido Demócrata, y a todos los "halcones" y patrioterros de los Estados Unidos, que había hecho lo indecible por ellos.

No hay duda que éstas eran algunas de las cosas que la camarilla de la Casa Blanca tenía en mente cuando escribió el discurso.

Poco se ha dicho sobre una demanda que hizo Ford ante el Congreso, aunque ese organismo le está dando "pronta consideración". He aquí lo que Ford pidió—y lo quiere para el 19 de abril:

"Y ahora le pido al Congreso que clarifique inmediatamente las restricciones sobre el uso de las fuerzas militares norteamericanas en el Sudeste Asiático para el objetivo limitado de proteger vidas norteamericanas garantizándoles su evacuación, si esto llegara a ser necesario. Y también pido una revisión inmediata de la ley, para proteger a aquellos vietnamitas ante los cuales tenemos una obligación especial, y cuyas vidas estarían en peligro, si lo peor llegara a suceder.

"Espero que esa autoridad nunca tenga que ser usada, pero si se necesita no habrá tiempo para un debate en el Congreso."

Hay en Saigón entre 3,000 y 6,000 norteamericanos, la mayoría de ellos tratando en enriquecerse rápidamente. Sin embargo, Ford indicó que hay algo más en juego que la evacuación de estos hombres de negocios, aventureros y "consejeros."

Funcionarios gubernamentales están hablando de evacuar hasta 200,000 sudvietnamitas. De hecho, estos mismos funcionarios hablan de un millón y medio de sudvietnamitas cuyas "vidas pudieran estar el peligro, si lo peor llegara a suceder."

De esta manera, la noticia que se filtró del Pentágono, de que "no menos de 90,000 soldados norteamericanos" serían desembarcados, serían suficientes para de nuevo empezar. . . .

Si Ford pudiera hacerlo, no hay la menor duda de que esto sería precisamente lo que haría. Y como ha especificado al "Sudeste Asiático" como el área de operaciones, esto podría reflejar la demanda del Pentágono de que se le permita invadir o bombardear Vietnam del Norte, quizá con "armamento nuclear de poco rendimiento," tal como lo

sugirió el general Westmoreland el 28 de marzo.

Sin embargo, todos en el gobierno, empezando con Kissinger, están totalmente concientes de las consecuencias políticas explosivas que tal medida tendría para los Estados Unidos.

Daría a luz, casi de la noche a la mañana a un nuevo movimiento antibélico mucho más combativo y poderoso que el que terminó por forzar a Nixon a retirar las tropas de Vietnam. Tal movimiento podría detonar un levantamiento social y político lo suficientemente poderoso como para destruir el sistema capitalista norteamericano.

Tomando en consideración los temores bien fundados de los círculos gobernantes de los Estados Unidos sobre esta posibilidad, entonces ¿por qué Ford exigió que se legislara el poder de enviar tropas norteamericanas de nuevo al Sudeste Asiático? ¿Por qué el Congreso actúa como que le puede conceder esa petición? y ¿porqué no se oye nada sobre este asunto entre los dirigentes y seguidistas de los Partidos Republicano y Demócrata?

El misterio se profundiza si se toma en serio las intenciones de evacuar millón y medio de subvietnamitas o inclusive 200,000. ¿Los van a traer a los Estados Unidos? ¿Con las colas en las oficinas de desempleados ya peligrosamente largas? ¿Con los burócratas gubernamentales disgustándose ante las atiborradas listas de gente que recibe asistencia pública por falta de empleo?

Obviamente Kissinger tenía en mente otra cosa al esbozar el discurso de Ford. ¿Sería especular demasiado sugerir que los que tenía en mente era cómo mejor ayudar a Moscú, Pekín y los elementos conservadores en Hanoi y en el Gobierno Provisional Revolucionario?

Moscú y Pekín religiosamente concedieron todo lo que les pidió Nixon para que lo asistieran a la hora de la verdad en Vietnam. Fué parte de la distensión. Su presión sobre Hanoi, y el haberles negado ayuda a escala necesaria, hicieron posible arrebatarnos la victoria de las manos a los combatientes vietnamitas en 1973 cuando se negociaron los acuerdos en París.

Nixon bombardeó masivamente y cercenó con minas los puertos de Vietnam del Norte dándoles argumentos a Moscú y a Pekín para que los usaran los burócratas stalinistas de esos centros y así arrancarles concesiones a Hanoi y al GPR. "Miren, esos maniáticos en Washington ¡son capaces de empezar una guerra nuclear! Por el bien de la Unión Soviética y de la República Popular de China, deben de dar concesiones. Además, ustedes obtendrán una victoria parcial."

Actualmente Ford no está bombardeando a los vietnamitas. Solamente está amena-

zando con poner en acción a los B-52 de nuevo, conjuntamente con las tropas norteamericanas. Esto se debe a que sus objetivos son más modestos que los de Nixon.

Quiere congelar los frentes militares tal como se encuentran ahora. Eso le daría Saigón y un enclave alrededor de la ciudad—junto con el Mekong Delta si es que se puede sostener. Como concesión a los intereses por la "paz," está dispuesto a deshacerse de Thieu a aceptar un gobierno de coalición—conforme a los acuerdos de París.

