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Mary Jo Hendrickson/Militant

Boston Antiracist March--a Big Success

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'The Permanent War Economy'

Kissinger's 'New' Foreign Policy

On April 29, a few hours after President Ford conceded the defeat of the puppet regime in South Vietnam, Kissinger held a news conference where he spoke in soft terms about a new Asia policy.

"We will soon be in consultation with many other countries in that area including Indonesia and Singapore and Australia and New Zealand," he said.

In those talks, Kissinger continued, "We hope to crystallize an Asian policy that is suited to present circumstances."

No matter how the policy review turned out, Kissinger said, the new policy must be realistic and long range. "Surely another lesson we should draw from the Indochina experience is that foreign policy must be sustainable over decades if it is to be effective."

Journalists were briefed further by what they described as U.S. officials "speaking privately." According to an Associated Press dispatch filed by Kenneth J. Freed, "these officials said American diplomacy in Asia has been staggering for the last two years."

The "development of a new, realistic Asian policy" is a "major task for the Ford administration."

While the new policy will seek to ward off "possible Communist adventurism," it will seek to "strengthen old ties and develop new ones based on mutual economic and political concerns rather than military accords."

In the succeeding weeks, this theme was echoed in the communications media. Kissinger's propaganda was obviously intended to placate the demands from all sides for an assessment of the costly experience in Southeast Asia. Thus the lullabies about junking the old policy that had failed and presenting the world with something new—a resolute turn away from reliance on military force and corrupt, dictatorial regimes.

In the Mayagüez incident, Kissinger and Ford not only showed their new policy to the world, they demanded that the world study it and consider itself to have been properly notified.

The Mayagüez incident itself will probably not be kept in the spotlight for long. The State Department will soon decide it is best forgotten. The facts now emerging from the smokescreen of lies laid down in the tradition of Nixon and Johnson point more and more inescapably to the conclusion

that a provocation was involved. How coldly calculated the provocation was can be judged from the mere fact that the Pentagon proceeded as planned with its bombers, helicopters, and landing of marines although the ship and crew had been released by the Cambodians after a routine check.

Dozens of dispatches from Washington as well as the entire conduct of the Ford administration have indicated that the "rescue" of the crew and the ship was the least of Ford's considerations. The only real danger to the crew came from the machine-gun fire and the tear gas the "rescuers" directed on the small boat in which the crew was being transported by the Cambodians.

The framework within which the Mayagüez incident should be fitted is indicated by the following rather typical observation made by the *New York Times* May 18:

"Ever since the American evacuation from Saigon, Administration officials had been saying frankly that America's international stature could be restored by a demonstration of strength. Secretary of State Kissinger has always believed and said that diplomacy works best when the other side's diplomats are aware that America's military strength is used when necessary.

"After it had been used in the Mayagüez incident, Mr. Kissinger said other nations should now be aware 'there are limits beyond which the United States would not be pushed.'"

Saber rattling, more properly bomb rattling, of this kind is a very old feature of American foreign policy, however it may contrast with Kissinger's pronouncements of only a few weeks ago. In this instance, to believe the leaks from the State Department, a particular country was the target. To again quote the May 18 *New York Times*:

"The Administration has been specific about one nation, North Korea, to which it would like to send a clear, strong signal since the defeat in Indochina. Now, they say, the signal has been sent: Don't make a move against South Korea without expecting American military retaliation. There are 40,000 American troops in South Korea, and the Pentagon considers American presence there vital to its whole North Pacific strategy."

Obviously there is nothing new about this policy. The "clear, strong signal" is that if

civil war breaks out in Korea, the Ford administration is committed to intervene militarily *precisely as Johnson and Nixon did in Vietnam.*

In fact, a sizable contingent of American troops is already stationed there for precisely that purpose.

The "clear, strong signal" is also intended for those in Congress who, in response to antiwar sentiment, have begun to talk about the advisability of withdrawing American troops from South Korea.

It is dubious that Kim Il Sung was the person Kissinger wanted to send a signal to. More likely it was the dictator of South Korea, Park Chung Hee. The message was: "Hang on. The Pentagon is still committed to back you to the end. With B-52s and all the trimmings."

Park happens to be in trouble, not from the regime of Pyongyang but from forces in Seoul. What Kissinger is worried about is the opposition movement inside South Korea, which is gaining in strength in its struggle for the restoration of democratic rights, and which has no doubt been greatly heartened by the victories in Cambodia and South Vietnam.

A popular mobilization powerful enough to bring down the Park dictatorship and restore democratic rights in South Korea would in all likelihood go much further. The situation is such that if Washington were to withdraw its support, Park would not last long, and the consequences might be of even greater moment than those in Indochina.

Thus the "clear, strong signal" was reaffirmation of the commitment of the Ford administration to back Park *precisely as it backed Thieu in South Vietnam and Lon Nol in Cambodia.*

Kissinger's new foreign policy thus amounts to no more than a military adjustment called for by the defeat in Indochina. American imperialism has now fallen back to a second-line perimeter. This perimeter, Kissinger stresses—and that is what all the celebration is about in Washington—will be defended with the same methods used further south on the Asian mainland.

The use of American military force to maintain foul puppet dictators like Park does not, of course, exhaust the resources at the disposal of the State Department.

In its network of far-reaching military alliances, Washington seeks to maintain a "low profile" in certain regions, depending on local reactionary forces to do the direct policing. An outstanding example is provided by the military dictatorship in Brazil. Others include the shah of Iran and the settler state of Israel. The European NATO powers play a similar role, although on a more independent basis.

One of the most important ingredients in Dr. Kissinger's prescription for keeping

Wall Street safe from revolution is the détente with Moscow and Peking.

For all the propaganda about the menace of communism that poured out of Washington in the final weeks of the debacle in Cambodia and South Vietnam, the moderation shown toward both Moscow and Peking was notable. Kissinger hinted again and again that the two powers, but especially Moscow, were doing what they could behind the scenes to assist the Ford administration in its plight. Kissinger acted as if he understood that both Moscow and Peking were doing their best, even if they were unable to deliver as much under the circumstances as he would have liked.

And the fact is that in many parts of the world—Portugal is a conspicuous example—Kissinger counts on the two Stalinist bureaucracies to assist in maintaining the status quo; i.e., doing what they can to hold back or to divert struggles that could develop into revolutions.

The détente remains one of the main elements in Washington's foreign policy.

Domestic political needs loomed large in the calculations around the Mayagüez incident. To quote again from the May 18 *New York Times*:

"The President, who says he will be a candidate next year, has been having serious trouble with the Republican right and conservatives generally, partially on the ground that the nation appeared weak in confronting Communism. The forceful display last week brought the loudest cheers from conservatives."

Thus the stunt pulled by Ford brought the flag-waving Buckley, Goldwaters, and Towers to their feet screaming with joy, as calculated. Ford, with a single daring blow, had restored the sadly battered prestige of the United States. There was presidential timber!

The right-wingers like Reagan, who have been maneuvering to do Ford out of the Republican candidacy in 1976, had no choice but to join in the celebration.

The cost of this ploy—as admitted up to date—was five marines dead, sixteen missing (and presumably dead), and at least seventy wounded. The Cambodian casualties are not yet known.

From the viewpoint of a candidate cast in the mold of a great president, like Nixon, that was a modest price to pay for a publicity stunt that might make the difference in assuring residence in the White House until 1980.

At the grassroots level in the United States a different judgment may be made. A populace that has had it up to *here* may begin using a tone thoroughly frightening to the Kissingers and Fords: "Throw the crooks out. But really throw them out!"

And the ordinary people in the rest of the world will certainly voice their approval of that sentiment. □

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The Truth About the Mayagüez Incident Begins to Emerge

By Peter Green

The real story of the Mayagüez incident is beginning to emerge. Although all the details are still not known, contradictions and cover-ups in the official account are coming to light. The May 18 *New York Times* had to concede that there was some evidence "the Administration was either confused in reporting what went on, less than candid, or both."

The truth is that the Mayagüez incident was a cold-blooded provocation.

Smarting from the humiliating defeat handed to them by the people of Vietnam and Cambodia and the international anti-war movement, the statesmen in Washington decided they needed a "success" to counteract the bad publicity.

According to *New York Times* correspondent Philip Shabecoff, "High-ranking Administration sources familiar with military planning said privately that the seizure of the vessel might provide the test of American determination in Southeast Asia that, they asserted, the United States has viewed as important since the collapse of allied governments in South Vietnam and Cambodia."

Since the liberation of Phompenh, the Pentagon has carried out daily reconnaissance flights over Cambodia. Small boats carrying Thai and Cambodian agents with bombs and radio equipment had been captured in Cambodian waters. On May 11 a fishing boat with a crew of seven was seized near Sihanoukville. Among the arms aboard were two 12.7 mm machine guns and a quantity of plastic bombs, grenades, and mines, together with a powerful radio set. On May 12 another boat was seized.

On May 3 a South Korean vessel in Cambodian waters was fired on in an attempt to get it to stop. On May 7 a Panamanian vessel in the same area was stopped by a Cambodian gunboat, but was released after being inspected.

Washington knew of these incidents, yet issued no warnings to its ships that Cambodia was enforcing its twelve-mile territorial-waters limit. Even if no special effort was made to encourage the Mayagüez to enter Cambodian waters, a decision must have been made by the White House not to warn the ship to change its course.

Reports differ on how far the ship had penetrated Cambodian waters. The White House said it was eight miles from Wei Island, the ship's captain said six and a half miles, and the Cambodians said about

three miles. But all agreed it was within the twelve-mile limit when it was seized by Cambodian gunboats on May 12 and taken to Tang Island, about thirty miles from the mainland.

According to their statement issued May 15, the Cambodians had "no intention of detaining it permanently," and "no desire to stage provocations. We only wanted to know the reason for its coming and to warn it against violating our waters again." The goal of the Cambodian coast guard was to "examine it, question it and make a report to higher authorities. . . ."

This account was confirmed by the captain and crew of the Mayagüez after they were released. Captain Miller said he was questioned about the ship's cargo and asked if he or crew members worked for the CIA or FBI. All the crew agreed they were well treated by the Cambodians.

"I hope any time any prisoners get taken they get treated as well as we did," said one crewman. "They fed us their food, then ate what was left."

The men were in danger not from the Cambodians but from the U.S. planes that attacked the boat taking them to the mainland. The captain reported they were strafed and bombed as much as a hundred times.

"They teargassed us. The first gassing wasn't too bad. . . ."

"The second time they dropped tear or nausea gas. Everybody vomited. Our skin was burning. A couple of men were struck by shrapnel." He described it as his "worst experience" in forty-two years at sea.

The ship and crew were released by Cambodia at 7:20 a.m. Cambodian time on May 15, an hour after the marines launched their assault on Tang Island, according to the Pentagon, and two and a half hours before the air strikes against the mainland.

According to Miller, almost twelve hours before the actual release the Cambodians had offered to let him take his first engineer and seven crewmen back to the Mayagüez to call Bangkok and ask for the attack to cease. (According to the official Pentagon chronology, the only attacks at that time had been the bombing and strafing designed to stop the Cambodians from taking the crew to the mainland.)

Miller said he decided against going because in the dark U.S. planes might have blown their small craft out of the water. The next morning the whole crew set out for the

Mayagüez aboard a boat manned by five Thai fishermen. They were picked up by the destroyer *Wilson*.

The Mayagüez incident was pounced on by Ford as an excuse to launch a savage attack against Cambodia. He called the seizure an "act of piracy," and threatened "serious consequences" unless the ship was immediately released.

In the past, U.S. ships violating territorial waters have been seized by the governments of Ecuador and Peru without provoking military retaliation by the Pentagon. *New York Times* columnist Anthony Lewis pointed out the difference, however.

"For all the bluster and righteous talk of principle," he said, "it is impossible to imagine the United States behaving that way toward anyone other than a weak, ruined country of little yellow people who have frustrated us."

To back up his ultimatum, Ford shuttled 1,100 marines to Utapao Air Base in Thailand and mobilized others while U.S. warships raced to the area.

The first action was the bombing and strafing of the patrol boats and the fishing boat carrying the crew of the Mayagüez. Eleven hours after the attack, the Pentagon announced that planes based in Thailand had sunk three of the boats and damaged four others. Some Pentagon sources said they were confident there were no Americans on the boats that were destroyed—others said they were not completely confident.

In fact the lives of the crew were a small item in White House reckoning. The crew might even have served the White House purposes better dead. According to a report in the May 15 *Washington Post*, "Senior administration officials hinted privately . . . that if the crewmen are killed or held hostage by the new Communist government of Cambodia, then 'punitive' military actions may be undertaken. . . ."

Not only did Washington allow very little time for a response to its ultimatum, but its attempts at finding a diplomatic solution were simply a charade. "How much time was allowed for diplomacy?" asked *New York Times* columnist Anthony Lewis.

"At 5:03 A.M. May 12, Eastern daylight time [eleven hours earlier than Cambodian time], Washington heard about the seizure of the Mayagüez. At 2:00 P.M. that day the White House announced the news and

began diplomatic efforts for release of the ship.

"The Cambodian communiqué said U.S. planes began strafing and bombing around the ship and islands about five hours after the White House announcement. The delayed United States report put the first air attack on Cambodian gunboats at 1:00 A.M. May 14, or 35 hours after diplomatic moves began. When were the first attacks? In any event we allowed less than a day and a half for a response from the untried and isolated government of a shattered country."

Washington's stated reason for attacking the patrol boats was to prevent the transfer of the crew to the mainland. The planners of the operation must have known that all or some of the crew had reached the mainland or the island of Rong Sam Lem nearer Sihanoukville, and that those who did not were most likely killed in the attack on the patrol boats.

Yet when Washington launched the next phase of its aggression, the attack on Tang Island by 200 marines, it still used the justification that the marines were searching for the crew. This "error" was pointed out by the crew after they arrived in Singapore.

"They hit the wrong island," one crew member said. "We were 25 miles away from the island the marines landed on."

"I guess the marines from the destroyer escorts were not informed," the captain said.

But the attack on Tang Island was no mistake. What did go wrong in the Pentagon's plans, however, was that the marine force ran into "unexpectedly stiff" opposition on the island. The marines were supposed to storm across the island, and "rescue" the crew, but all they could do was establish a beachhead and advance a few hundred yards.

Before the attack, the island was being described as a "rocky little island," or "little spit of land," but after the marines got bogged down it was described as heavy jungle. They had expected to find only about twenty persons, mostly old, on the island. They later estimated the defending force at 150 men, with one estimate running as high as 400. The Pentagon said it was unable to carry out sufficient "softening up" of the island, but announced that the largest American nonnuclear bomb, weighing 15,000 pounds, had been dropped on the island.

About one-third of the attacking force of marines were killed or wounded. The initial Pentagon reports listed only one dead and a few missing, but by May 18 the figures had crept up to five dead, sixteen missing and presumed dead, and seventy to eighty injured.

The captain of the *Mayagüez* said,

however, that there were already seven dead marines "on ice" aboard the destroyer *Wilson* when the operation still had eleven or twelve hours to run. There were even reports that some marines had been inadvertently left behind in the withdrawal.

The facts about the attacks on the mainland were also kept from the public as long as possible. First reports mentioned only one raid on Ream airport, but a Pentagon spokesman later admitted that a second raid had been carried out against an oil refinery near Sihanoukville. The purpose was supposedly to protect the marines "under heavy attack" on Tang Island.

On May 18 it was revealed that Washington had planned to use B-52 bombers against the mainland if the aircraft carrier *Coral Sea* had not arrived in the area in time.

On May 19 a Pentagon spokesman disclosed that U.S. planes had flown 300 strafing and bombing runs and had damaged seventeen planes in the attack on Ream airfield.

In fact, far from being a race against time to rescue the crew, the Pentagon's assault was a race against time to get its military might into operation before the crew was released without recourse to force.

According to a dispatch from Washington in the May 16 *New York Times*, "Statements by officials indicate that there is good reason to believe that the whole operation would have been carried out earlier if the

aircraft carrier *Coral Sea* and other fleet units had not been diverted by the South Vietnamese refugee operation.

"On Tuesday a senior Defense Department official said: 'We know what we have to do, we just have to wait until the means to do it have arrived on the scene.'"