¡Paremos las Maniobras Bélicas de Washington!

[La siguiente es una declaración del Buró Político del Socialist Workers party (Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores) expedida el 16 de abril.

[La traducción es de *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Es necesario la acción inmediata de las fuerzas antibélicas para bloquear las maniobras que se están llevando a cabo para enviar de nuevo tropas norteamericanas a Vietnam. No debe haber la más mínima duda al respecto de las intenciones bélicas de Washington: todo lo que se ha dicho acerca de "evacuar a los norteamericanos" es tan sólo una cínica excusa para ocultar los preparativos para la renovación de la intervención militar directa de los Estados Unidos.

Los gobernantes de este país harán todo lo que se les permita hacer para "salvar a Vietnam" para el imperialismo. Están experimentando, poco a poco, para ver cuál será la resistencia del pueblo norteamericano a sus planes.

Los planes de Ford pueden ser parados por la respuesta inmediata del movimiento antibélico—por medio de mítines, protestas, reuniones educativas y otras actividades—eso lo pondrá sobre aviso de que el reinicio de la agresión será enfrentado por la movilización masiva del sentimiento antibélico. Pero si esta respuesta no se deja sentir, Ford será alentado a seguir con sus planes de enviar de nuevo soldados norteamericanos a Vietnam y bombas, municiones y otro material bélico a la dictadura de Saigón.

Una oportunidad inmediata que tienen los opositores a la guerra para hacerse oír será en la próxima manifestación contra el desempleo que se efectuará el 26 de abril en Washington D.C., llamada por AFL-CIO [central obrera en los Estados Unidos]. La oposición del pueblo norteamericano a la guerra tendrá que quedar bien clara el 26 de

Si este análisis es correcto, entonces el principal objetivo del discurso de Ford sería el de presionar en contra del ala más revolucionaria de los combatientes que quieren llevar su larga lucha hacia el triunfo que está tan obviamente a la mano si tan sólo se aprovecha la oportunidad.

Todavía falta ver si Saigón se convierte en otra más de las victorias recientes o si Kissinger, con la ayuda de sus aliados en Moscú y Pekín, todavía puede mantener esa importante ciudad como cabeza de playa del imperialismo norteamericano. □

abril en Washington—tanto para la Casa Blanca como para el Congreso.

Los obreros sindicalizados y otra gente trabajadora se oponen mayoritariamente a la reanudación de la invasión norteamericana o al derroche de recursos que la ayuda a Saigón ha significado. Muchos sindicatos han vinculado la necesidad de asignar recursos para un programa de empleo masivo con la necesidad de ponerle fin al gasto militar en Indochina. Los manifestantes les darán la bienvenida a los carteles y emblemas antibélicos.

El llamado que hacen los dirigentes de la National Peace Action Coalition [Coalición Nacional de Acción por la Paz] que anteriormente organizó las manifestaciones gigantescas contra la guerra, a que los activistas antibélicos acudan a la manifestación del 26 de abril, debe ser oído por todo aquél que quiera que termine la matanza.

La demanda de Ford de casi 1,000 millones de dólares para apuntalar a los generales de Saigón causó repulsión y rabia a la gran mayoría del pueblo norteamericano, que de sobra sabe que los fondos significan la continuación de la matanza y la reducción del presupuesto para la asistencia social doméstica.

Sin embargo, a pesar del sentimiento popular, los políticos demócratas y republicanos en el Congreso están maniobrando para llegar a un "acuerdo" para darle a Ford la autoridad y el dinero para enviar tropas a Saigón y más ayuda al ejército de Thieu.

La justificación pública para esta acción es la de "evacuar a los norteamericanos de Saigón y proveer ayuda humanitaria a los sudvietnamitas."

Si el Congreso o Ford genuinamente estuvieran interesados en la ayuda humanitaria suspenderían inmediatamente todos los embarques militares al carnicero de Saigón y su pandilla de mercenarios asesinos.

Si el Congreso y Ford genuinamente estuvieran interesados en la seguridad de

los norteamericanos en Saigón los evacuarían de inmediato en una sola operación, en vez de mantenerlos como rehenes para utilizarlos de excusa para una invasión militar. Aceptarían la oferta de los rebeldes vietnamitas que garantizan la salida pacífica de todos los norteamericanos.

El truco de la necesidad de evacuar a ciudadanos norteamericanos fue utilizado por Lyndon Johnson como una pantalla cuando dio la orden de invasión a la República Dominicana en 1965. Johnson dijo que su intención era "salvar vidas" cuando envió 30,000 soldados para salvar a la junta militar derechista, que los Estados Unidos apoyaban, cuando ésta estaba al borde del colapso.

No, ni a Ford ni a las "palomas" demócratas les interesa salvar vidas o el humanitarismo.

Hoy en día sólo están buscando nuevas justificaciones para continuar la guerra, justificaciones que esperan hacer creer al pueblo norteamericano. Tal como el *New York Times* informó el 16 de abril, "Algunos dirigentes del Senado creyeron . . . que los miembros del Senado que se oponen a más ayuda militar podrían modificar su posición si pudieran sostener que lo que estaban votando era 'fondos de emergencia' para asegurar la evacuación de todos los norteamericanos. . . ."

La Casa Blanca y el Congreso sólo están repitiendo su papel de hace once años, cuando la resolución del Golfo de Tonkin fue votada apresuradamente por el Senado con sólo dos votos en contra. Como lo han probado los documentos del Pentágono, los Estados Unidos deliberadamente prepararon totalmente el incidente del Golfo de Tonkin para proveer al Congreso con un pretexto para la adopción de la resolución—que de antemano ya había sido preparada por la administración. Esta autorizaba bombardeos "en represalia" y le daba a Johnson mano libre para llevar a cabo sus planes de escalada militar.

Los políticos del Congreso actualmente están preparando la misma trampa. Al darle a Ford la "facultad" de hacer uso del dinero y las tropas en Vietnam le darán mano libre para escalar la intervención norteamericana. Continúan con la política de duplicidad sobre la guerra que han usado durante los últimos diez años: denuncian la matanza mientras que votan por la autorización de más soldados y más armas para que ésta se lleve a cabo.

Sería una falta de responsabilidad y una autoderrota si las fuerzas antibélicas confían en los "críticos de la guerra" del Congreso. La única voz a la cual las "palomas" responden es la demanda de las masas en las manifestaciones antibélicas. Hay una urgente necesidad de que esa voz se vuelva a oír.

Durante décadas, el pueblo vietnamita ha luchado por el derecho de controlar su

propio país. La situación nunca ha sido más favorable para su victoria. Los revolucionarios y otras fuerzas progresistas están 100 por ciento detrás de ellos en su lucha para cumplir esa tarea.

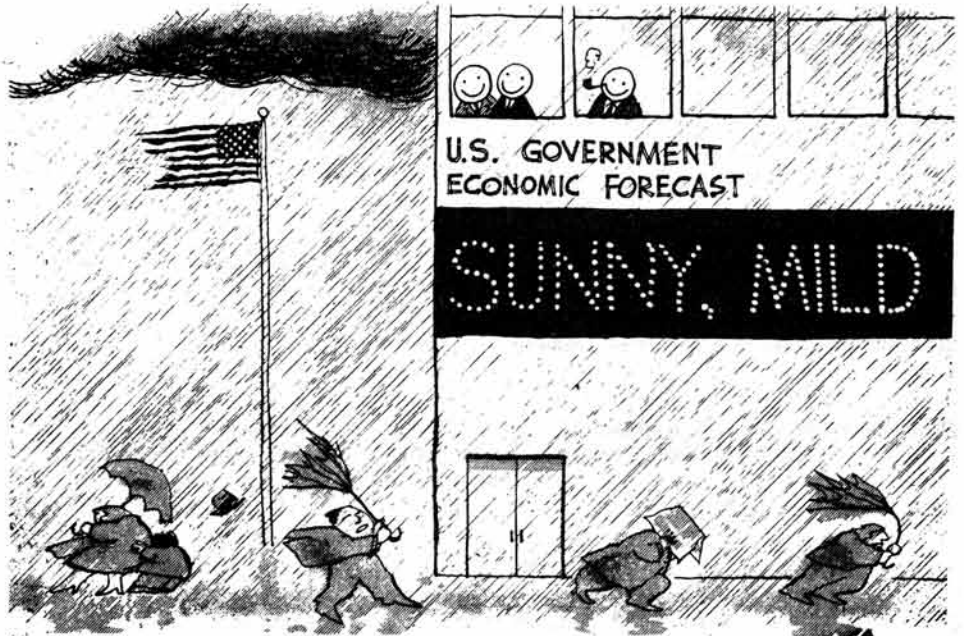
Pero nosotros aquí en los Estados Unidos también tenemos una tarea que cumplir. Debemos movilizar el sentimiento antibélico

de las mayorías con tal fuerza que ni Ford ni el Congreso se atrevan a ignorar. Hagamos del 26 de abril un poderoso rechazo a los sedientos de guerra en Washington.

*¡Fondos para el empleo, no para la guerra!
¡Ni un centavo, ni un soldado para Vietnam!* □

'Business Week' Warns of 'Double-Dip' Slump

New Depression in '76?



Auth/Philadelphia Inquirer

"A new and frightening scenario is beginning to make the rounds of the nation's economists," said William Wolman, a senior editor of *Business Week*, in the magazine's April 21 issue. "It portrays a double-dip recession in which the economy recovers in the second half of 1975 but lapses into decline again in 1976."

Projections by large-scale econometric models, he said, showed "an early upsurge followed by a later decline" in the U.S. economy. These forecasts are based largely on the expected stimulus from Ford's recently enacted tax-cut bill.

But other factors, too, indicate that a new depression could be in the cards for the next year. Under the impact of the current depression, companies are carrying out massive liquidation of their inventories—by a record \$1.5 billion in February, for example.