Commentators are already probing the "discrepancies" in the different versions of the timing of the attacks. Anthony Lewis pointed out there was more to the actions than the official reason of saving American lives and property:

"At 8:15 P.M. May 14 Washington learned of a Cambodian broadcast offering to return the *Mayagüez*. At 9:15 the White House demanded the crew be released and promised to cease military action if it was. At 10:53 the United States destroyer *Wilson*, communicating from the scene, said a small boat was approaching with at least thirty white men aboard. At 10:57, nevertheless, United States planes bombed a Cambodian airport miles away. At 11:14 President Ford was told that all the crew was safe. At 11:50 United States planes bombed an unused oil refinery.

"That record speaks volumes. The last attacks, at least, could only have been punitive in purpose. They were designed to punish a 'little half-assed nation,' in Senator Barry Goldwater's elegant phrase.

"Bombing an unused refinery after the ship and crew were recovered: That's really big brave stuff." □

400 Attend Vietnam Victory Rally in London

LONDON—A black limousine flying the flag of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam drove into Red Lion Square May 8, carrying PRG representative Phan Thi Minh to a meeting of more than 400 persons at Conway Hall.

The rally, sponsored by the British Peace Committee, celebrated the victory in Vietnam. It also warned about the need for continuing efforts to counter the distortions in the British press about Vietnam.

After a brief speech by Charles Clarke, president of the National Union of Students, the audience loudly applauded a speech by Bob Cryer, newly elected Labour member of Parliament: "We must also remember the debt we owe not only to the Vietnamese, but also to the American people, who chased one president out of the White House because of Vietnam, and shook loose a whole network of corruption."

Cryer and Jo Richardson, Labour MP for Barking, called for Britain's full recognition of the PRG. Both MPs are members of the *Tribune* group.

Minh pointed to the importance of Wash-

ington's defeat and thanked all those in Britain who helped make Vietnam's victory possible. The rally gave her several standing ovations.

A representative of the National United Front of Cambodia (FUNK) told of the devastation created by the Pentagon's bombing. He said that "over one million Cambodians out of a population of seven million have died," and that a similar number have been wounded.

Lai Van Ngoc, the Vietnamese chargé d'affaires to Britain, spoke briefly about the need to "build a neutral, reunified, peaceful" Vietnam. □

When You Move...

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Demonstrations Score U.S. Attack on Cambodia

By Ernest Harsch

Washington's murderous attack on Cambodia to "rescue" the Mayaguez and its crew sparked an immediate protest in both Southeast Asia and the United States.

Demonstrators greeted the new U.S. ambassador to Thailand when he arrived in Bangkok May 14. They protested Washington's use of Thailand as a staging area for the attack. The signs they carried read, "American go home" and "Bastard Ford, get your troops out."

The National Student Center of Thailand, which organized the massive protests in October 1973 that toppled the military regime, accused Washington of using the Mayaguez incident as a pretext to intervene again in Indochina.

About 10,000 demonstrators marched on the U.S. embassy in Bangkok May 17, demanding that Washington apologize for launching its attacks from Thailand. According to a dispatch in the May 18 *New York Times*, the demonstration was organized mainly by student activists, including Seksan Prasertkul, a well-known student leader during the 1973 upsurge. Labor groups also participated in the action.

Some of the placards at the protest read, "Ford, how many wars did you start today?" "To Yankee from Thailand with hateful," "Ford, you are a dirty pig," and "Go to hell, bad Americans. This land is not for you."

The protesters hanged Uncle Sam in effigy and replaced the American eagle seal on the embassy with a drawing of a vulture, bearing the inscription "Bandit's Hideaway."

"Boys in the crowd jostled to urinate against the pillars of the embassy gates. . .," the May 18 *Washington Post* reported.

About 300 demonstrators picketed the embassy compound throughout the night. The next day the crowd grew to 2,000. The students held a trial of Kissinger and Ford, "sentencing" them to death, and burned Kissinger and Uncle Sam in effigy.

After meeting with a student delegation, Foreign Minister Chatichai Choonhavan informed Washington that he would recall the Thai ambassador if the White House did not make a formal apology within two days.

Thai groups in Southern California sent a joint telegram to Ford May 14. They denounced the landing of U.S. Marines in Thailand and said, "it is obvious you are attempting to draw us into another Indochina war."

They demanded that Washington "withdraw all marines from Thailand and all other U.S. military personnel immediately." A message was also sent to Thai Premier Kukrit Pramoj, urging him to "take a strong stand" by calling for the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. military forces.

Significant sectors of the Thai population favor throwing out the U.S. troops and military bases. They want no part of Kissinger's military adventures.

This pressure has forced the feeble regime in Bangkok to publicly condemn the use of Thai bases by the Pentagon. Kukrit has promised a "review" of all treaties with the White House and has said that all U.S. forces may be asked to leave.

The demonstrations in the United States were spontaneous and uncoordinated. Yet the speed with which American antiwar forces moved into action served notice on the Pentagon that much larger protests would soon be mobilized if the attack on Cambodia was not halted immediately.

On May 14, the day the Pentagon announced the assault, about 150 persons rallied at the University of California at San Diego. Fifty protesters turned out for an emergency picket line in Boston on one hour's notice.

The next day more than 500 demonstrators marched in a picket line at Times Square in New York City. A second protest in Boston drew 150 persons. Two hundred marched in a picket line at the federal building in downtown Chicago. Demonstrations also took place in Cleveland, Ohio; Ann Arbor, Michigan; and Bloomington, Indiana.

At an antiracist demonstration of 15,000 in Boston May 17, Maceo Dixon of the National Student Coalition Against Racism pointed to the irony of Ford's sending marines 10,000 miles to attack Cambodia while refusing to send federal troops to Boston to protect Black students from racist mobs. Black comedian Dick Gregory said the U.S. attack was like Muhammad Ali beating up a five-year-old child.

The National Peace Action Coalition, which organized the massive demonstrations that helped drive Nixon from the White House, issued a statement May 14. It said, in part:

"The National Peace Action Coalition appeals to the American people and to the worldwide antiwar movement to take action now to let Ford know that we will not stand

for a new round of senseless slaughter of Asians and American GIs.

"An emergency response of demonstrations, picket lines, and rallies can make our voices heard."

The "top United States official" aboard the plane carrying Kissinger to Vienna May 18 told reporters that Washington considered using B-52 bombers against Cambodia. The knowledge that such a move would have touched off big demonstrations in the United States undoubtedly weighed heavily in Washington's decision to keep the B-52s grounded. It was also a factor in the decision to end the military action quickly.

The immediate protests indicated that the antiwar movement had been alerted. They confirmed that Washington would have to pay a steep price if it escalated the attack.

Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid, the Socialist Workers party 1976 presidential and vice-presidential candidates, pointed to the strength of American antiwar sentiment in a May 15 statement.

"Ford's aggression was met with a swift response by antiwar leaders and activists in this country, including supporters of our campaign," they said. "This response helped demonstrate that the bipartisan consensus in Washington does not represent the views of the American people, and that further U.S. war moves would be met with a massive response." □

Nation of Immigrants

In explaining why he was "damn mad" about widespread opposition to his plans to resettle more than 100,000 Vietnamese refugees in the United States, President Ford said: "I am primarily very upset because the United States has had a long tradition of opening its doors to immigrants of all countries."

This statement must have come as a shock to the thousands of refugees forced to flee Chile after the CIA-engineered coup that overthrew the Allende government in 1973. Of the 6,900 persons known to have fled, a total of twenty-one were granted permission to settle in the United States.

Ignorance of Law No Excuse

STANFIELD, Ore. (AP)—The City Council here says if animals are going to multiply, they must do it in private.

The council has passed a nuisance ordinance which, among other things, prohibits sex acts by animals within view of the public.

If animals living in this farming community in northwestern Oregon violate the law, their owners may be fined not less than \$10 or sentenced to from two to 25 days in jail.

What Washington Did to Cambodia

By Dick Fidler

The evacuation of Pnompenh, ordered by the new government in Cambodia on April 17, has been seized upon by Washington officials and other representatives and defenders of American capitalism as a propaganda bonanza. They are using it to pose as champions of civilization and humaneness.

"An atrocity of major proportions," Kissinger told a May 12 news conference.

This "is no Cambodian aberration," wrote *New York Times* columnist William Safire, "but the path always taken by new Communist parties as they take power." It proves that "Communism is by its nature anti-city, anti-civilization, anti-freedom."

New York Post columnist Max Lerner spoke of the Communists' "hardness of heart" and of "man's inhumanity to man."

"Man's inhumanity to man"? What about the atrocities committed by Washington against the seven million Cambodian people during five years of savage and brutalizing war?

In April 1970, shortly after Lon Nol's coup, Nixon ordered the invasion of Cambodia allegedly to wipe out border "sanctuaries" of Vietnam's National Liberation Front.

The aggression spread the civil war throughout the whole of Cambodia. Within weeks, the rebel forces fighting Lon Nol held most of the provincial capitals and had isolated Pnompenh.

Few Western correspondents observed this stage of the war firsthand. But a dispatch from Pnompenh in the June 29, 1970, *Washington Post* spoke of the destruction of "a dozen or more important towns." It soon became clear that U.S. planes had been bombing more than "enemy supply lines" as claimed by Washington.

Nixon was forced to withdraw the American ground troops at the end of June 1970 under the pressure of massive antiwar protests in the United States. But bombing by U.S. warplanes continued.

In September 1970, Prince Sihanouk, in a public appeal against the U.S. intervention, reported that bombing, mainly by U.S. planes, had "already killed or mutilated more than two hundred thousand men and women civilians including old women and children." Sihanouk said that "eight hundred thousand refugees have fled to Pnompenh to escape death or atrocious napalm burns. . . . The rice paddies, the fields, the pastures are deserted." Sihanouk offered

"direct negotiations" with Nixon to end this "genocide."

But Washington continued to bomb large sections of the country. The saturation bombing reached a new peak of intensity two months after the signing of the Vietnam cease-fire accords. Writing from Pnompenh in the March 19, 1973, issue of the *Far Eastern Economic Review*, Elizabeth Becker described the effects.

"Villages barely scarred in three years of conflict were levelled. Rice paddies bordering strategic highways were charred and pocked.

"The fighting continues to plague these densely populated regions and the tactical air support has become more lethal. Refugees are pouring into Phnom Penh, leaving their homes in the lush Mekong River region to escape the raids. . . ."

Becker described the scene in Banam, a village recaptured by Lon Nol's troops after massive B-52 bombings. It was "deserted and in ruins. Its factories and markets were obliterated by US napalm and bombs. Banam had been captured and recaptured previously in the war, with little damage to the town; this reoccupation destroyed it."

In a statement issued May 10, the new government in Pnompenh charged that 600,000 Cambodians were killed and 600,000 wounded in the five-year war.

"Almost the whole country has been ravaged by the bombing," the statement said.

Western correspondents recently evacuated from Cambodia have provided graphic eyewitness accounts of the destruction.

On April 17, the day Pnompenh fell, Patrice de Beer of *Le Monde* drove along Route 5 north of the capital for about twenty kilometers.

"Up to the small market town of Prek-Phnou, where a headquarters we had not seen was said to be located, there was only limited destruction from the war," he said in the May 10 issue of the Paris daily. "After Prek-Phnou, it was a desert, overgrown by weeds and shrubs. The blasted trees stood charred, without branches. Not a house remained standing. A few families and groups of resistance fighters had sought shelter in the ruins."

The correspondents saw similar scenes during their three-day trip from Pnompenh to Thailand beginning in late April. In the May 9 *New York Times*, Sydney H. Schanberg described what it was like along Route 5 between Kompong Chhnang and the

border. ". . . we encountered a wasteland of broken bridges, abandoned fields and forcibly evacuated highway towns. . . ."

"Some of these areas we passed through had been badly bombed by the United States Air Force in the early years of the war. Fields were gouged with bomb craters the size of swimming pools."

In the May 11 issue of the London *Sunday Times*, Jon Swain described "a long-established Khmer Rouge collective village a few miles outside Kompong Chhnang."

"The war damage here, as everywhere else we saw, is total. Not a bridge is standing, hardly a house. I am told most villagers have spent the war years living semi-permanently underground in earth bunkers to escape the bombing. . . ."

"The entire countryside has been churned up by American B-52 bomb craters, whole towns and villages razed. So far, I have seen not one intact pagoda."

"It became necessary to destroy the town to save it." This statement by a U.S. officer in Vietnam came to symbolize the genocidal logic of Washington's war in Indochina.

In Cambodia, they destroyed virtually a whole country—in the name of "civilization" and "freedom." The monsters in the White House, the Pentagon, and the State Department should be the last in the world to accuse the victorious rebel leaders in Cambodia of "atrocities." □

Secret CIA Document on 'Restless Youth'

Within months after the May 1968 upsurge in France spearheaded by students, the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency commissioned a secret study entitled "Restless Youth."

A copy of the document was obtained by John Marks, coauthor of *The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence*. Portions of it were quoted in the May 14 *New York Times*.

The study, which was prepared in September 1968, is described in the *Times* account as an "erudite, if conservative, view of youthful militancy and radicalism around the world." It features an "up-to-date analysis" of antiwar activities that suggests "it had its own sources of information."

The anonymous authors of the study concluded that something more than a Communist plot was involved. ". . . the Communists can take little comfort from any of this," the study said, "even though Moscow and its allies may exact fleeting advantage from the disruption sowed by the dissidents."

"In the long run, they will have to cope with young people who are alienated by the more oppressive features of Soviet life."

How 'Militant' Helped Build American Antiwar Movement

By David Frankel

[The following article appeared in the May 16 issue of the *Militant*, a revolutionary-socialist newsweekly published in New York.]

* * *

When the August 18, 1945, *Militant* carried a banner headline declaring, "There Is No Peace!" it stood alone. Every other newspaper in the country hailed the allied victory in World War II as the dawn of a new age of peace and world harmony.

The aggressors had supposedly been defeated. The capitalist press—echoed by the Stalinists and Social Democrats—denied any predatory plans on the part of Washington and the other imperialist victors.

For the people of Vietnam, however, even sooner than for most others, it rapidly became clear that the end of World War II did not mean peace at all. They would have understood very well the *Militant's* warning that Paris fears "that Indo-China will fall either into the hands of the Anglo-American imperialist 'liberators,' or, worse still, the Indo-Chinese people."

Both fears were to be eventually realized. In the meantime, the *Militant* began reporting on the mass independence movement in Vietnam and the attempts of the French to suppress it.

From that day to this the *Militant* has established an unequalled record as a source of news on the Vietnamese struggle, as an exposé of the imperialist lies used to justify the war, as an educator on the nature of the system that produced it, and above all, as a campaigner for mass action in behalf of the rights of the Vietnamese people.

The *Militant* helped to encourage the development of the movement against the Vietnam War in the United States, it served as an organizer of that movement, and it was a forum in which the major political debates of the antiwar movement were explained and the issues clarified.

Sounding the Alarm

When U.S. troops were flown into Hanoi to break up an independence demonstration on September 12, 1945, the *Militant* sounded the alarm. An editorial in the October 6 issue explained:

"Throughout the Far East the masses are

beginning to rise against imperialist domination. They see no reason to submit once again to foreign conquerors. They want to choose their own form of government. . . . Thus, terrible and sanguinary struggles will wrack these lands if the imperialist powers try—as they surely will—to carry out their plans.

"It is the duty of the American working class to do its utmost to help these peoples in their fight for independence. Demand the withdrawal of Allied troops from these areas! Bring the soldiers back home!"

The next week, the *Militant* warned in a front-page headline, "Allies Prepare Slaughter In Java And Indo-China." The article said that although the French government was seeking a truce with the Vietnamese rebels, this was a maneuver to "trap the nationalist forces into passivity while the imperialists prepare to suppress the movement for national independence."

This was in fact what happened in Vietnam. A truce agreement was reached in March 1946, but by the end of the year, Paris had broken the accords. "French Drive Aims At Crushing Indo-China's Fight For Freedom," the *Militant* reported January 4, 1947.

First Indochina War

The long and bitter Indochina war was now in full swing. The *Militant* wrote: "French imperialism is throwing everything it has into the suppression of the Indo-Chinese struggle for independence: crack troops, including members of Hitler's Army who have been recruited into the Foreign Legion; air, naval and armored forces collected from all parts of the Empire; and first-class fighting equipment, most of it lend-lease in origin and American in manufacture."