"But when companies start accumulating inventories again," said Wolman, "business demand for short-term funds will again

turn up, while the Fed [Federal Reserve Board, the U.S. central bank] will again start worrying about inflation and throttle back on monetary growth. When that happens—early in 1976 at the latest, say the double dippers—interest rates will again shoot up. That will choke off a housing upturn that will lack momentum because of slack demand. And capital spending will be cut back because of inadequate financing."

The U.S. economy might take on the "stop-go" characteristics that have plagued British industry for several years. Spending on plant and equipment would decline. Productivity growth would slow drastically, and even grind to a halt, increasing the vulnerability of the economy to inflation.

Business Week's editor saw a "related possibility that the U.S. is in for a strong dose of incomes policy" in the near future. Further cuts in personal income taxes next year, he said, could be accompanied by stiff wage controls. □

Not One Penny, Not One GI, to Vietnam

[The following statement was issued April 16 by the Political Bureau of the Socialist Workers party.]

Immediate action by antiwar forces is urgently needed to block moves now under way to send U.S. troops back into Vietnam. There must be no illusions about Washington's intentions: all the talk of "evacuating Americans" is only a cynical cover for preparing renewed direct U.S. military intervention.

The rulers of this country will go as far as they think they can get away with to "save Vietnam" for imperialism. They are probing, step by step, to see what resistance they will meet from the American people.

Ford's hand can be stayed by an immediate response from the antiwar movement—through meetings, teach-ins, rallies, and other actions—that will let him know that renewed aggression will be met by a massive outpouring of antiwar sentiment. But in the absence of such a response, Ford will be emboldened to press his plans to send American GIs back into Vietnam and to step up the flow of bombs, bullets, and other war matériel to the Saigon dictatorship.

An immediate opportunity for opponents of the war to make themselves heard is the upcoming April 26 march for jobs in Washington, D.C., called by the AFL-CIO. The opposition of the American people to the war in Vietnam must be heard loud and clear in Washington—both by the White House and by the Congress—on April 26.

Union members and other working people are overwhelmingly opposed to any new U.S. invasion or the squandering of more money in aid to Saigon. Many unions have linked the need for allocation of funds for a massive jobs program to a cutoff of war spending for Indochina. Antiwar signs and banners will be welcomed by the marchers.

The call for antiwar activists to turn out on April 26, issued by leaders of the National Peace Action Coalition, which organized the giant antiwar demonstrations in the past, should be heeded by all who want to put a stop to the killing in Indochina.

Ford's April 10 demand for nearly \$1 billion to prop up the Saigon generals was greeted with revulsion and anger by the overwhelming majority of the American people, who well know that the funds will only mean more killing in Indochina and

more cutbacks in spending for social services at home. And Ford's plan for landing American marines and paratroopers in Vietnam raised once more the prospect of shedding the blood of American GIs in the service of imperialist interests in Southeast Asia.

Despite the popular sentiment, however, the Democratic and Republican politicians in Congress are maneuvering to work out a "compromise" agreement to give Ford the authority and money to send troops to Saigon and more aid to Thieu's army.

The public justification for such action is to "evacuate Americans from Saigon and provide humanitarian aid to the South Vietnamese."

But if Congress or Ford were genuinely interested in humanitarianism they would immediately suspend all shipments of arms and weapons to the Saigon butcher and his band of mercenary cutthroats.

If Congress or Ford were concerned about the safety of Americans in Saigon they would take the simple step of getting them out now, rather than keeping them there as hostages to provide an excuse for a military invasion. They would accept the offer of the Vietnamese rebels to guarantee the safe departure of all Americans.

The ploy of citing the need to evacuate U.S. citizens was also used as a cover by Lyndon Johnson when he ordered the invasion of the Dominican Republic in 1965. Johnson said his motive was to "save lives" when he sent in 30,000 troops just as the right-wing U.S.-backed military junta was on the verge of collapse after suffering severe losses at the hand of Dominican rebels.

No, neither Ford nor the Democratic "doves" are interested in saving lives or humanitarianism.

They are merely searching for some new justifications to continue the war, justifications they hope they can get the American people to swallow. As the *New York Times* reported April 16, "Some Senate leaders felt . . . that members who opposed any additional military aid might modify their position if they could maintain they were voting for 'contingency funds' to assure the safe withdrawal of all Americans. . . ."

The White House and Congress are merely repeating their performance of eleven years ago, when the Tonkin Gulf resolution was whisked through the Senate with only two dissenting votes. As the

Pentagon papers proved, the U.S. deliberately set up the whole Tonkin Gulf incident to provide the pretext for Congress to adopt a resolution—prepared by the administration in advance—authorizing "retaliatory" air strikes and giving Johnson a free hand to carry out his escalation plans. For a decade, Johnson and Nixon cited the authority of the Tonkin Gulf resolution to justify their criminal deeds in Vietnam.

The politicians in Congress are working the same hustle today. By granting Ford the "discretion" to use money and troops in Vietnam, they will free his hands to escalate U.S. intervention. They are continuing their decade-long policy of double-talk on the war: denouncing the killing, while voting authorizations of more troops and more funds to carry it out.

It would be a self-defeating abdication of responsibility for antiwar forces to put their confidence in the "war critics" in Congress. The only voice the "doves" have ever responded to was the demand of masses of antiwar demonstrators. There is an urgent need for that voice to be heard again.

For decades, the people of Vietnam have been fighting for the right to run their own country. The situation has never been more favorable for their victory. Revolutionists and other progressive forces throughout the world are behind them 100 percent in their struggle to finish the job.

But we in the United States have a job to finish also. We must mobilize the antiwar sentiment of the majority into a force that neither Ford nor Congress can afford to ignore. Let's make April 26 a powerful rebuff to the war makers in Washington.

Funds for jobs, not for war!

Not one penny, not one GI, to Vietnam!

U.S. Out of Southeast Asia Now! □

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The Threat of a Coup in Argentina

[The following editorial was published in the March 29 issue of *Avanzada Socialista*, the weekly newspaper of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers party, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International in Argentina).

[Besides the translation *Intercontinental Press* has supplied the footnotes. The subheadings appeared in the original.]

* * *

The workers movement today is wrestling with the problem of an eroding standard of living—inadequate wages, the cruel joke of a 40,000-peso wage increase [US\$27], the exploitation involved in having to hold down two jobs to make enough to buy food, a lack of housing and medical care, and—in many areas of the country—undernourishment, hunger, and high infant mortality.

This situation, this lack of economic solutions and favorable perspectives, has driven the workers movement into launching a series of struggles. Although in its majority it still believes in Peronism, it is pressing the Peronist government and the bourgeoisie with urgent wage demands.

On top of the economic pressures and the impending struggles, the workers movement must now face a new worry. *We are referring to the changed political situation in the country—a critical juncture has been reached in which a coup could occur.* Although this concern seems more distant than those we put up with in daily life at home or in the factory, it is extremely serious. When we speak of a coup we mean that the bourgeoisie and the government are discussing, and even fighting among themselves, over the best way to slow down or smash our struggles.

Thus it is not accidental that the leaders of the CGT¹ and the 62 Organizations² have held an important meeting in the last few days to discuss their position toward the threat of a coup. Nor is it accidental that they have made statements on some aspects of our economic problems.

The Bourgeoisie Faces Its Own Crisis

We are all aware of the crisis experienced by the working class, a crisis of poverty and small and large daily tragedies. In the midst of this the bourgeoisie lives with its privileges.

However, the Argentine bourgeoisie is also undergoing a crisis. This does not

mean that they are going hungry, but it has nevertheless provoked bitter debates among them and between them and the government.

We have already mentioned the immediate cause—it is their reaction to the workers struggles. However much the labor minister hates the idea, a high percentage of factories, small shops, and offices are involved in labor conflicts over wage demands. This pressure is especially felt by the big industrial bourgeoisie. Some of their sanctuaries—Ingenio Ledesma, Acindar, Propulsora Siderúrgica, Petroquímica Sudamericana, Centenera—have been shaken by tough battles or by the election of combative, class-struggle labor leaderships.

The bourgeoisie blames the workers struggles twice-over for its crisis. Since the middle of last year it has felt the repercussions of the capitalist world crisis, and its fabulous plans for exports have been frustrated, reaching only a half of what was counted on.

The first round of confrontations, which fills the pages of the daily papers, is living proof of the crisis affecting the bourgeoisie and their government. Manrique³ says that “the hour of moral reckoning has arrived.” The Sociedad Rural⁴ goes on strike. The CGE⁵ splits and leaves the government. The guerrillas redouble their attacks, this time against the police, and together with some bourgeois elements, promote the new Partido Auténtico.⁶ Through Alsogaray and Frondizi,⁷ North American imperialism

3. Francisco Manrique, leader of the conservative Alianza Popular Federalista (Federalist People's Alliance).

4. Rural Association, organization of the big landowners and cattlemen.

5. Confederación General Económica—General Confederation of Commerce, the national employers association.

6. Authentic party, a split from the orthodox Peronist forces in the April Misiones election campaign.

7. Alvaro Alsogaray is a leader of the rightist Nueva Fuerza, who served as a government economist from 1948 to 1970. At a March 5 news conference he attacked the economic policy of the current regime, stating:

“I hope that tanks don't have to come here—either from outside or inside the country. What I am saying is that serious disorder could lead us to a critical situation where someone would have to intervene.”

Arturo Frondizi is a leader of the Movimiento de Integración y Desarrollo (MID—Movement for Unity and Development). The MID, which is part of the Peronist electoral bloc, stated March 12 that “the armed forces have to get progressively involved in what is happening.”

announces that it is going over to the opposition.

These are the rats that are abandoning or have just abandoned the ship, in addition to fighting among themselves.

The Regime Attacks the Labor Movement

The government, along with various wings of the bourgeoisie, bears the responsibility both for the economic policy, which has bogged us down in these problems, and for the threats of a coup on the political level.

The invention of the coastal “industrial plot,”⁸ as a pretext for jailing hundreds of militant leaders and activists and for taking over their unions, shows that the government wants to intimidate struggling workers, and at the same time, regain the confidence of the bourgeoisie, especially the big industrial monopoly interests.