In May 1950, Washington admitted that it had made secret agreements to arm and finance the faltering French forces.

"Without this American aid," wrote the May 15, 1950, *Militant*, "the French and their native puppets would have long ago been driven out of Indo-China."

The May 11, 1953, *Militant* warned, "We know from experience that where U.S. bombs, planes, tanks and guns go, sooner or later American flyers and infantry usually follow."

In fact, Washington revealed in February 1954 that military "technicians" had been

sent to aid the French war effort in Indochina. Two months later, then-Vice-president Richard Nixon threatened full U.S. intervention in Vietnam in a trial balloon that provoked such a big public outcry that the government had to repudiate the speech. Washington was left with no choice but to attend the Geneva conference on Vietnam along with Paris, Moscow, and Peking.

Betrayal at Geneva

The crushing military defeat inflicted on the French armies at Dien Bien Phu in May 1954 was not reflected in the settlement foisted on the Vietnamese at Geneva. As Joseph Hansen explained in the July 26, 1954, *Militant*:

"Another time bomb, that can set off the chain reaction ending in World War III when it blows up, was planted in Indochina July 21.

"This was the real meaning of the partition of Indochina that was agreed to on that day between Molotov and Chou En-lai, representing the Soviet bloc, and Mendes-France, representing the Western powers.

"The people of Indochina, who had complete victory in their hands after seven and a half years of heroic resistance against the combined weight of imperial France and Wall Street, were not consulted as to their wishes in the matter. They and their country were simply laid on the chopping block and carved up."

Hansen warned, "The artificial division of Indochina, like the division of Korea and of Germany, puts a new trouble spot on the map that will invite continual intervention.

"The Indochinese people themselves will continue to seek unity, Paris and Washington will both seek to recoup losses and bolster their position in this area. Each new flare-up will threaten to precipitate a worldwide conflict."

Kennedy Intervenes

Hansen's prediction was borne out when President John Kennedy began beefing up the U.S. forces in Vietnam and Thailand. By the end of 1961, U.S. troops were ordered into combat areas in Vietnam.

George Lavan wrote in the *Militant* January 1, 1962: "Without consulting Congress, without even informing the American people, President Kennedy has thrown U.S.

troops into the civil war raging in South Vietnam.

"Already American soldiers have been killed and wounded. First reported casualty was an unnamed enlisted man killed in action on Dec. 22. The flag-draped coffin bearing his corpse should soon be arriving somewhere in the U.S. This may well be the first in a long series of shipments for burial at home which became such a familiar aspect of American life during the Korean war."

The following week Lavan warned that Kennedy's escalation of the war "was just a small down payment on bigger troop commitments to come."

The *Militant's* predictions on Vietnam proved a good deal more accurate over the years than those of the analysts and "experts" employed by the capitalist government and media. Its message was summed up by staff writer Art Preis in the June 1, 1964, issue.

"There are no more cheap conquests for imperialism," Preis explained. "The days when the advanced capitalist countries could subjugate and exploit underdeveloped peoples with the use of relatively small military forces are long since gone. The American people are once more being taught this lesson the hard way. . . .

"As more and more of the facts leak out, the American people will learn that we have been dragged into a dirty, bloody, brutal and costly aggression against a people who have been fighting for 20 years for land and freedom."

Antiwar Movement

As the American people began to learn the truth about Vietnam, as Preis predicted they would, they took to the streets against the war, beginning with the student radicals. The growth of the mass antiwar movement was warmly welcomed by the *Militant*.

"Student Marchers Blazed a Path" was the headline of a front-page editorial in the April 26, 1965, *Militant*. The capitalist media, of course, was less than enthusiastic. It did everything in its power to knife the new movement, ignoring it as much as it could and, when that was not possible, running reports that distorted the movement's character and lied about its activities.

The *Militant* continued to provide news and analysis about the war itself, but now it also became the single best source for information on the activities of the antiwar movement, both in the United States and around the world.

"Join the March on Washington To Protest the Vietnam War!" urged the April 12, 1965, *Militant*. "Washington Parley and Mass March To Press Fight Against Vietnam War," was the Novem-

May 26, 1975



Hands Off Indo-China!

Militant/October 6, 1945

ber 15, 1965, headline. "Help Bring the Troops Home Now—Build the March 25-26 Protest!" said the *Militant's* front page in the March 21, 1966, issue.

"Int'l Vietnam Week shows rising antiwar militancy," declared the November 8, 1968, *Militant*. "A million marched in D.C. and S.F.," said the November 28, 1969, issue.

Year after year, issue after issue, the *Militant* hammered away at the imperialist war and the need to continue the fight against it. When Lyndon Johnson announced that he would not run for a second term in office and that he would seek to open negotiations with North Vietnam, the *Militant* replied: "LBJ Stalls and GIs Die—Get Them Out Now!"

When Nixon presented his so-called plan for ending the war following the 1972 elections, the *Militant* answered, "Out now, no conditions! Nixon's 'peace plan' a fraud."

And after the signing of the 1973 Paris accords, the *Militant* again insisted, "There will be no peace 'til U.S. gets out of S.E. Asia."

Who Was Right?

The apologists for capitalism tried to red-bait the antiwar movement, to dismiss it as unimportant, or both. On the eve of the first national antiwar demonstration in April

1965, the liberal *New York Post* attacked the protest as a "frenzied, one-sided anti-American show," but the 20,000 demonstrators who turned out and the movement they built showed who was "frenzied."

Commenting on the next national antiwar protest, in October 1965, *New York Times* associate editor James Reston claimed that the antiwar movement would never "force the American Government to give up the fight" in Vietnam.

A different view was presented in the November 22, 1965, issue of the *Militant*. "Is it possible for the antiwar movement as such to develop the power necessary to stop the war?" asked Socialist Workers party leader Fred Halstead. He answered:

"In my opinion the answer is yes. The antiwar movement in this country can be an important factor, perhaps the crucial factor, in ending the war. It can be that if it maintains clear opposition to the administration's war policy, insists on bringing the G.I.'s home, and if it proceeds to organize the tremendous potential which has only just begun to be tapped."

The *Militant* never lost sight of this perspective. Its tireless campaign to defend the Vietnamese revolution was a major factor in the development of the mass antiwar movement in the United States. The victory of the Vietnamese people is our victory as well, one that we can share with pride. □

SO THEY SAY

'But 'twas a famous victory'



CIA breakdown or CIA provocation?

"The disclosure of a Cambodian attack on a South Korean ship on May 3 and the detention of a Panamanian ship on May 6-7 sparked speculation that U.S. intelligence agencies had suffered a breakdown. . . .

"White House officials said they could not explain why the CIA and the National Security Agency did not raise the alarm after the Cambodian naval forays against the South Korean and Panamanian ships in the preceding 10 days.

"The CIA is responsible for foreign intelligence and the NSA reportedly monitors foreign broadcasts, including commercial shipping channels, to keep the President posted on such activities.

"At any rate, the U.S. government did not warn American ships of the potential danger in Southeast Asia waters or send any U.S. warships to patrol or escort U.S. vessels."—William J. Eaton in a Washington dispatch in May 14 *New York Post*.

Did they influence route of Mayagüez? "Administration officials, including Secretary of State Kissinger and Secretary of Defense James R. Schlesinger, were said to have been eager to find some dramatic means of underscoring President Ford's stated intention to 'maintain our leadership on a worldwide basis.'

"The occasion came with the capture of the vessel. While Administration officials emphasized that the first objective of the rescue operation was to save the American crew, they made it clear that they welcomed the opportunity to show that Mr. Ford had the will and the means to use American power to protect American interests."—James M. Naughton in a Washington dispatch in May 16 *New York Times*.

Dr. Strangelove's calculation? "High-ranking Administration sources familiar with military planning said privately that the seizure of the vessel might provide the test of American determination in Southeast Asia that, they asserted, the United States has viewed as important since the collapse of allied governments in South Vietnam and Cambodia."—Philip Shabecoff in a Washington dispatch in May 14 *New York Times*.

And unfriendly nations? "The mission of the ship was purely peaceful. The extension of trade with friendly nations was its only mission."—Michael R. McEvoy, chairman of the board of Sea-Land Service, Inc., which owns the Mayagüez. Quoted in May 16 *New York Times*.

Ford proves he's no paper tiger. "In fact, the Administration almost seems grateful for the opportunity to demonstrate that the President can act quickly despite the recent efforts by Congress to limit his authority for military action. Officials here have been bristling over a lot of silly taunts about the American 'paper tiger' and hope the Marines have answered the charge.

"The main thing that has happened, however, is merely that Uncle Sam went out of Cambodia and slammed the door, and while this has undoubtedly been a popular gesture, the task remains of preventing the Thais from inviting us out of there as well."—Columnist James Reston in May 16 *New York Times*.

Imperative to squeeze it for what it was worth. "Whatever other imperatives may have been working upon Mr. Ford, Secretaries Kissinger and Schlesinger and their associates, one surely was a desire to use the Mayagüez incident to demonstrate to new and old Asian governments that the United States still had the power and the will to protect what it regards as its interests in the Pacific and elsewhere."—Columnist Tom Wicker in May 16 *New York Times*.

The Nelson touch. "The British, of course, engaged in similar acts in the days when they ruled the waves. They call it the 'Nelson touch' after the exploits of their favorite sailor, Admiral Lord Nelson.

"The reaction of the United States appears on present evidence to have been both right and effectively executed," said the *The Times* of London. It said the rescue operation demonstrated that the United States had not lost the will to fight or the ability to mount a quick and effective operation far from its shores."—Alvin Shuster in a London dispatch in May 16 *New York Times*.

Inside a bully's skull. "But the responsibility to protect American lives is the President's and cannot be abdicated, and waiting could have caused great harm. We are not dealing with a superpower, where diplomacy is the only route and hot lines are in place; we are dealing with a mini-power whose leaders have shown no concern for human life and are not susceptible to the normal pressures of politics and economics."—William Safire, essayist, in May 15 *New York Times*.

Back uphill on high seas. The Cambodian seizure of the Mayagüez was an act by the Communists to "see whether or not we had gone completely downhill. . . .

"I hope that this will be a signal to the world at large that the U.S. does not intend to tolerate this kind of treatment. It's high time that the U.S. flag be flown on the high seas in such a way that these other nations know that the signal is hands off."—Adm. Thomas H. Moorer, former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Quoted in May 16 *New York Daily News*.

Plastic surgery . . . too much and too soon? The U.S. operation was an "over-reaction" that was "undoubtedly designed to rejuvenate America's prestige as a superpower after the colossal defeat suffered in the loss of Cambodia and South Vietnam."—*Al Hayat*, right-wing Beirut newspaper. Quoted in May 15 *New York Post*.

What allies were hoping for. It will "go a long way to restore the confidence of our allies and convince our adversaries that we will not be lightly pushed around."—Senator John Tower, Republican of Texas. Quoted in May 16 *New York Daily News*.

Helped put American chins up. "We have a certain interest in seeing the American trend to dejection and discouragement in foreign affairs come to an end."—An unidentified "West German Foreign Ministry official." Quoted in May 16 *New York Times*.

Takes potshot at Cambodia. If President Ford had not acted as he did, "every little half-assed nation in the world would be taking potshots at us."—Senator Barry ("Half-assed") Goldwater, Republican of Arizona. Quoted in May 16 *New York Daily News*.

Those war-making powers Congress took back. Senator Robert Byrd "and others in Congress expressed muted concern that Mr. Ford's decisiveness might have been at the expense of an obligation under the War Powers Act of 1973 to consult with Congressional leaders before committing United States forces to combat situa-

tions. The act, according to one of its architects, Senator Thomas F. Eagleton, Democrat of Missouri, obliges the President to 'at least hear out their advice' before rejecting their recommendations."—James M. Naughton in a Washington dispatch in May 16 *New York Times*.

Brainless geese. "... consider that when Ford entered the Cabinet Room yesterday to inform the assembled congressional leaders of his decision to use force to free the Mayaguez, the legislators—all veterans of similar sessions held by Presidents Johnson and Nixon during the Vietnam years—rose to their feet and applauded before Ford opened his mouth.

"They are like the goose in the barnyard honking at the rising sun, lacking memories and foresight. It is as if yesterday never happened and tomorrow will never come."—James Wieghart, Washington columnist, in May 16 *New York Daily News*.

How to win friends and influence people. "A failure by the United States to react swiftly and clinically will only invite further outrages against the persons and property of American citizens. I therefore urge the President to order immediate punitive air and naval attacks on appropriate targets in Cambodia."—Senator James L. Buckley, Republican-Conservative of New York. Quoted in May 13 *New York Times*.

Naturally. "When initial word came of the seizure of the Mayaguez, there was a push inside the National Security Council to punish Cambodia by B-52 bombing."—From Joseph Kraft's column in May 18 *Washington Post*.

Unquotable and unmentionable official confirms it. Reporters on the plane that brought Secretary of State Kissinger to Vienna from Washington May 18 were authorized to tell the public: "The United States was considering using B-52 bombers against the Cambodian mainland after the seizure of the freighter Mayaguez last week if the carrier Coral Sea had not arrived in the area by Wednesday, a top United States official said today."—Leslie H. Gelb in a dispatch from Vienna in May 19 *New York Times*.

What worked? "It worked. I'm glad it worked. It's certainly a plus for the country. It will strengthen our prestige throughout the world."—Senator Robert C. Byrd, Democratic whip. Quoted in May 16 *New York Times*.

Goes for massage with balm of Gilead. "He's etched a sharper profile in the minds of the people as a leader." While

there have been complaints, they were mild and did not diminish the psychological boost the nation had received, because Mr. Ford "applied the balm of Gilead to the wounds we suffered in our ignominious departure from Indochina."—John B. Anderson, third-ranking House Republican leader. Quoted in May 16 *New York Times*.

Definitive proof. "When it succeeds, it shows he was correct."—Senator Claiborne Pell, liberal Democrat of Rhode Island, commenting on Ford's policy. Quoted in May 16 *New York Daily News*.

Especially guts. "We have shown the world that we still have some guts and determination. Had we shown some fortitude such as this during the past 10 years, we could have easily won the war in Vietnam."—Rep. Carroll Hubbard (Democrat from Kentucky). Cited in May 16 *New York Daily News*.

Gives Ford benefit of doubt. "He tried every means of diplomatic initiative. I hope the Congress will see fit to give the President the benefit of the doubt and express support. I think the country will do the same."—Senate majority leader Mike Mansfield, Democrat of Montana. Quoted in May 15 *New York Post*.

Holds Ford held up. "I am sure the people will support the President and, if Congress is listening, I am sure they will, too. . . . He's shown he is a strong President and a man whose resolution held up under stress."—Senate minority leader Hugh Scott, Republican of Pennsylvania. Quoted in May 15 *New York Post*.

Keeps shirt on. "Let's keep our shirts on and see if they return the ship. I believe a little patience is deserved rather than cause an attack on the new Cambodian Government." The new government "may not realize what is involved."—Senator Jacob K. Javits, liberal Republican of New York. Quoted in May 13 *New York Times*.

Takes shirt off. "I have no doubt whatever the lives of the crewmen were more likely to be secured this way.

"My feelings are one of elation and gratification that we surmounted this danger. I think the War Powers resolution worked extraordinarily well in this action." Senator Jacob K. Javits, liberal Republican of New York. Quoted in May 15 *New York Post*.

A warning to puny nations. "President Ford and his top advisers knew better than most Americans that the recent debacles in Indochina have had a devastating effect on U.S. prestige in the world.

They knew that not only had the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China been further encouraged to 'fish in troubled waters,' but that even the puniest of nations wanted to make sport of kicking Uncle Sam in the shins. . . .

"It was against this sobering background that President Ford did what the circumstances demanded. I support him.

"It was Cambodia that foolishly stuck its snickering head too far into the mouth of a wounded tiger."—Carl Rowan, liberal columnist, in May 16 *New York Post*.

Suffers forking of tongue. The immediate outcome of Ford's military action was "welcome." But Congress cannot yet "judge the wisdom of the President's actions." Besides that, "We do not yet know whether there was an alternative in diplomatic efforts to the U.S. military action."—Senator Edward Kennedy, liberal Democrat of Massachusetts. Quoted in May 15 *New York Post*.

Precipitous but excellent. "I thought it was precipitous in view of efforts to try some diplomatic relief.