The attack follows the same lines as previous government measures: Gómez Morales⁹ was named to please the imperialists and oligarchs and to put an inflationary policy into effect as a means of cutting wages. The Ley de Contratos de Trabajo¹⁰ came under fire as soon as it was passed. The right to strike was curtailed with the Ley de Seguridad del Estado.¹¹ Finally, as part of its attacks on the labor movement as a whole, the government began to attack the Peronist trade-union leadership itself. The most notorious case was its pretense of searching the UOM¹² headquarters in the capital.

By taking on and injuring the labor movement, the government is repeating, on a still bigger scale, its tragic line of 1955.¹³ It cannot understand that a hungry and repressed laboring mass will not be able and will not care to fight against imperialism and the oligarchy. The government gives in to these forces, which will end up—in one way or another—trying to bring it down.

But even so the government will not be able to regain the confidence of the bourgeoisie as a whole. The crisis will follow its

8. According to the “industrial plot,” heavy industry along the Río Paraná to the north of Buenos Aires was to be disrupted by subversives.

9. Alfredo Gómez Morales, economics minister.

10. Work Contract Law, granting workers the right to demand redress of grievances.

11. State Security Law. See *Intercontinental Press*, January 13, p. 18, for a description of this law.

12. Unión Obrera Metalúrgica—Metalworkers Union.

13. In September 1955 the Peronist regime was overthrown in a military coup encouraged by U.S. imperialism and sectors of the Argentine ruling class most favorable to imperialist penetration.

course; deterioration is inevitable, because ever since it took office the government has moved more and more to the right. It moved in that direction to expel the Juventud Peronista,¹⁴ then to combat the guerrillas, later to oppose the left in general, and finally to unleash its offensive against the labor movement as a whole. Within itself it developed a counterrevolutionary wing that wants to move even further to the right—to seize total control and launch a national “Navarrazo,”¹⁵ unleashing the gangs that a few days ago sowed terror and death in the massacres at Temperley, Bahía Blanca, and Mar del Plata¹⁶ in reply to actions of the populist guerrillas.

But the bulk of the bourgeoisie and especially the military high command and the UCR¹⁷ are opposed to the “autogolpe” [“self-coup”] variant, i.e., internal take-over of the government by its fascist wing. They feel that the bourgeoisie’s economic crisis forces them to maintain a parliamentary regime where elections, dialogue, and agreements are the rule.

In short, they favor the line agreed on in the days of Lanusse—that of La Hora del Pueblo and the Gran Acuerdo Nacional.¹⁸ To achieve that they are willing—if the government continues its rightward course toward a self-coup—to accede to a classical coup of the kind that the gorilla critics of the government now call for and that is fostered by the provocations of the populist guerrillas.

Unite to Defend Our Living Standard and to Fight Against the Two Coups

The proceedings and display advertisements published by the CGT and the 62 Organizations deal with the problems that we are discussing here. They are very important not only because they come from people who are in a position to lead the trade unions, but also because up to now the CGT and the 62 had been bending to the

right turn, to many of the most negative measures of the government.

The first advertisement of the trade-union wing sharply criticizes the populist guerrillas who objectively foster a coup, and also Manrique, Frondizi, and Alsogaray—representatives of the oligarchy and imperialism—who are in fact oriented toward a coup.

The second advertisement, published Tuesday, March 25, is a plea directed at the government itself, expressing disagreement with several measures.

Both documents come out firmly for maintaining the continuity of the government and oppose the two variants of a coup. In addition, in speaking of “exploiters in white gloves,” they criticize all sectors of the bourgeoisie.

It is this correct position, combined with the fact that the trade-union leaderships did not bend to the insidious campaign on the “industrial plot,” and the positive attitudes displayed by some leaders who endorsed or ended up recognizing struggles and victories of the ranks of labor—like the ones in Villa Constitución, Centenera, or Rigolleau—that impels us to call for unity of all sectors of the workers movement in the fight against the grinding down of our standard of living and against all variants of a coup.

This means uniting to extend to all factories, small shops, and offices the emergency wage increases of up to 100,000 pesos. They have been won in many places and they help prepare us to achieve a sliding scale of wages starting at 400,000 pesos, along with price freezes, in the upcoming negotiations.

This means—and it is part of the same struggle—defending and freeing prisoners who belong to the labor movement, the jailed compañeros who are paying the price of being the vanguard of the struggle to defend our interests—in Villa Constitución, Zárate, and Jujuy.

And this also means uniting to fight against the two coup variants. Without doubt we must confront the ultrareactionary coup by the fascists in the government. To stop it we cannot trust in a countercoup by the GAN gorillas. This means that we workers for the first time must enforce our own political and economic class demands.

We congratulate the trade-union leadership for having correctly stated that our

enemy is the coup. But things must not be left to a mere display advertisement. For the united labor movement there is only one way to guard the interests of the class in the face of threats from the bourgeoisie. The CGT and the 62 Organizations know it well enough. That way is the same one used by the CGT to greet the winning of the Ley de Contratos de Trabajo—with a march and a general strike.

For a General Strike and a Workers Demonstration to Present the Document to the President

The gravity of the crisis and the need to face and oppose the fascist and gorilla threat of a coup, along with the government’s policies of starvation and repression, compel us to mobilize. The CGT and the 62 have on the agenda a postponed meeting with the president.

We propose that when the meeting is held and the leaders show up to present their positions, criticisms, and complaints, that they do so backed by a general strike and a massive demonstration in the Plaza de Mayo.

We propose that they solicit and demand a statement from all the nation’s political parties so that they will know who supports the workers’ demands and who does not, who is for maintaining inflation and wage slavery and who is not, and to see who wants a coup and who is opposed.

We propose that all currents in the workers movement, whether of the left or the right, form a united front to guarantee the success of the strike and demonstration. This would include the guerrilla currents that have moved to help in the labor conflicts although they act arbitrarily and do not subordinate themselves to the leadership of the struggles, thus usually falling into provocations and adventures that only aid the bourgeoisie.

We are saying this because such a demonstration and strike, as the beginning of a mobilization against a coup by the gorillas or the fascists, is a question of principle—no one who plays into the hands of the gorillas or fascists can claim to be part of the workers movement.

Finally, for the strike and assembly in the Plaza de Mayo, we propose the following demands:

Get rid of the ultrareactionary fomenters of coups!

*No to the gorilla countercoup!
Freedom for the imprisoned workers!
Immediate return of the union headquarters that have been raided and seized!*

*Enough of hunger and poverty!
For a 400,000-peso minimum wage with a sliding scale! For price freezes!*

For a general strike of indefinite duration if faced with any attempt whatsoever of a coup! □

14. Juventud Peronista—Peronist Youth, leftist youth group of the Peronist movement.

15. The February 1974 coup that ousted the elected Córdoba provincial governor.

16. The Alianza Anticomunista Argentina (Argentine Anticomunist Alliance) killed twenty-four persons in these cities between March 20 and March 22.

17. Unión Cívica Radical—Radical Civic Union, the main bourgeois opposition party.

18. The People’s Hour and the Great National Agreement (GAN). Schemes developed by the Peronists, the Radicals, and other bourgeois forces during the final phase of the military dictatorship to get agreement from the armed forces on the need to return the country to constitutional rule.

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Why Portuguese Trotskyists Refused to Sign Pact

[The following statement by the Liga Comunista Internacionalista (Internationalist Communist League, the sympathizing organization of the Fourth International in Portugal) was issued April 4. The statement is preceded by an explanatory note which we have placed in parentheses. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

(In the sequence of contacts between the MFA [Movimento das Forças Armadas—Armed Forces Movement] and the various legal political parties, we were contacted and asked to give our opinion on the pact proposed to the recognized political parties.

(Since we believe that these questions concern all workers, since we consider that the workers movement as a whole must discuss all these questions, we cannot keep our reply secret.

(Working-class and revolutionary organizations cannot discuss behind the backs of the workers. This would mean failing to defend their interests, giving up the struggle to strengthen the offensive capacity of the working masses and to lead them to breaking with the legalistic illusions that today prevail among them. For this reason, we call on all workers to demand that their organizations make public their positions and all the commitments they may make.

(We, for our part, chose our road long ago. We will not stop urging the workers to mobilize, because in the face of the attacks of the bourgeoisie, this is the only way to offer a working-class response to the crisis of capitalism, the road of socialist revolution.)

* * *

The Liga Comunista Internacionalista was contacted by the Conselho da Revolução [CR—Council of the Revolution] and asked to declare its position on a “public platform” to be established jointly between the MFA and the “parties involved in carrying out the principles of the MFA program and in consolidating and extending the democratic gains already made.”

The MFA proposal claimed to have “taken into account the situation resulting from the suppression of the counterrevolutionary coup of March 11.” It was said that this platform was intended “to make it possible to continue the economic and social revolution initiated on April 25 in the context of a political pluralism compatible with a socialistic road,” and that “the Armed Forces will be the guarantor and driving force in the revolutionary process leading to the construction of real social, political, and economic democracy.”

1. There is a preliminary observation that

should be made. The fact that the LCI, like other working-class and revolutionary organizations, was contacted by the CR and asked to sign this “pact” is objectively the result of a change in the relationship of forces brought about by the rise of the anticapitalist struggle of the masses and the reinforcement of the revolutionary organizations, in which the latter were able to win recognition as effective participants in the mass movement that defeated the reactionary coup of March 11.