"It did seem the military action came so quickly after we asked the Chinese to help diplomatically. Fortunately, it seems to have worked."—Senator George McGovern, former presidential candidate of the Democrats. Quoted in May 15 *New York Post*.

We lucked out. "If this time we lucked out, we must somewhere along the line learn to slow down and use restraint. One of these days, the tendency to resort to military force may lead to total disaster for us and all mankind."—Senator Alan Cranston, Democrat of California. Quoted in May 16 *New York Post*.

Peking slaps Ford's wrist. "When an American ship invaded Cambodia's territorial waters, Cambodia took legitimate measures against the ship to safeguard her state sovereignty.

"But the U.S. went so far as to make an issue of the matter and sent planes to bomb Cambodian territory and ships.

"This is an outright act of piracy which should be strongly condemned by world public opinion."—Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien at a banquet in Peking. Quoted in May 15 *New York Post*.

Moscow tries not to rock détente boat. The Moscow press reported the Mayaguez incident but refrained, at least for the time being, from criticizing Ford's military adventure. The radio limited itself May 15 to reading a Tass dispatch from Washington.

"The evening television news program," according to Christopher S. Wren, the Moscow correspondent of the *New York*

Times, "made no mention of the incident, reporting instead preparations in Houston for the Soviet-American space flight in July."

Keeps up "peaceful coexistence." "In fact, the Soviet Ambassador, Anatoly Dobrynin, on the eve of his departure for Moscow in preparation for the Kissinger-Gromyko talks at Geneva, spent two hours in the garden of the British Embassy with Sir Peter Ramsbotham discussing the world situation after the Marines had attacked, and never even mentioned the Cambodian incident."—Columnist James Reston in May 16 *New York Times*.

Maybe Ford forgot about Thailand. "The Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Fumihiko Togo, told Japanese newsmen that 'judging from the reports, we think the action by the United States forces was to rescue her people from the piracy of the Cambodian side.' . . .

"Mr. Togo, in response to a question about the Thai protest against the United States for sending marines to bases in Thailand, said that 'maybe the United States did not have enough time to think about Thailand in order to rescue the Americans.'"—Richard Halloran in a Tokyo dispatch in May 16 *New York Times*.

Who's lying? "In Washington, State Dept. spokesman Robert Funseth said the U.S. government 'had been in diplomatic contact with Thailand on the situation.' Sources in Washington indicated that the U.S. Embassy in Bangkok had reached a private understanding with the Thai government, and that the Thais were speaking one way for the public record and saying otherwise in private."—Richard Blystone in May 15 *New York Post*.

Subtle lesson. "Another more subtle lesson emerges from the behavior of Thailand. Thai political leaders railed against the rescue operation in public and called for withdrawal of the U.S. force. Thai military leaders, privately, insisted that this country had to go in and rescue the ship and its crew—using force, and the sooner the better."—From Joseph Kraft's column in May 18 *Washington Post*.

Thailand for a freighter? "The private estimates, even in official quarters, are more modest than the public declarations. The rescue operation was melodramatic and successful, but the cost in Thailand, our last foothold in Southeast Asia, may be rather stiff. Robert Southey's old verse out of the *Battle of Blenheim* about sums it up:
"And everybody praised the Duke,
Who this great fight did win."
"But what good came of it at last?"

Quoth little Peterkin.

"Why that I cannot tell," said he;

"But 'twas a famous victory."

—Columnist James Reston in May 16 *New York Times*.

Thailand in Kissinger's back pocket. "Some State Department officials said today that relations with Thailand might deteriorate in coming weeks as a result of



Herblock/Washington Post

the embarrassment to the Government of Premier Kukrit Pramoj.

"But Mr. Kissinger believes that over the long run, the Thais, who are nervous about their security now that Cambodia and South Vietnam have fallen to the Communists, will appreciate the American action as demonstrating a willingness to act firmly."—Bernard Gwertzman in a Washington dispatch in May 16 *New York Times*.

Stars and stripes or skull and crossbones? A Thai Foreign Ministry official, commenting on reports that U.S. planes had sunk three Cambodian boats, called it "piracy" and "madness—an action taken with no thought for the consequences to Thailand."

"What if Cambodia decides to retaliate?" he asked. "It cannot retaliate against the Americans; they are too far away. But it can retaliate against Thailand, which is right next door."—From an Associated Press dispatch in May 15 *Washington Post*.

Shoot first ask questions later. "The list of unanswered questions is long: Why was the Mayagüez passing through disputed waters, particularly after at least two

incidents of unfriendly interference with other vessels had been reported in the immediately preceding days? Did the White House, after first news of the ship's seizure, exhaust all orderly diplomatic alternatives before moving in to recover the Mayagüez and crew by force? Was the force ultimately used the minimum necessary to carry out the rescue mission?

"The support which President Ford is now receiving from much of the public, including this newspaper, for having acted as decisively as he did is premised on acceptance of official statements that the Mayagüez was on a genuinely innocent voyage, and not fulfilling any intelligence mission as the Cambodian Government belatedly claimed. This aspect should be fully explored now, less suspicions and accusations arise to cast doubt on the whole incident.

"Was the dispatch of the Marines to Thailand absolutely essential to the rescue operation? This raised the affair's most troublesome political side-effect, and may yet undermine United States attempts to retain working relationships with the Government of Thailand."—From an editorial in May 16 *New York Times*.

That damaged image. The American action "may yet prove more damaging to the U.S. image abroad than any previous military adventure." *An Nahar*, independent Beirut newspaper. Quoted in May 15 *New York Post*.

Indonesians unimpressed. "The Mayagüez affair proves that the United States neglected big problems but aggrandized small ones.

"They abandoned their commitment to help thousands of Vietnamese but tried to save 39 people. This attitude is disliked in Asia."—Indonesian Foreign Minister Adam Malik. Quoted in a May 16 Associated Press dispatch from Jakarta.

You can say that again. The U.S. military operation "proved once more how much easier it is to get into a war than to get out of it."—*Politiken*, Copenhagen newspaper. Quoted in May 15 *New York Post*.

Swat happy. "In Madrid, a Spanish Roman Catholic daily newspaper published a cartoon of Uncle Sam swatting a fly, with the caption: 'From stupidity like this, the third world war could break out.'"—Quoted in May 16 *New York Times*.

Jerry and the pirates. "At the glamorous white-tie dinner the President and Mrs. Ford gave at the White House for the Shah of Iran and his Empress Farah, more properly called Their Imperial Majesties the

Shahanshah Aryamehr of Iran and The Shahbanou, elation was so thick in the air you could poke your finger through it.

"What brought it on was the combination of honoring one of the most powerful men in the world, the friendly Emperor of Oil, and the surge of much-needed national self-respect resulting from the President's decisive, courageous handling of the Cambodian crisis. When the shah, replying to the President's toast to him and his wife, mentioned the valiant manner in which Mr. Ford had gone about the business of getting our men and ship back safely, all of the 120 guests at the dinner burst into instant (and very loud) applause. Nothing beats a hero. How does it sound—Jerry and the Pirates."—From the column "Suzy Says" in May 18 *New York Sunday News*.

A toast from a world-famous hangman. "I congratulate you for the great leadership and the right decisions that you took for your country, and may I add, for all the peoples who want to live in freedom."—The shah of Iran at a White House dinner. Quoted in May 16 *New York Post*.

Finest defender of Uncle Sam's nose. "Cambodia was given ample time to relinquish the vessel voluntarily. But when diplomacy had clearly failed, Mr. Ford applied military measures without hesitation, throwing a weighted punch with sufficient power to achieve his objective quickly.

"In the process, he demonstrated to Cambodia and any other nation that might have ideas about tweaking Uncle Sam's nose, that the nation has not lost the capacity—nor the will—to respond swiftly and decisively when its interests are threatened.

"For Mr. Ford, this was unquestionably—**HIS FINEST HOUR**—as chief executive. The cool steadiness which he displayed throughout provided a welcome contrast to the behavior of the hedgers who were cautious and timid until the take-back operation succeeded."—From an editorial in May 16 *New York Daily News*.

Which doctor? Strangelove? "Overnight, by resolute and skillful leadership in the Mayaguez crisis, President Ford has seemingly moved from the doldrums of Hooverdom toward the vigor of Harry Truman. He made up his mind; he consulted political leaders; he acted; and he succeeded. Small as the incident may later seem in history, a polluting stain is being erased from the previous American image of lassitude, uncertainty and pessimism.

"This is a matter of world ideological concern as well as strategic balances because too many democracies are sick. The oldest, Britain, staggers toward disaster. People forget how long Italy has appeared

to be at death's doorstep. And the United States, leader of them all, for too long gave the impression of reeling both at home and abroad. Now a new vibrancy creeps into the picture."—From a column entitled "Just What the Doctor Ordered" by C.L. Sulzberger in May 17 *New York Times*.

Ford's stock soars on Wall Street. "The most important thing about President Ford's decision to send the Marines to Cambodia to retake the Mayaguez and rescue its crew of U.S. merchant seamen is not that it was a thrilling success. . . .

"In these last few days, the nation has seen another facet of the man. It is not that, like Richard Nixon, he will not permit himself to be pushed around. It is rather that there is a point at which he will not permit himself to be pushed around *unnecessarily*, and that when that point is reached, he will quietly, methodically, decently put aside compromise and send in the Marines. . . .

"Until the nation got this surprising glimpse of a dimension Mr. Ford had not previously revealed, the altogether obvious mood of the electorate, in the business community, on Capital Hill, and in the Democratic Party, was that Mr. Ford was already a lame-duck President. Around the

world, for all his reassurances to U.S. allies and warning to U.S. adversaries not to misinterpret the collapse in Southeast Asia, there was also developing the cynical belief that Mr. Ford could be pushed from hell to breakfast, and that adversaries should push while the pushing was good. . . .

"The reassessment of Mr. Ford must ultimately focus on what this jewel-like success does to the chemistry between him and the electorate, whether this first spark of confidence in his 'presidentialness' can be translated into broader support for his policies, and that broader support, in turn, giving the President the flexibility to be less cautious in dealing with 'political realities.' This success in Cambodia, after all, will be quickly forgotten, and will be a long-ago discounted memory a year from now if the economy is still in a shambles. . . .

"One swallow, of course, does not make a summer. But we're glad to see the one. A few months ago, Richard Nixon was indirectly quoted as having said, a few weeks before his resignation, that he worried it would take Jerry Ford two years to 'get up to speed.' At least it is now clear to us that he's shifted into second and is getting up to speed."—From an editorial in May 16 *Wall Street Journal*.

Ford Nominated for Doublespeak Award

On That 'Bloodbath' in South Vietnam

[The following proposal, made by a thoughtful reader of the *New York Times*, deserves wide support. It appeared as a letter to the editor in the paper's May 17 issue.]

* * *

I'd like to nominate Gerald Ford for the Ron Ziegler award for creativity in double-talk for his unabashed distortion of logic at his May 6 press conference. When questioned whether there have been any reports of the well-publicized impending bloodbath threatening South Vietnam and used as justification for "rescuing" 120,000 South Vietnamese, he replied:

"So we really don't have the same kind of hard evidence there that we have had in Cambodia. . . . But I think probably the best evidence of the probability is that 120,000-plus South Vietnamese fled; because they knew that the probability existed that if they stayed their life (*sic*) would be in jeopardy. That's the best evidence of what probably will take place."

Nice logic—we bring them out because of the bloodbath, and the fact that they left proves that there is going to be a bloodbath. It is akin to what the philosopher Wittgenstein gave as a sample of circuitry: A person not believing the news goes out and buys several more copies of the same paper to assure himself of the truth of the stories.

Mr. Ford noted that there wasn't "the kind of hard evidence" of a bloodbath in Vietnam that there was in Cambodia. When asked if there was *any* evidence, he replied, "Not at the moment, we do not." Another nice gem—no evidence at all certainly isn't "the kind of *hard* evidence."

Farley Katz
New York, May 7, 1975

Lima Lifts State of Siege

The military government of Peru reestablished constitutional guarantees May 7, lifting the state of siege that had been in effect since a popular outburst shook Lima February 5. The three-month suspension of constitutional rights is reported to have been the longest in Peru's history.

May 17 Antiracist March in Boston a Big Success

By Caroline Lund

On May 17 a significant blow was delivered to racist forces in the United States as about 15,000 persons from throughout the country mobilized in the streets of Boston to demand desegregation of the public-school system.

About half the participants in the militant demonstration were Blacks.

Smaller demonstrations took place on the same day in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; Los Angeles and Berkeley, California; Portland, Oregon; Seattle and Vancouver, Washington; and St. Louis, Missouri.

The Boston demonstration was called by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). Help in building the demonstration was provided by the National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR).

The NAACP, which has 400,000 members, is the largest and oldest civil-rights organization in the country. Whites are welcomed in the organization, but most of the members are Blacks.

The NAACP has long been considered one of the more conservative organizations in the Black community, limiting itself to fighting racial discrimination in the courts rather than through mass actions. The fact that it took the lead in calling the May 17 demonstration reflects the rising concern among Blacks at the increasingly blatant and terroristic displays of racism that have occurred in Boston and other major U.S. cities over the desegregation issue.

Although the national NAACP obviously did not go all out to mobilize its members, it did bring delegations from scores of cities across the country—from major industrial centers like Detroit, Cleveland, Newark, Chicago, Birmingham, Pittsburgh, and Akron, and from much smaller towns. They came from as far as California, Texas, Mississippi, and Utah.

The National Student Coalition Against Racism was formed at a conference of 2,000 youth in Boston in February. NSCAR has the support of the leadership of the National Student Association (an organization to which many college and university student governments are affiliated) and of many Black student organizations across the country.

NSCAR did much of the legwork in building broad support for the demonstration—from church groups, various trade unions, Puerto Rican organiza-

tions, women's organizations, and many political groups.

The main demand of the May 17 march and rally was "Desegregate the Boston schools now!" The struggle over school desegregation is nationwide. It has been building up for years and is being fought out in the courts and in the streets.

A popular slogan on the march was: "Twenty-one years is long enough!"—a reference to the 1954 U.S. Supreme Court decision outlawing racial segregation of the schools. The 1954 decision, saying that segregated schools were inherently unequal, helped give momentum to the civil-rights movement in the 1960s. This movement began in the South, where segregation of schools and other public facilities was enforced by law. It took the form of mass demonstrations, sit-ins, "freedom rides" to challenge segregation in travel facilities, and similar actions. This movement succeeded in wiping out the "Jim Crow" segregation laws.

The civil-rights movement also had an impact in the North, where racial segregation in schools, housing, and other areas was not written into laws but was enforced through more subtle methods. Mass demonstrations and school boycotts by Blacks occurred in 1963, 1964, and 1965 in a number of big northern cities including Boston.

In the late 1960s some concessions were won in the form of court-ordered plans to break down de facto segregation of the schools. Since Blacks were generally segregated into separate neighborhoods, the only way to desegregate the schools was through transporting children in buses.

Over the past several years, many Democratic and Republican party politicians have been waging a campaign against busing for school desegregation. The antibusing drive is part of an offensive aimed at beating back the gains that have been made by the Black struggle for equal rights. With the deepening of the economic crisis, this drive has intensified. The goal of the ruling class is to make Black people the scapegoat for the declining living standards of the working class.

In Boston this racist offensive has taken its most vicious form, with the mobilization of right-wing gangs of whites to terrorize Black children being bused into schools in the white areas. The antibusing forces have branched out in other reactionary direc-

tions, breaking up women's rights meetings and organizing in opposition to the right of women to abortion.

The antibusing organization in Boston—called ROAR (Restore Our Alienated Rights)—has the support of most of the city's top politicians, who are all Democrats. This organization, which has stoned and almost lynched Black students, holds meetings in the Boston city government chambers.

Although Boston has been the focal point of the school desegregation struggle because of the virulence and strength of the antibusing forces, the confrontation over busing is a national one. Similar struggles are brewing, or have already broken out, in such cities as Detroit; Pasadena, California; Philadelphia; New York; and Denver, Colorado.

The right-wing forces are organizing nationally as well. On the same day as the NAACP demonstration, ROAR was holding a convention in Boston in an attempt to found a national antibusing organization. However, the racist group managed to mobilize only about 3,000 persons at a rally on May 18.

One of the best-received speeches at the NAACP rally was by Maceo Dixon, a national coordinator of NSCAR. Portions of Dixon's speech were carried on a nationwide television network. He stated, "This demonstration today is the kind of answer we have to give [the racists]. Massive countermobilization to secure and extend Black democratic rights in this country is the only method of struggle that can successfully end the injustices that we suffer as an oppressed people."

Describing the National Student Coalition Against Racism, he said, "NSCAR is a broad-based student and youth organization. We are open to youth who want to fight all forms of racism. All youth can join us, whether you are a student or not, whether you are religious, a Democrat, Republican, Socialist, Communist, or whatever."

He continued, "We're composed of Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Asians, Chicanos, and white youth. . . . But we make a special appeal to Black youth, particularly students. Blacks have to take the lead in this struggle because we are the primary victims of racism.

"So we have to fight back the hardest, because it's in our interest and we have

nothing to lose but our chains of oppression."

One of the themes that ran through several of the speeches at the rally was opposition to President Ford's invasion of Cambodia.

Dixon received loud applause when he said, "If Ford can send bombers, troops, and ships to attack Cambodia in violation of the Cambodian people's human and political rights—which we should all strongly oppose—he should be able to send troops and tanks to Boston to enforce the law.

"Send those troops and tanks to Boston to enforce the law and protect Black children from racist lynch mobs!"

Thomas Atkins, president of the Boston NAACP, was warmly received by the crowd, especially by the Blacks from Boston, who see the local NAACP as the only organized force standing up to the reactionaries. Roy Wilkins, head of the national NAACP, spoke briefly. Other speakers included religious figures, comedian Dick Gregory, student leaders, and NAACP officials.

The antibusing forces made no serious attempt to disrupt the march or rally. To assure that the demonstration could take place peacefully, NSCAR and the NAACP organized more than 700 marshals, who carried out their task with a high degree of efficiency and political good sense.

The bulk of the marshals had been recruited by NSCAR. Many were students—Black and white—from the Boston area, with some coming in on buses from other cities.

The demonstrators were in no mood for any ultraleft or right-wing provocations, and this, along with the visibly well-organized marshals, would have discouraged any group thinking about trying to disrupt the line of march or to attack the speakers platform.

The only incident occurred when a group of nine men tried to provoke a fight as the rally started. The group was identified in the *Boston Globe*, a bourgeois daily, as from the National Socialist [Nazi] White People's party. They threatened several demonstrators, unfurled a sheet with the words "NAACP=Communism" scrawled on it, and set fire to some papers, including a copy of the revolutionary-socialist weekly the *Militant*.

Within minutes marshals from the demonstration surrounded the Nazis, and they were subsequently led away by police.

Another incident occurred on the evening after the demonstration, when four Nazis in uniform (white helmets, brown shirts, black boots, and red swastika armbands) tried to break into the building housing the headquarters of the Socialist Workers party and the Young Socialist Alliance. The two

organizations had been deeply involved in building the May 17 demonstration. When the headquarters turned out to be occupied by more socialists than the Nazis had anticipated, they stopped trying to kick in the door, and drove off in a car.

The SWP and YSA are planning a news conference to demand that city authorities apprehend the attackers.

Following the march and rally, about 425 young people stayed in Boston to attend a national steering committee meeting of NSCAR to plan for the future. The NSCAR activists voted to plan "a week of antiracist activities from July 28–August 3 focusing on the school desegregation fight in Boston but also taking up other struggles going on across the country." The steering committee also called for a focus of activities in late August and early September, when high schools open for the new school year.

The likelihood is that there will be new confrontations with the antibusing forces at that time, not only in Boston but in other cities. In Boston, a new busing plan, involving more students than have been bused this year, will go into effect in September.

NSCAR also voted to hold its second national convention in October.

Apart from the Socialist Workers party and the Young Socialist Alliance, none of the various radical organizations gave unequivocal support to the May 17 action.

The attitude of the pro-Moscow Stalinists of the Communist party and the Young Workers Liberation League was indicated in a statement by the YWLL about three weeks before the demonstration, withdrawing its previous endorsement of NSCAR. The YWLL claimed to support the demonstration, but slandered and red-baited one of the two main organizations building the action.

The Stalinist youth organization charged that the YSA "dominates (and always has) NSCAR from top to bottom." This would have been strongly disputed by most of the 2,000 activists, holding a variety of political views, who in fact founded NSCAR at its February convention, and by the many more antiracist youth who have joined in, and helped lead, its activities since then.

The other pretext was the YWLL for withdrawing its support was NSCAR's supposed failure to mobilize white youth. Their statement said: "Key to conducting an effective struggle against racism is developing an approach to win white youth to see that the poison of racism is not in their self-interest. To involve white youth in the struggle against racism is the only real and principled way to build Black-white unity."

Apparently NSCAR was mobilizing too many Black youth, in the opinion of the Stalinists. At NSCAR's founding conference, the YWLL spokespeople said their position was that white people have a

"special responsibility" for the fight against racism. Now their real position becomes clear: They *oppose* an organization like NSCAR that makes a special appeal to Black youth, and is led by Black youth, because they fear its militancy.

Following the February conference of NSCAR, the *Daily World* carried a three-part series by YWLL leader Matty Berkelhammer attacking the YSA and the positions of Leon Trotsky for advocacy of uncompromising opposition to racism in the American working class.

Berkelhammer's articles were answered in a series of articles in the *Militant* by Ginny Hildebrand, national organizational secretary of the Young Socialist Alliance. Hildebrand detailed the record of betrayal of the American Stalinists in relation to the struggle against racism. This included the CP's opposition to any struggle by Blacks during World War II, the Stalinists' support for the racist internment of Japanese-Americans during the war, their consistent subordination of the Black struggle to support for Democratic politicians, their attacking Malcolm X as "ultrareactionary."

Apparently the Stalinists did not relish having the young people around them—especially the Blacks—working in the same organization as YSA members and being exposed to such political discussions.

Most of the pro-Peking Stalinists—the October League, Revolutionary Union, and a variety of other small groups—boycotted the demonstration. The Revolutionary Union, the largest Maoist group, has opposed busing for school desegregation, and opposed the probing demonstration of 12,000 in Boston last December.

The October League (OL), which participated in the December 14 action, this time came out in opposition to the antiracist mobilization. According to the May 21 issue of the Maoist weekly the *Guardian*, the October League claimed that "this march represents the assimilationist wing of the Black bourgeoisie, led by the NAACP. . . ." The OL also labeled the busing as "forced assimilation" of "third world people."

Various sects claiming to be Trotskyist sold their newspapers as sideline critics of the demonstration.

Marching in the demonstration were Peter Camejo, SWP candidate for president of the United States, and Norman Oliver, SWP candidate for mayor of Boston. A leaflet passed out by supporters of Oliver's campaign stated: "The Socialist Workers Party candidates in the Boston municipal elections welcome the thousands of people marching in Boston in support of school desegregation. We are proud to be a part of this movement.

"If elected, the first thing we would do is to implement the desegregation of all Boston schools by any means necessary." □

Maoists Twist and Turn Over Peking's Support to Shah

By Parviz Nia

A debate is being carried out by the major Maoist groupings in the United States, with the participation of Iranian Maoists, in the pages of the *Call*, monthly newspaper of the October League (Marxist-Leninist); *Revolution*, monthly organ of the Revolutionary Union; and the weekly *Guardian*. The debate has centered on the nature of the shah's "anti-imperialist" regime, the shah's role in the Middle East, and the characterization of the national liberation movements in Iran and the Arab-Persian Gulf area.

The debate was prompted by the October League's staunch adherence to the foreign policy of the Communist party of China (CPC). For example, the September 1973 issue of the *Call* reprinted a Hsinhua News Agency press release reporting the shah's visit to the United States in July 1973, under the title, "Struggle With Soviet Union Key to Shah's Visit." The dispatch reported the shah's request for more arms aid from Washington without comment.

The OL's open support to the shah has alarmed other Maoist groups, who fear that its policy will discredit the CPC in the eyes of revolutionists, especially Iranian activists in exile in the United States and Europe.

The Revolutionary Union expressed this fear when it stated in the August 1974 *Revolution*, "In fact, by using China as a cover for their rightist line, OL is aiding the Trotskyites and revisionists who are vehemently attacking the Chinese and the international and revolutionary united front line the Chinese have been instrumental in developing."

The OL, RU, *Guardian*, and Iranian Maoists participating in the debate all agree on the programmatic objective of forming a "worldwide united front against imperialism." Moreover, they agree on the leadership role that Peking has in this "united front," which includes progressive as well as reactionary regimes, as long as their actions "objectively weaken the superpowers," in other words, Washington and Moscow.

Despite their agreement on this vague and abstract objective, they are divided on the actual formation of the "united front." The main question in the debate has become: Who is "anti-imperialist" and who is not.

Each group has its own formula for settling this question and pins such labels as "revisionism" and "great-nation chauvinism" on the other groups.

The OL defends its policy of supporting the shah on the grounds that the "united front" must be built on opposition to Washington or Moscow or to both. According to the OL, the shah is at least opposing the "social imperialists" of the Soviet Union and therefore belongs in the "anti-imperialist united front" and should be supported.

By focusing on the shah's "struggle" against the Soviet Union, the OL ignores the repression in Iran today as a "secondary contradiction."

A supporter of the OL, in a letter to the editor published in the February 1975 *Revolution*, defended the OL's position by stating, "Our role, and the role of the people of Iran, is to force him [the shah] to choose the anti-imperialist side."

The writer then indicated which "imperialism" the shah should be against: "It is Soviet social imperialism which is most threatening the sovereignty of the Persian Gulf states now, it is this imperialism which is on the rise, while U.S. imperialism is on the decline, and it is this imperialism physically encircling the People's Republic of China, and which China has labeled 'especially vicious.'"

The OL has gone so far as to label the national movements in Iran and the Arab-Persian Gulf as "puppet secessionist movements" fostered by Moscow.

In reply to the OL's defense of its dogmatic adherence to Peking's foreign policy line, the RU wrote in the August 1974 *Revolution* that "while it is necessary and correct for the People's Republic of China and the Chinese Communist Party to make certain agreements and compromises with imperialist and reactionary states, primarily to make use of contradictions between the two superpowers and in that way strengthen the overall united front and the people's struggle for liberation and socialism, it is not correct for communists in other countries, including the U.S., to do the same thing."

An Iranian Maoist, in a letter printed in the December 1974 *Revolution*, wrote that "instead of understanding the foreign policy of revolutionary China, it [OL] simply regurgitates CPC's positions; instead of making an analysis, it copies, and how horribly at that!"

The RU and the Iranian Maoists would prefer to raise two flags, one to show to the

Chinese Stalinists and one to show to the Iranian exiles and revolutionists in the United States. Instead of breaking with Maoism, they are trying to falsify its positions as long as they can.

While the RU voices what it thinks of the danger in the OL's policies, the *Guardian* is more devious. It offers "theoretical guidance." According to the *Guardian*, the OL's mistake lies in its conception of the "united front." Rather than opposing just one of the "superpowers," the *Guardian* declares that "a front . . . must be waged against both the U.S. and USSR (not joining one to fight the other). . . ."

The "united front against imperialism," which all Maoist groupings—U.S., Iranian, or other—accredit to the Chinese bureaucracy, is nothing but Stalin's old bloc of four classes. It is used to justify and set a programmatic seal of approval on the CPC's support to reactionary regimes—whether they are against one or both of the "superpowers"—and its betrayal of liberation movements around the world, from Vietnam and Chile to Dhofar and Bangladesh.

This "united front" has nothing in common with the Leninist concept of a united front, or anti-imperialist front, formed to achieve specific goals, in which the revolutionary organizations of the proletariat maintain political independence.

The CPC's characterization of the bourgeoisies of imperialist or semicolonial regimes as "anti-imperialist" is highly dubious.

The OL argues that since Iran is a third-world country struggling for its national independence, the shah is "anti-imperialist." Even by this Stalinist logic, the national liberation movements within Iran and the Arab-Persian Gulf area would also be anti-imperialist. But the OL slanders these movements instead.

In the October 1974 *Call*, the OL said, "Like the Hitlerites of 40 years ago, the U.S.S.R. uses the secessionist sentiments of various oppressed peoples to split smaller countries and further their rivalries with the other superpower. . . ."

" . . . Trying to meddle in the internal affairs of other countries, they have fostered puppet secessionist movements in Baluchistan and Khusistan and other places, aimed at weakening Iran, toppling the Shah and bringing the Gulf under their sway."

The case of the RU and the *Guardian* is no better. They have chosen to keep silent about Peking's support to reactionary regimes.

In response to the charges by the OL that the Dhofar liberation movement is a "puppet secessionist movement," the theoreticians of the *Guardian* stated in an editorial in the March 5, 1975, issue, "If such were

really the case, solidarity with and support for the Dhofar revolutionaries by other peoples and Marxist-Leninists would be unwarranted.

"But the fact is that all Marxist-Leninists including, of course, Peoples China, support the just struggle of the people of Oman against the reactionary Sultan, the Shah of Iran and their U.S. and British overseers."

The *Guardian* theorists, as well as the RU and the Iranian Maoists, are thus reduced to falsifying Peking's positions and covering up for its betrayal of the struggles in Dhofar and other countries. They do this to make Maoism more palatable to their supporters and turn aside the questions that some Iranian activists may be raising about Peking's opportunistic foreign policy.

Five Journalists From Abroad Interviewed by Lisbon Daily



Jornal Novo

From left to right: Gerry Foley of "Intercontinental Press," two interviewers from "Jornal Novo," Joelle Kuntz of Swiss Radio, Dominique Pouchin of "Le Monde," and René Backman of "Le Nouvel Observateur." Edi Clisisters of "De Nieuwe" is not included in photo.

The international press was a very visible part of the political scene in Portugal during the campaign preceding the Constituent Assembly elections on April 25. Nearly 2,000 reporters came to cover the political process in the small and long isolated country. So, naturally some Portuguese journalists thought it would be interesting to turn things around and listen to the impressions and opinions of their colleagues from abroad.

Lisbon's newest and most innovative daily paper, *Jornal Novo*, organized a round table with representatives of liberal and left publications. The participants were Gerry Foley from *Intercontinental Press*, René Backman from *Le Nouvel Observateur*, Joelle Kuntz from Swiss Radio, Dominique Pouchin from *Le Monde*, and Edi Clisisters from the Flemish magazine *De Nieuwe*. They were questioned by members of the *Jornal Novo* staff.

The first thing the Portuguese staff members wanted to know was how their foreign colleagues interpreted the Pact-Program that the Armed Forces Movement had obliged the reformist and bourgeois

parties to sign, guaranteeing continuation of military dominance of the government.

Foley said that the Armed Forces Movement is a bourgeois leadership that is trying to consolidate a dictatorial position, the aim being to carry out a necessary rationalization of the capitalist system in Portugal. In this process, it would have to use force both against the most militant sections of the workers and poor masses and against the right.

He stressed the dangers of such an operation by a demagogic regime in the present conditions: "This combination of military power with democratic forms cannot last very long. It cannot effectively contain the mass movement and reassure the bourgeoisie." Only a party and a government directly and faithfully representing the workers could defend the democratic gains won after the fall of the Salazarist regime.

Kuntz pointed out that the military does not really lead the process, while Backman held that the nationalizations had in fact done nothing to change the position of the workers in the industries affected.

Pouchin noted that when the Armed

Forces Movement tried to use its authority against mass mobilizations it often ran into violent resistance: "I remember a popular educational session, in Setúbal, I think. A representative of the Armed Forces Movement said that the houses that had been occupied had to be evacuated because these occupations could only help the reactionaries. . . . The roof nearly blew off."

The correspondents' remarks were published in *Jornal Novo* April 24, the day before the elections.

The fact that such a frank discussion of the Portuguese government and its objectives could be published in a major paper on the eve of a key test of strength for the regime testifies to the democratic ferment in the country. After nearly fifty years of draconian censorship, the best elements of the Portuguese press are determined to maintain an open forum for ideas despite increasing pressures both from the government and from the Communist party. This has been made more difficult by the fact that the CP has used its apparatus and bureaucratic influence to capture most of the daily papers in Lisbon. □

Coral Completes Two-Month Speaking Tour in United States

By José Pérez

NEW YORK—Argentine socialist leader Juan Carlos Coral successfully completed his two-month speaking tour of the United States with an April 30 city-wide meeting here of more than 300 people at the church of St. John the Divine.