2. In the same way, we cannot separate other questions from the objective role of this pact. Since it was proposed not only to the workers organizations (whose contribution was fundamental and decisive in crushing the reactionary capitalist putsch and in imposing and defending the nationalization of the banks and the insurance companies) but also to the parties of the capitalist right, including even the reactionaries and fascists of the CDS [Centro Democrático Social—Social Democratic Center], the objective function of this “pact” can only be to try to *hide, by means of a deal between the bourgeois organizations and the workers organizations, the contradictions that exist on the social and political levels between the irreconcilable interests of the exploiters and the exploited.*

3. Consistently revolutionary workers organizations, those that at all times intransigently defend the immediate interests of the workers as well as the goals of their historic emancipation from capitalist exploitation and bourgeois political domination, cannot accept any pacts or historic compromises with the forces of capitalist reaction. To the contrary, such organizations must fight for the independence and unification of workers in struggle, to strengthen the united front of the working class as the only way of winning to its camp those social forces capable of identifying with its goals of liberation from the domination of the bourgeois exploiters. Only by closing ranks can the working class and its trade-union and political organizations advance the defense, consolidation, and extension of the economic, social, and political rights and conquests of the working masses. And only in this way can the middle strata of the population be saved from being manipulated by the reactionary forces of capital and all progressive forces be drawn into a consistent liberating struggle to eliminate capitalism and construct socialism.

4. The above is reason enough for the LCI to refuse to sign the pact proposed by the CR. This pact points to the continuation of a policy of class collaboration between the working-class parties and the bourgeois

parties, already shown (by the worsening living and working conditions of the working masses, the whittling down of their social and political gains, the attempts at economic sabotage, and reactionary attempted coups) to be incompatible with the defense of the rights and conquests of the working masses. The lessons of March 11—the involvement of big capital and sectors of the armed forces in the reactionary attempted coup, the nature and breadth of the response by workers (in uniform or out) to the coup attempts, the powerful mass demonstrations demanding that the capitalist government ministers be kicked out and that nationalizations be implemented—all prove the following:

a. Big capital, capitalist reaction, has not laid down its arms. It is ready to launch new frontal attacks on the rights and conquests of the workers and to agree to any truce, any pact with working-class political forces, in order to prepare new reactionary coups.

b. It must be recognized that the secret to defeating reaction lies in the close alliance between the workers struggling in the factories and streets with the workers in uniform (the soldiers) struggling in the barracks. The latter refuse to participate in reactionary putsches and make it possible

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to isolate reactionary officers.

c. All the measures limiting the economic and political power of big capital that "lead to the construction of true economic, political, and social democracy" can only be (and have only been!) imposed by the pressure of the struggles of the working masses, their independent organization, their combativity, and their growing political consciousness.

These measures, therefore, can only result from the deepening of the anticapitalist struggle of the masses. It is the workers, with their autonomous struggles and organizations, who are the only real "guarantor and driving force of the revolutionary process."

d. In conclusion, it will not be through collaboration with the bourgeoisie and the parties that objectively and subjectively paved the way economically and politically for the March 11 reactionary attempted coup (like the PPD [Partido Popular Democrático—People's Democratic party] and the CDS, for example) that it will be possible to take new steps against the economic power of the capitalists themselves—such steps demanded by the workers as nationalization of big industrial and agricultural firms, and of foreign and wholesale trade; the land reform (giving the land to those who till it); the establishment of workers control over capitalist production and trade.

Consequently, only a *workers government*, a government of the working-class organizations and parties, based on the permanent mobilization and organization of the working masses will be able to combat reaction effectively and lay the basis for the abolition of capitalist exploitation and the construction of socialism.

5. The March 11 experience and what has followed it show the workers and the revolutionists that it is not possible to credit the armed forces and the MFA with the "role of guarantor and driving force in the revolutionary process," as the MFA's proposed pact puts it. The experience also demonstrates that we cannot hope for "the consolidation and extension of the democratic conquests already achieved" through such a pact. Finally, it shows that the parties really "pledged to such consolidation and extension" will be those that are based on the unity and independence of the workers' struggle for a socialist revolution, not on those practicing the route of class collaborationism.

6. Thus, more than stating our position on the content of the constitutional platform proposed by the MFA, we are concerned with making clear our principled position in the face of the *compromise on the level of principles* that was demanded from us.

But we do not want to pass over one concrete point—the preeminent central role

in political decision-making, according to the proposed pact, that the MFA and the CR are going to play in the constitutional structure of the country.

Regardless of the intentions of the authors of the MFA's and CR's institutionalization plan, regardless of the meaning that progressive elements of the MFA attach to such institutionalization or the results of such a process—insofar as it presupposes and is based on hiding the contradictions that irreconcilably pit the interests of the bourgeoisie against those of the proletariat, and on winning the working class and its organizations to the road of collaboration with the bourgeoisie (under the tutelage of the MFA)—the results of such a process sooner or later can only be the following:

MFA sanctioning of the regroupment and political reinforcement of capitalist reaction; the consequent recovery by the right of

the reigns of government, which will permit them to more and more limit the gains of the workers and block the development of the revolutionary process.

7. Thus, while we refuse to sign a pact with capitalist political parties, we address all progressive elements in the MFA with an appeal to strengthen their adherence to the anticapitalist workers movement, to come over to the camp of the workers and soldiers alliance, and to support the autonomous organizations of the soldiers in the barracks, their democratic rights of assembly, discussion, and unionization; to refuse to repress the workers struggling in the factories and streets; to combat all reactionary attempts—begun either inside the armed forces or outside of them—to launch any new reactionary coup against the rights and conquests of the working masses. □

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