As has been the case at many of his meetings, there was a sizable percentage of enthusiastic young Latinos in the audience who interrupted his talk several times with applause even before the interpreter had a chance to translate into English what Coral was saying.

Coral, a leader of the Argentine Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers party), spoke on repression and right-wing terror in Argentina. He not only denounced the right-wing violence that has taken several hundred lives in the past year in Argentina, but he also explained the real causes of this violence and his opinions on how it can be combated.

He said that the capitalist press and ruling classes of Latin American and imperialist countries systematically cover up not only the facts of repression and violence in his country but also the roots of these antidemocratic attacks.

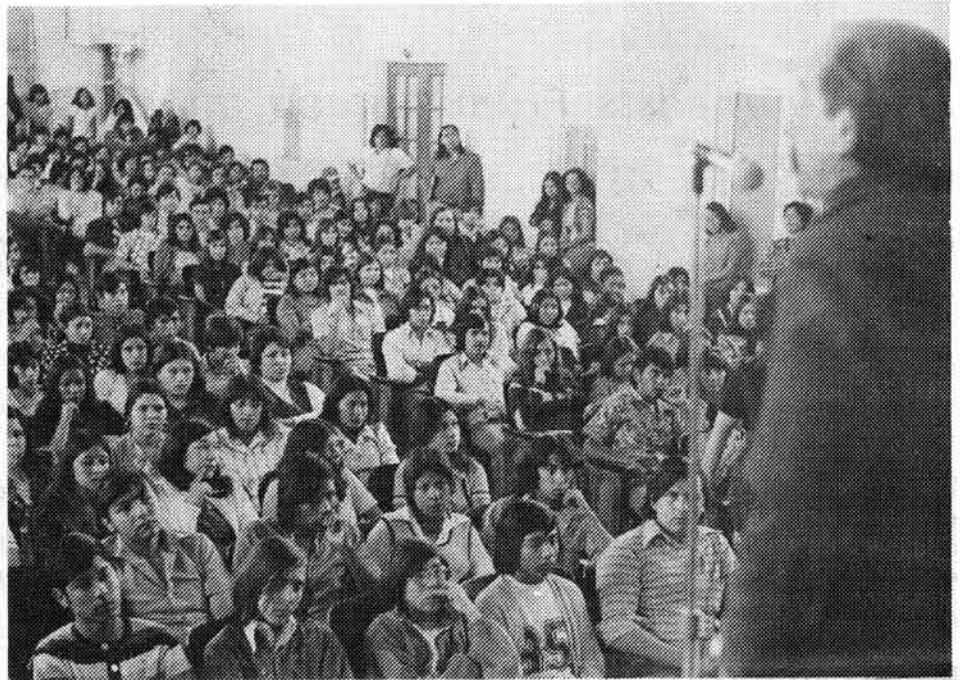
He pointed out that the repression and right-wing terror are intended to silence those who fight against the imperialist exploitation of semicolonial countries. "It is the last desperate resource of the capitalists," he said, "when they can no longer fool the workers with propaganda." These remarks were met with warm applause.

But the loudest and most sustained wave of cheering and applause came when he pointed to the example of the Vietnamese as proof that the working and oppressed people of semicolonial countries would be victorious despite government repression, right-wing violence, and U.S. military intervention.

Role of USLA

Since it was his last appearance in this country, Coral used the occasion to thank publicly the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners, which had organized the tour as part of its ongoing work in defense of democratic rights in Latin America.

He also appealed for further international protests around Argentina, pointing to the example of Chile as proof of the effectiveness of such activities:



Manuel Fuentes/Militant

Coral addressing high-school audience of 500 in Crystal City, Texas.

"When the brutality of the Chilean junta temporarily succeeded in crushing all resistance within that country," he said, "it was only the activities of international solidarity carried out by groups like USLA and Amnesty International that led to such important victories as the freeing of hundreds of political prisoners."

Coral denounced the growing danger of a right-wing coup in Argentina and said this "even more somber and tragic possibility" necessitated a redoubling of international protests.

Coral also used his last meeting to offer some personal impressions of the country gathered while he was on tour. He pointed to the Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and other Latinos, saying that the upsurge of nationalist consciousness among them was part of a continent-wide phenomenon.

"The Latin American masses," he said, "have begun to lose the old inferiority complex imposed for centuries by the ruling classes and have exchanged it for a new feeling of national pride and affirmation in being Latin American."

He also said he had been pleased to find a wide layer of people in the United States who were interested in Latin American

politics and willing to protest events such as those occurring in his country today.

Coral finished his remarks by saying he would be returning to Argentina now that the tour was over, despite the fact that he is one of the few remaining survivors of the original list of several dozen "sentenced to death" by a right-wing terrorist gang, the Argentine Anticommunist Alliance.

He said he was doing this "not because I am unconscious of the danger and much less because I am a hero," but because he felt it was his duty to participate in the struggles of the Argentine working class, and because he was convinced the working and oppressed people in Argentina would win.

Coral was introduced at the meeting by Annette Rubinstein, a member of USLA's National Executive Board who first became active in support of civil liberties around the issue of Spain in the 1930s.

Gloria Waldman, a professor of Latin American and women's studies at York College in New York City, spoke about the frame-up of several feminists in Spain. She had just returned from Spain, where she interviewed the women.

Ramón Leonardo, a protest singer from

the Dominican Republic, had also been scheduled to appear at the meeting, but the U.S. government refused to allow him to enter the country.

Other Meetings

Coral arrived in New York after visiting cities across the country.

- In Denver he spoke to eighty-five people at the International House and at a campus meeting on the Metro State College campus, where nearly all the students and faculty members in attendance were Chicanos.

- A quick tour through Atlanta April 3 and 4 included campus meetings at Emory University and Georgia State University, as well as several news interviews.

- In Washington, D.C., he spoke at an April 11 city-wide meeting of 200 people at All Souls Church. About half of the audience were Latinos, including a number of Argentines. During the question-and-answer period after Coral's presentation, there was a lively discussion on the role of the Peronist movement in Argentina.

- In Boston, he spoke to a city-wide forum of about 200 people held at Boston University April 16. Messages of solidarity were read by Guerdes Fleurant of the Haitian Action Committee, Maria Morrison of the Puerto Rican Socialist party, and representatives of the Movement for a New Dominica and the Chile Action Group.

- In Minneapolis, Coral spoke April 18 to 200 people at the University of Minnesota. The meeting was preceded by a reception attended by faculty members from the university.

- Coral gave two speeches during a brief stop in Ohio April 21 and 22. One was at Cleveland State University and the other at Kent State University. People came from as far away as Pittsburgh to hear Coral at Kent State.

- Finally, before beginning his week-long visit of New York, he stopped in Philadelphia for an April 23 forum at the International House of the University of Pennsylvania. The event was cosponsored by thirty prominent individuals and organizations and was attended by 100 people.

No Disruptions

An important part of the preparations for all the meetings was the organization of sizable marshaling squads. This was necessitated by an attack on one of Coral's first appearances in the United States, in Chicago, by fifty ultrarightist Cuban exiles.

It later became known that the Chicago cops had known about the planned disruption beforehand, but they didn't have any police visible at the meeting nor did they warn the organizers of the threat.

USLA organized large groups of monitors for all meetings and demanded police

Threats on Coral's Life

Juan Carlos Coral received several death threats while on tour in the United States. In Chicago, after the attack on his meeting by gusanos, threats on his life were made over the telephone.

In New York, tour organizers at Adelphi University received a phone call just before Coral was to speak. "You'd better be careful because what happened to the actors in Argentina might happen to Juan José [sic] Coral today," the caller said.

He was referring to a recent AAA death list naming a number of Argentine actors as assassination targets.

The following day the New York USLA office received two calls from a woman speaking Spanish who threatened to kill Coral and "all of you."

protection for all subsequent meetings. Thanks to these efforts, there were no more attempts at disruption.

Chicano Audiences

Among the most enthusiastic meetings were those with Chicano and Puerto Rican audiences. In Denver, Coral's tour was highlighted by a visit to a school operated by the Crusade for Justice, Escuela Tlatelolco. There he spoke to a school assembly and was given a tour of the building by Crusade for Justice leader Corky Gonzales.

Coral told this reporter he had been surprised by the degree of radicalism of both the students at Tlatelolco and at Crystal City High School, in the Rio Grande Valley, where he spoke to 500 Chicanos in mid-March.

Coral was given a very warm reception also by 100 Latino students at the University of Massachusetts in Amherst. The campus Latino organization, Ahora, had brought Coral in as the keynote speaker for Latin American Week.

Another example was an April 25 New York meeting of 175 cosponsored by USLA and the Comité Unitario 24 de abril. The Comité Unitario is a coalition of Dominican civil liberties and left-wing groups, formed to commemorate the 1965 uprising in Santo Domingo, which was crushed by an invasion of U.S. Marines.

At many of his meetings, but particularly those in which Latinos were predominant, there was an extensive discussion during the question-and-answer period of revolutionary strategy and tactics in Latin America.

Coral not only opposed the so-called peaceful roads to socialism, which he called "utopian," but also the strategy of guerrilla

warfare isolated from the masses, which he classified as "suicidal." He explained that history had shown both by positive and negative examples that the only strategy that really works is the organization of the workers and all the oppressed under the leadership of a revolutionary party.

News Coverage

In addition to speaking directly to more than 6,000 people, Coral reached countless others through numerous radio, television, and newspaper interviews.

The newspapers that interviewed him ranged from the Cleveland *Plain Dealer* to the Mexico City daily *Excelsior*, which interviewed him in Washington, D.C. Many campus newspapers carried coverage of his meetings.

One of the more interesting radio shows resulting from Coral's tour was put together by Paz Cohen of Pacifica radio's Washington bureau. The program counterposed excerpts from a speech given by the Argentine ambassador to the United States to comments by Coral on the same issues.

Cost of the Vietnam War

The human toll of Washington's aggression against the peoples of Indochina is impossible to calculate, but some figures give an indication of the scope of Washington's war drive. In a dispatch from Washington May 2, Agence France-Presse provided the following statistics:

According to official figures, the Pentagon backed Saigon with more than \$150 billion in the course of the Vietnam War. Slightly more than \$140 billion was earmarked for armaments, the remaining \$10 billion going for economic aid.

The total sum amounts to more than \$7,000 for each of South Vietnam's twenty million inhabitants, a figure equivalent to ten times the per capita income in Mexico or 100 times the per capita income in Haiti and India. It is equal to the gross national product of a highly industrialized country like Canada.

Washington sources say that aid to Hanoi from Moscow and Peking amounted to about \$10 billion in the same period.

Pentagon bombers dropped more than 7.6 million tons of explosives over North and South Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia. This represents three and a half times the total tonnage of bombs dropped by all Allied forces in all theaters of operation during the Second World War.

It is not known how many millions of Vietnamese, Laotians, and Cambodians were killed during the war, but Pentagon figures show that 56,550 American soldiers died, 303,622 were wounded, and 2,949 were listed as missing in action.

How Australian Stalinists Failed the Test of Defending the Vietnamese Revolution

By Jim Percy

[The following article appeared in the May 2 issue of *Direct Action*, a revolutionary-socialist fortnightly published in Sydney.]

* * *

In the latest (April 29) issue of *Tribune*, newspaper of the Communist party of Australia, Denis Freney, writing under the pseudonym of "D.F.," charges the Trotskyist movement with being sideline commentators on the war in Indochina.

In an article headlined *Arm-chair Generals on Indochina*, Freney criticises the Socialist Workers League and the Socialist Youth Alliance for criticising the Communist party for its call to implement the 1973 Paris Peace Accords.

Just in case anyone should think that Freney or the CPA could be considered "armchair generals," Freney builds up the role of the CPA in the antiwar movement:

"Australian communists can be proud of the role they have played over three decades in supporting the Vietnamese people. The CPA and *Tribune* were the first to campaign against involvement and for withdrawal of Australian troops from Vietnam; they played a leading role along with other anti-war forces in developing the great Vietnam Moratorium movement. . . ."

It is true that Freney beats the breast of the CPA for making mistakes and not doing still more, but the summary of the CP's role given by Freney is significant in that he leaves out the CPA's wonderful role in the antiwar movement from the beginning of 1967 to the end of 1969.

Sydney Antiwar Experience

Let us look at the experience in Sydney. Freney was here for some of this time and the author of this article for all of it. In the process let us look at the role of the "armchair generals" of the Trotskyist movement, as Freney calls us.

The first action to get national headlines after Menzies' announcement in April 1965 that he was sending troops to Vietnam was a demonstration in Canberra organized by the delegates to the Australian Student Labor Federation conference in May. A sit-down on a level crossing led to a number of arrests including that of Bob Gould, then a leader of the Trotskyist movement, and

John Percy, who is currently a leader of SWL. As a result of the impact of that action a decision was taken to form the Vietnam Action Campaign (VAC), the first antiwar organization formed to campaign around the Vietnam issue. The "armchair generals" of the Trotskyist movement were responsible for this initiative.

During the next months the VAC organized a series of demonstrations, modest at first, but building into the several hundreds which paved the way for the form of action that was to be the hallmark of antiwar activity: mass street demonstrations that demanded the U.S. and Australia get right out of Vietnam. Those demonstrations established the right of people to demonstrate. Moreover, they made it clear that what was at stake was the right of the Vietnamese to self-determination—that we could support nothing that questioned that.

Communist party members, at first at a rank-and-file level, then as a party, began to organize and build the actions. Other organizations were set up but there was always united activity around the demand that the U.S. and Australia should get out.

The culminating point of this period was the demonstration in October 1966 when 10,000 demonstrators greeted U.S. President Johnson in Sydney. This action had a dramatic impact around the world—Johnson could not even go to Australia without being attacked for aggression in Vietnam.

During 1966 the Labor party had come out against Australia's role in Vietnam. Due to historical accident perhaps more than anything else, A.A. Calwell, whose past political views could best be described as right-wing, campaigned against the war. This was a big factor in building support for the antiwar forces. But in November 1966 the ALP suffered an electoral disaster perhaps largely because of its stand on Vietnam.

Labor Party Retreats

Whitlam led the conservative attack on Labor's policy in 1967 and won both the leadership and a watering down of the militant "Out Now" policy. "Withdraw to holding areas" became the position of the ALP. There was no commitment to immediately withdraw Australian troops. The policy was carried unanimously with Jim

Cairns also voting for this retreat.

Caving in to this pressure, the CPA also changed its line. From then on they argued that "Stop the bombing! Negotiate!" was all that was necessary to campaign for. We "armchair generals" on the other hand, almost alone, argued that such a situation did *not* recognize the Vietnamese people's right to self-determination. Only the removal of all U.S. and allied foreign troops would allow this. The Vietnam Action Campaign continued to build the actions called by various mobilization committees dominated by the CPA line, but propagandized for our own views.

The marches in 1967 achieved a significant size, up to 7,000 persons. By then the Association for International Cooperation and Disarmament (AICD) played a leading role in calling them with the support of unions where the CPA or left ALP had some support.

Then fully seven years ago in 1968 the CPA won their demand. Johnson said he was ready to negotiate and would stop the bombing. Because these had been the demands of the antiwar movement built by the CPA, the antiwar movement collapsed. From then the CPA concentrated exclusively on conscription as an issue.

Rebuilding the Movement

It was left in Sydney, to the small Trotskyist forces, to rebuild the antiwar movement. In a series of marches beginning at Sydney University and marching downtown, antiwar demands were raised again by Resistance, the Labor Club, and by High School Students Against the War in Vietnam which were led by the "armchair generals" of the Trotskyist movement.

This period culminated in a march of 2,500 in December 1969. The CPA virtually boycotted this: Freney's line at the time was that the march should be around the demand "Support the NLF." Never has the opportunism of the CPA and Freney in particular been more apparent. They knew that such a line would have meant the elimination of the possibility of building a big march and rally. That's why they pushed it. In their blind sectarianism and factionalism they couldn't stand to see a successful action led by the "armchair generals" with themselves playing no role. And they played no role because of their gross political errors and abstentionism.

But in late 1969 the situation was changing. Massive demonstrations in the U.S. led the forces here who had been very quiet for almost two years to the conclusion that it was now possible to build large actions once again. The "armchair generals" demonstrated it in practice.

So a call went out from AICD for a meeting of a big new committee. In the rush someone forgot to invite the activists of the



May 1970 antiwar demonstration in the city square of Sydney.

Vietnam Mobilization Committee who built the December demonstration, but we turned up anyway.

Great was the surprise of the CPA and their friends when they learnt that the antiwar movement was going to be run democratically from then on. Attempts to exclude Trotskyists were no longer possible—we were no longer the handful we were in 1965 or 1966. After the CPA and AICD got over the anxiety of having to submit proposals for action to mass meetings of activists instead of handpicked committees, the Moratorium got under way with the author being one of the five initial secretariat members.

The demand of course was “Out Now!” By this time even the CPA had seen through Washington’s various peace manoeuvres. I don’t recall Freney pressing for the demand to be “Support the NLF.” Apparently the urgency had disappeared in a few short months.

And what was the role of the Socialist Workers party in the United States during this period? Yes, Denis knows that the “armchair” Trotskyists of the United States played a key role in building the antiwar movement, in preventing it being side-tracked into the frauds the CPA fell for. Denis knows this is true. Why, until he joined the CPA and started rewriting history, he would have mentioned it to anyone.

Now the question to be asked is this. Was all this work of building the antiwar movement, both here, in the U.S., and around the world, carried out by “armchair generals”? Or did it really have an impact on the outcome of the war? Was it a big factor in preventing the U.S. war machine

carrying out genocide in Vietnam? Was it a real factor or just the fantasies of “armchair generals”?

The thousands who marched and marched against the war know now that it surely was a big factor. And we know also that the “generals” behind these actions made plans, discussed policy, and tried to build a movement that would have *maximum* impact. They know that that work gave them the right to comment on the way forward for the antiwar movement and the Vietnamese revolution.

Of course, it would have been better if *Vietnamese Trotskyists* could have commented too. But they were murdered and suppressed by Ho Chi Minh’s forces in the 1940s for resisting the line that the British should be welcomed into the country after the Japanese were defeated. They were proved right then, even posthumously, weren’t they, Freney?

Of course the Communist party knows that the Trotskyist movement, beginning with Trotsky, are not armchair revolutionaries. They wouldn’t worry about us if we were. What they fear is political debate and criticism and Freney’s cheap smears are intended merely to obscure a debate.

Peace Accords Debate

What were and are the points at issue in the debate over the Paris Peace Accords of 1973 and just what did we say?

The debate emerged first over the demand raised in the antiwar movement by the CPA that Nixon should “sign now” the accords that had been prepared in October 1972.

We said that the antiwar movement should continue to insist on the demand

“Out Now!” We did not argue that the Vietnamese should not sign. They had the right to sign what they saw fit. We did however object to the patently obvious pressure being exerted on them by Moscow and Peking, who were wining and dining Nixon while he bombed Vietnam and offering no response to the murderous carpet bombing of late 1972.

We drew an analogy with the Treaty of Brest Litovsk which the Bolsheviks were forced to sign by Germany in 1918. The Bolsheviks certainly had a right to sign—but the Social Democrats in Germany who supported the treaty were rightly condemned by Lenin. They did not have the gun at their heads, they had to call for “Out Now”—no conditions. We argued that only the unconditional withdrawal of American troops and matériel would give the Vietnamese the right to self-determination. We would support nothing less than this.

Here is what we said in *Direct Action* November 9, 1972, in an article by Gordon Adler headed:

“Why Australian socialists should not lend their support to concessions extracted from the Vietnamese under US attack.”

“The nine-point plan is an unjust compromise settlement. It will not solve the political problems of the war, and can only provide the basis for a further protracted and bloody phase in the struggle.

“The Communist Party of Australia, the Worker Student Alliance, the Communist League, and other sections of the antiwar movement, have criticised this stand, and have claimed that we are trying to tell the Vietnamese how to conduct their struggle. Such a claim could only be made by people who have lost all capacity for objective

analysis of political events. We do not criticise Hanoi for entering into an agreement with the United States under all the pressures to which the Hanoi regime is subjected. What we do say is that irrespective of what they have been forced to accept as a compromise, it is our clear obligation to mobilise the antiwar movement to apply pressure on the United States to force it out of Indochina. The Bolsheviks were forced to accept the treaty of Brest-Litovsk over the barrels of the German guns, but Lenin sharply criticised those socialists who hailed the agreement as a victory for peace."

So we were opposed to the antiwar movement calling for "Sign Now!" What happened just after we wrote those lines. The talks broke down! Those who had been calling for "Sign Now!" were completely disoriented. Here is what Gordon Adler wrote then in *Direct Action*, December 21, 1972.

"The gloom surrounding the future of the peace talks has had its reflection in the discussions within the antiwar movement. Opinions range from the euphoria of those who believe that the war is over and that the time has come for reconstruction of the devastated countryside of Vietnam, to those who think that because the war has been forgotten by many people, the antiwar movement should seek some other issue on which to focus its attention. At the most recent general meeting of the antiwar coalition in Sydney, those who defended the aims and tactics of the November 18 action were accused of blindly following an outmoded slogan, and raising the "OUT NOW" demand as some mystical talisman that ought to have long since been buried.

"Those pressing for unconditional withdrawal of all US military forces have no cause for regret that they have refused to be diverted from the main issue of the war over a period of several years. Unlike those who have become easily discouraged by difficulties and who look around constantly for some new gimmick, the supporters of the withdrawal demand recognise that the cause of the war is the imperialist aggression, and that the war cannot be ended until US aggression has ceased. There can be no peace until there has been a total withdrawal of US forces without conditions.

"If the Communist Party of Australia, the Worker Student Alliance, the Communist League and other groups who so vehemently attacked the "OUT NOW" demand barely a month ago were serious, if they really believed that the nine-point agreement contained the key to peace in Vietnam, why have they dropped their proposals for a campaign around the slogan "SIGN NOW" so readily? What has happened to the demand for "solidarity" with the Vietnamese fighters! Apparently it is

"solidarity" one month, "sign now" another month, and recognition of the DRV and the PRG next month!"

It took the terror bombing of Vietnam in late December to convince the CPA of the need for further action, albeit acting in violation of the democratic norms established in the antiwar movement.

When the accords were signed we hailed the positive recognition in them of the victory won on the battlefield. The U.S. army had been fought to a standstill. In an editorial we said:

"The agreement by the US to halt the bombing and to withdraw its remaining troops from South Vietnam is a long-sought-for victory for the Vietnamese people. It is also a victory for the antiwar movement here and throughout the world. But imperialist intervention in Vietnam is far from ended. . . ."

"The Vietnamese, of course, have every right to negotiate and sign an agreement with the US and Saigon. But we must not give support in any way to the conditions the US imposes on them. Any attempt to paint these conditions as a 'victory' can only disarm and disorient the international antiwar movement and the defenders of the Vietnamese struggle for self-determination. Our job is to tell the truth about the conditions Washington, Moscow, and Peking have imposed on the Vietnamese people. We must prepare to continue mobilizing opposition to US war aims in Southeast Asia."

Role of Moscow and Peking

It is true of course that we were extremely critical of the role of the Moscow and Peking bureaucrats. They were not under the gun. In an article entitled *What the Vietnam Accords Will Mean* by Nita Keig in *Direct Action*, February 22, 1973, we wrote:

"New possibilities for easing tension for consolidating security and world peace open now. The political settlement in Vietnam can be expected to have a positive effect on relations among states involved in one way or another in events in Indochina. Moreover, this shows it is possible to find a solution to other conflicts, to liquidate the danger from existing hotbeds of war, above all in the Middle East. . . ."

"A road for peaceful, democratic development for upholding true independence and for conducting the policy of national concord and unification opens before South Vietnam. . . ."

"These words were not spoken by Nixon, or Kissinger or any other spokesperson of imperialism, but by Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, as he addressed a banquet honouring North Vietnamese negotiator Le Duc Tho on January 30. At a

similar function for Le Duc Tho, held in Peking two days later, Chinese Premier Chou En-lai hailed the accords as a 'great victory' for a struggle that had been waged under 'difficult conditions.'

"Speaking with obvious pride at seeing the fruits of their diplomacy, the leaders of the world's two most powerful workers' states described the Paris accords and the cease-fire agreements. It is clear to those who have observed the course of the Vietnam war, particularly over the past few years when US aggression has been unparalleled in its viciousness, that China and the Soviet Union have played no small part in making these conditions difficult. The outdated nature, and limited quantities, of war materiel provided by the Soviet Union show up as a tiny fraction of the resources that the United States has poured into the conflict, on the side of reaction."

Unfortunately, this line that "peace" had been won was echoed by the Vietnamese. The North Vietnam trade unionist Vu Dinh, visiting Australia shortly after this, was reported in *Tribune* as saying:

"Now that peace has been restored in our country . . ." and a week later "We are sure we will be able to achieve the reunification of our country by peaceful means."

The line that "peace" had been achieved in Vietnam pushed by Moscow and Peking and echoed by the Vietnamese undercut all possibility of building significant support actions around the world. The Vietnamese have fought on without any significant antiwar support since that time. The error in characterizing the accords as "peace" has allowed the reactionaries to paint the NLF as "aggressors" now since there have not been any mass forces capable of restraining and countering the reactionaries' hysteria.

Our Views

We on the other hand argued in an article by Barry Sheppard in *Direct Action* February 22, 1973:

"The next stage in Vietnam will be marked by instability. The accords reflect the fact that the liberation forces have been unable to achieve national liberation and reunification, and also that they have not been crushed. Two powers continue to exist in South Vietnam—the Saigon regime of the landlords and capitalists, and the liberation forces based upon the peasants and workers. Such a situation is inherently unstable. One or the other of these forces must eventually predominate. The outcome can only be decided by struggle.

"In this respect, the situation in South Vietnam is much more explosive than just after the 1954 accords. Then, the Vietminh forces were withdrawn to the north. Now, North Vietnamese and NLF troops remain

in control of areas of the south. In 1954, the pro-imperialist regime was practically non-existent and had to be built up. Today, Thieu's regime is armed to the teeth. Two massive armed forces face each other. . . .

"Whatever happens next in Vietnam, these accords will not bring peace any more than the 1954 Geneva accords did. In the aftermath of Geneva the Vietnamese masses once again, slowly at first, resisted the attempt to impose on them a pro-imperialist landlord-capitalist regime. They will do so again."

What happened next were 150,000 Vietnamese deaths in the two-year civil war that continued to rage. It is only with the complete elimination of imperialist intervention and aid that we can now at last talk of peace. But this was how *Tribune* saw it then as Nita Keig wrote:

"Nor has the United States by any means renounced all interests in the future political situation in Vietnam, or conceded defeat. The January 30-February 6 issue of 'Tribune,' weekly newspaper of the Communist Party of Australia, bore the misleading and flippant headline 'U.S. Down, Thieu To Go.' Again in the February 6-12 issue of 'Tribune,' a statement by the National Executive of the CPA spoke of 'the great victory which has forced the United States to withdraw *unconditionally* from Vietnam.' (Our emphasis.) Then, as if to have it both ways, it goes on to explain that a mass movement will need to be maintained to help counter the attempts of the Nixon administration to prevent the complete victory of the Indo-Chinese liberation forces.

"What is even more glaringly apparent than these contradictions in 'Tribune's' coverage of and statements on the war is the complete omission of any reference to the Soviet Union or China, or the treacherous role they are so obviously playing in the 'peace' that has been brought down."

Of course we have also been and still are critical of the call by the PRG and the NLF and the Vietnamese Workers Party for a coalition government with part of the national bourgeoisie in South Vietnam. Just why we are is explained in the article by Allen Myers in this issue. [Article scheduled to appear in future issue of *Intercontinental Press*.] This is the Trotskyist view of permanent revolution that Freney used to agree with, until he joined the Communist party and became an apologist for Stalinism.

Trotskyism or Stalinism

And isn't this really what's at stake. It's not who are the "armchair generals" but the differing political positions of Stalinism and Trotskyism. Freney now writes:

"Anyone who knows the Vietnamese

people and their leaders would reject any suggestion they could be forced to sell out even under pressure 'from Moscow and Peking.'"

But the Trotskyist movement of which Freney used to be a part knows the record of the Vietnamese leaders. The Vietnamese Trotskyists were wiped out by them in 1945, when Ho Chi Minh made an error in letting the French back. ("Sell out" if you prefer.) In 1954 we know that the Geneva conference did not recognize battlefield gains of the Viet Minh and we argued that the 1973 accords solved nothing. We know that the program of the PRG does not call for socialism and we say that's what is necessary in Vietnam.

We therefore can't put any blind trust in Vietnamese leaders under pressure "from Moscow and Peking," as Freney does. And why the inverted commas around Moscow and Peking. Does Freney now say they don't exert pressure on the Vietnamese, that they did all in their power to aid the Vietnamese? Détente meant nothing, etc., etc.? Truly at his current rate of descent, we don't think it will be too long before Freney is telling us about previously undiscovered virtues of Comrade Brezhnev and Chairman Mao, who are after all on the spot, and don't like to hear carping criticisms from "armchair generals."

And the CPA can't escape these political questions in the flush of celebration of the great military victories. To win a majority of the working class to socialism, we are going to have to explain about Stalinism of whatever variety and just what its political

line is. And they won't consider those people "armchair generals" who attempt to explain this. They might have a different view about the apologists, however, who attempt simply to bask in the reflected glory of the Vietnamese fighters without thinking out political questions and being honest about history. And what we said about the Paris accords in 1973 stands up very well now.

We said struggle will decide. And it did. Without adequate U.S. support Thieu collapsed. With the U.S. weakened by Watergate and the mass opposition to intervention in Indochina, the NLF was able to march down Vietnam in two months and win complete control of South Vietnam. We don't want to return to the forced compromise of the accords. Do you, Denis?

We want a socialist united Vietnam with workers and peasants councils and socialist democracy. We want the "Vietnamese leaders" to support revolutions elsewhere such as the Czechoslovakian freedom movement against Soviet domination. (They support the Russian invasion.) We want the "Vietnamese leaders" to support women's liberation and get rid of all vestiges of bourgeois ideology in this sphere. (Which they don't.) These are just some of a few modest proposals, Denis, which are really what divides us, and what motivates your labeling of us as armchair revolutionaries.

Meanwhile, as always in the past, we will defend the Vietnamese revolution, support its successes, and stand ready to help mobilize against any attack on it in the future. □

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On the Need for a Revolutionary Party in the Caribbean

[Second of two parts]

Question. What is your view of the role of the Black struggle in the Canadian revolution?

Answer. We must begin to pose this question in relation to the fact that the fundamental contradiction in this country is the contradiction between capital—the owners of the means of production—and labor.

The contradiction in the hierarchy of production that puts the white male at the top and the Black female at the bottom and the native peoples even below that is secondary to the conflict between capital and labor. These differences are used to prevent mass mobilization, to prevent the working masses from developing political consciousness about how to defend themselves and how to take power.

We must realize that Black people in Canada and Afro-Americans are a minority in North America; yet we are an integral part of the working class, even if we might constitute the underbelly of the working class. The nationalist ferment and orientation is helpful insofar as it provides us with a binding force, a kind of militancy. However, to fully deal with capitalism, which we must do to gain liberation, we must also develop class consciousness.

We see that just as the Black struggle in the United States for self-determination has pushed the class struggle there forward, we inside this country are going to have to push the white and other workers organizations forward, too.

We are a part of the working class and part of the majority of Canadian workers who are not yet unionized. Workers in Canada have no political voice except the Social Democratic New Democratic party, which is controlled by the reformist and opportunist bureaucrats who sit atop the unions.

Black activists have to pose the question of the struggle in Canada in terms of class. We have no intention of attacking white workers, taking their jobs, hating them; we just ask that our rights as a national minority be recognized, consistent with the Bill of Rights. We must also say that we are prepared and are mobilizing to be a part of the struggle of the working class, including the struggle to build a mass, revolutionary workers vanguard party that will lead the workers in taking power out of the hands of the capitalists.

There is no choice. If we don't have this

Douglas Fighting Deportation From Canada



ROSIE DOUGLAS

Rosie Douglas, a native of the British colony of Dominica, is a well-known Black activist in Canada. He has long been struggling against attempts by the Canadian government to deport him on charges stemming from the 1969 student occupation of Sir George Williams University in Montréal.

On May 8, the Immigration Appeal Board in Québec notified Douglas that his appeal against deportation had been rejected. The Rosie Douglas Defense Committee reports that it is appealing the case to the Federal Court of Appeal, "the final legal course open to us." They point out that if Douglas is deported he faces possible death because of repressive legislation passed in Dominica in 1974.

Protests against the decision to deport Douglas may be sent to Prime Minister Pierre Elliot Trudeau, House of Commons, Ottawa, Ontario. Copies of all protests should be sent to the Rosie Douglas Defense Committee, P.O. Box 194, Station P, Toronto, Ontario.

orientation, then all we will be able to do, even if there is a working-class transformation of Canada, will be to stand around and beg for concessions. And if we don't fight, there may well be changes for the worst—to the extent of fascism.

Q. How do you view the left in the Caribbean, particularly groups like the New Beginning Movement in Trinidad that put forward ideas that you supported before your imprisonment?

A. In the Caribbean, all the objective conditions exist around which people can be mobilized—poverty, malnutrition, squalor, foreign domination, unrest among young people, massive unemployment. Twenty colonies still exist.

And indeed we have seen massive upsurges during the past ten years in almost every territory, from the upsurge that shook Bermuda in 1968, to the Trinidad revolt of 1970, to the events that shook Grenada in 1974.

The problem in these struggles is that there was no vanguard party—no group in any of these countries that presents itself as the most conscious element among the workers and peasants, that sees itself as having the responsibility to wage a struggle to take power.

In the British Caribbean the ideas represented by the so-called New Beginning position have a lot of popularity. This position is actually a version of ideas that have been put forward by Dr. C.L.R. James for many years.

This position is based on, among other things, a loose feeling that a political party is not only no longer needed but is a political obstacle to the revolution. The idea is that political parties in the Caribbean always represent minority classes and are undemocratic. Its supporters go further, since they have a state-capitalist analysis of the countries of Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union, and China, and say that having such a party can lead to Stalinism, which in their minds is not a step forward.

Therefore they say we have to organize workers councils, which will try to have the workers control production, here and now, or have people in communities form regional councils to control them. They say ultimately the councils will come together and form a national council, which will be the organ of power.

They counterpose this strategy to the Marxist-Leninist concept of building a party that would contest elections and do other things to pose a revolutionary program for working-class power.

They make an error in thinking that the capitalists will not use their control over the state machinery and the economy to stop them, and they are following an illusion in subordinating their work to creating full democracy before eliminating capitalism.

They are opposed to a scientific program unless it comes out of such councils, because they believe that anything else will throttle the spontaneity of the masses.

The New Beginning group in Trinidad, which is the center of this ideology, is not that important insofar as its implantation in the workers movement is concerned. However, it has influence over groups like the New Jewel Movement in Grenada, Tim Hector's workers and farmers movement in Antigua, and so forth.

In Grenada they say they have to organize every last worker and peasant in the towns and villages into councils before they can pose the question of power, because anything else would be "undemocratic." They overlook the fact that Gairy, the brutal prime minister, and the imperialists who back him aren't going to say, "Fine, you have your workers councils democratically deciding they should take power, so I'll give you power tomorrow."

This was one of the reasons for the setback of the massive upsurge led by the New Jewel Movement in that country. They were unable to pose the question of power in the tumult of a revolutionary situation.

To do that we have to mobilize and lead the workers and peasants in a revolutionary vanguard political party. This is the means to transform society by taking power, smashing the old bureaucracy and the military, as it were, and socializing the means of production. This is the way.

We have to develop a scientific program that links those tasks to the day-to-day problems and struggles of the masses.

Contrary to the state-capitalist analysis these groups hold—although some of them say they are still making up their minds about Cuba—the Cuban Revolution, which has yet to institutionalize democracy, is more democratic than any workers councils they have, because it has succeeded in socializing the means of production. That is the determining question for me. The question of democracy flows from how to

achieve that end and how to organize it.

Saying that you have the right to vote every five or six years is meaningless as far as the workers are concerned, compared with the fact that the capitalist class is exercising a dictatorship through its control over the state and the economy.

I think we have to pose the need for a vanguard revolutionary party against the New Beginning alternative, because their errors have led to many opportunities being lost by the Caribbean workers. This in turn

Angry Response From Women

British Lords Approve Rapist's Charter

By Bridget Lux

LONDON—On May 1 the Law Lords ruled 3 to 2 that a man cannot be convicted of rape "if he honestly believed that a woman had consented, even if his belief is unreasonable." The Law Lords, a group of five peers, are roughly equivalent to the U.S. Supreme Court.

The ruling was prompted by an appeal of a Royal Air Force sergeant, William Anthony Morgan, and his three companions, who had been convicted of rape and sentenced to terms of up to seven years. In August 1973 Morgan invited the three into his home, provided them with contraceptives, and warned them not to be worried if his wife protested—she was "kinky."

Jack Ashley, Labour member of Parliament, led a delegation of protest to Home Secretary Roy Jenkins. Jenkins, the same secretary who just renewed the so-called Prevention of Terrorism Act, replied blandly that they "would have to wait and see if it would become a rapist's charter."

They did not have to wait long: two more men's cases have been heard favorably since then. One of the men, Beresford Gordon, boasted of having read the Lords' ruling. He chortled after his acquittal, "the jury believed what I said and I've walked out a free man."

Ironically, not only have reported incidences of rape increased by 35 percent in the last year, but the small university town of Cambridge has become the scene of panic following the rape of the eighth woman in recent months.

Like the impending abortion amendment bill, which also threatens to turn women victims into criminals, this ruling has met with an angry response from women. Their reaction to the Lords was summed up in the *Guardian* May 8 by a housewife who wrote:

"It is my honest belief that Lord Halish-

am wants knocking on the head. When the opportunity arises and I can deal him a good whong with my umbrella, I shall take his screams and moans to mean that he wants more, and give it with pleasure. It will not matter how unreasonable my belief is." □

People's lives are involved. This is especially true given that the regimes in the Caribbean are moving in the direction of dictatorships, as in most Latin American countries. We have new special repressive groups like the Gun Cults in Jamaica, the *ton tons* in Haiti, the Mongoose in Grenada, and the rural constables in Dominica. □

am wants knocking on the head. When the opportunity arises and I can deal him a good whong with my umbrella, I shall take his screams and moans to mean that he wants more, and give it with pleasure. It will not matter how unreasonable my belief is." □

Don't Expect Pie in the Sky

According to a recent poll, 40 percent of the French people believe that "after death there is nothing." Those who hold this view include 13 percent of practicing Catholics.

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A Political Debate at the Liceu de Amadora

By Gerry Foley

LISBON—Some of the most determined struggles against the repression of the Salazarist regime were fought by very young students in Lisbon's high schools, where the ages range from eleven to seventeen. The Liceu Nacional de Amadora in a poor suburb of this city was the center of many of the hardest battles.

Since the April 25, 1974, coup, this high school has become the stronghold of the Aliança Socialista da Juventude (ASJ—Young Socialist Alliance), the youth affiliate of the Partido Revolucionário dos Trabalhadores (PRT—Revolutionary Workers party), an organization in solidarity with the Fourth International.

I went to the Liceu de Amadora on April 30 to hear a debate between representatives of the PRT, the Socialist party, and the LCI (Liga Comunista Internacionalista—Internationalist Communist League, the Portuguese sympathizing group of the Fourth International) on what political lessons had to be brought out the following day, which was May Day.

Amadora is a poverty-stricken district with many small, hole-in-the-wall cafés and grocery stores. The area near the school is not shiny and modern like the suburbs directly across the Tejo on the south side of the river. The people live mostly in two- and four-story housing projects built like long boxes. Washing flutters from the windows and balconies as in all the side streets of Lisbon.

The liceu is a shabby concrete-block building. However, covered with political slogans, it does not have the prison-like appearance of many high schools in this city. It resembles a small-town school very much integrated into the neighborhood.

The population of Amadora is mostly poor petty-bourgeois with a strong admixture of better-off workers. Some of the PRT members I talked to told me that the enrollment in the academic high schools, or liceus, had increased greatly since 1965, with most of the influx coming from the poor petty-bourgeoisie. This was one of the reasons, they said, that struggles had developed in these schools. They estimated the number of students from working-class homes at about 8 percent, which is still unusually high. The town itself is an industrial center, and the school is near large concentrations of workers.

The sharp break between the political attitudes of the young and old that is so striking in the United States is not visible

here. I remembered as I walked through the neighborhood how many working-class fathers had picked up the slogans at a PRT meeting in the Filarmónica de Amadora during the elections and how many mothers I saw trying to memorize the words of the "Internationale" from the copies they were handed.

The students, not the teachers or administrators, decide on admissions to meetings. The ASJ security squad passed me in. "Not many people here," a PRT leader told me. "Probably saturated by the electoral campaign."

The Constituent Assembly elections had been held only a few days before. Probably a couple hundred persons were present. But it was hard to get an accurate count. A high-school crowd, especially one including many eleven-, twelve-, and thirteen-year-olds, is constantly in motion.

Then, too, there were distractions. A youth, who looked twelve or thirteen, kept balancing a chair on two legs. His friend next to him looked about ten. When they weren't engrossed in juggling the chair, they showed each other small booklets whose titles I could not read.

The bigger boy was carrying a copy of Almeida Garrett's *Viagens na minha Terra*, a classic book of travels in Portugal by one of the country's greatest writers.

In Amadora also, females do not seem to be pushed into the background as they are in other schools in Portugal. There were many girls and young women at the meeting. A PRT leader told me that 60 percent of their organization there is female.

However restless and adolescent much of the crowd was, the fact was that they came to a meeting of high political level to hear a debate on the positions of the various left political groups on the kind of May 1 demonstrations that were needed. And they stayed for hours of discussion.

The Trotskyists have the largest number of members of high-school age, I was told. In the school elections here, the Trotskyist candidates polled well over twice the vote of Communist party candidates.

PRT and ASJ slogans were everywhere. At the front of the auditorium was a giant picture of a worker with his fist raised and a caption saying: "The students support the struggle of the workers—ASJ."

The Communist party had been invited to send a speaker, but declined. It sent a message saying that all its members were

busy building the May Day demonstrations and that was more important than any debate. The Socialist party, however, did send a prominent representative. The SP was apparently anxious to present a friendly face to young left activists. But its representative had virtually nothing to say.

The LCI representative was Bernardo de Souza, one of the organizers of the student self-defense groups formed to block the right-wing goon squads that attacked Padre António Vieira High School in Lisbon. He began by extending special greetings to the ASJ and PRT, which had invited him to speak. He explained that these organizations were united with the LCI in their support of the Fourth International and, as Trotskyists, represented the revolutionary traditions of the workers movement and May Day.

After giving the history of the holiday, de Souza called for making May 1 in Portugal a day of support for anticapitalist struggle.

Paulo M., a leader of the PRT, was the final speaker. He echoed de Souza's call for focusing the May 1 demonstrations on supporting workers struggles. He condemned the pact that the mass workers parties signed with the Movimento das Forças Armadas (MFA—Armed Forces Movement) and the capitalist parties, explaining that the workers needed to unite around a working-class socialist pact instead of a class-collaborationist one designed to preserve capitalism.

He condemned the slogan "The people are with the MFA" as class-collaborationist. He condemned the military's undemocratic refusal to let the masses make their own decisions. He called on the big workers organizations to assume the government of the country themselves instead of putting their trust in a bonapartist military group.

The discussion period lasted more than an hour. The questions included ones like why the PRT called for a government of the CP, SP, and Intersindical (the national trade-union federation) specifically, rather than simply for a government of workers organizations, as the LCI does.

Two unofficial representatives of the CP took the floor in the discussion period. In the form of questions, they delivered a lengthy attack on the Socialist party. They accused the SP of favoring participation by a bourgeois party, the Partido Popular Democrático (PPD—People's Democratic party), in the May 1 demonstrations and of opposing the latest round of nationalizations.

The SP representative defended the presence of the PPD in the demonstrations, saying that it was better for them to be there than in the camp of reaction. He denied that the SP opposed the nationalizations, but said that the party was opposed to "state capitalism" as well as private capitalism. □

Thousands March in Italy to Protest Fascist Attacks

By Sérafin Lampion

[The following article appeared in the April 25 issue of the French Trotskyist weekly *Rouge*. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Four persons are dead and dozens are seriously wounded. The ugly face of fascism has reappeared in Italy. This time it was not an isolated attack but a broad offensive against the workers movement. It occurred a few weeks before regional elections were to be held across the country. The killers: the fascists and the police.

On Wednesday, April 16, a housing demonstration was held in Milan. At the end of the line of march a car rolled toward a group of persons engaged in discussion. A fascist inside the car fired an initial shot, wounding a demonstrator. A second bullet struck the demonstrator in the head, killing him. This was the first victim, Claudio Varalli, seventeen years old.

Thursday, April 17. Protests in response to the killing started growing in the morning. In several cities thousands of demonstrators spontaneously took to the streets. In Milan, the offices of the MSI¹ were occupied. The police fired shots into the crowd, wounding a number of persons. A police van drove into the demonstrators, crushing one of them. This was the second victim, Giani Zibecchi.

Thursday night, Turin. After a scuffle with members of the struggle committee in the Falchiera district (a working-class area inhabited mainly by immigrants from the south), a fascist hunted down a militant and killed him with a shot from a pistol. This was the third victim, Antonino Micciche, a member of *Lotta Continua* [The Struggle Continues], a worker at Fiat who was laid off in 1973.

Friday, April 18. The unions called for a one-hour strike throughout the country. Big demonstrations were held in the major cities (20,000 in Turin, 40,000 in Milan, for example). In Turin, the offices of the MSI burned down. In Florence, demonstrators attacked several fascist headquarters. The police opened fire. A member of the Communist party was seriously wounded. He died from his injuries the following day. This was the fourth victim, Rodolfo Boschi.

Last year a number of big workers



BERLINGUER

mobilizations answered the fascist attacks in Brescia and on the Italicus train. Since that time the fascists have been more discreet. Now, a month and a half before the elections, they are trying to raise their heads again.

Their actions, including the abortive attempt to derail the Milan-Rome train, have a clear aim. The hope is to create a climate of provocation, to the detriment of the workers movement. The effort has the support of not insignificant sections of the bourgeoisie who favor a head-on attack against the working class as the way to resolve the political crisis.

The majority of the bourgeoisie, however, are hesitant about setting off a process that could lead to violent class confrontations. This is why all the bourgeois papers were filled with antifascist statements after last week's killings. The driver who crushed Zibecchi and the murderer of Micciche were both indicted. It was announced that measures would be taken against trigger-happy cops.

But at the same time the bourgeoisie see the situation as an excellent opportunity to go after the "extremists" and to continue their policy of selective repression against vanguard militants.

The line of the Communist party assisted

the bourgeoisie in this. [Enrico] Berlinguer, the CP general secretary, said: "The organs of the state must be energetically reminded of their duty to see to it that the terrorists are rendered harmless." And, "violent reprisals, attacks on political headquarters must be denounced."

Even worse, local party officials in Florence explained the murder of the CP member Boschi as an outcome of a provocation against the police by a far-left militant.

The CP tried to restrict the scope of the mobilization in all the demonstrations called in response to the fascist attacks. In Turin, on Friday morning [April 18], the demonstration headed toward the offices of the MSI. At the head of the march were Fiat workers, former shopmates of Micciche, who had been killed the night before. Next came a united marshaling squad, made up of representatives of all the groups that had called the demonstration. Suddenly, the CP marshals tried to divert the demonstration off to a side street. They were helped by the PDUP² marshals, who on this occasion adopted a completely opportunistic attitude.

The bulk of the demonstrators continued, however. And while the sideline commentators of the CP and PDUP talked about fascism, the antifascist militants gave their response to the killings: the MSI headquarters were set afire. The police who were protecting the building were compelled to withdraw, owing to the size of the demonstration.

The line put forward by the CP is criminal in face of this offensive against the workers movement. They are demanding that the law against the fascists be enforced, and they are calling for the formation of a front of all the "constitutional" parties (that is, of all the political parties except the MSI).

But what reason is there to believe that the bourgeoisie will enforce its laws against the fascists? The Italian constitution solemnly forbids the formation of fascist parties. Has this prevented the MSI from conducting a number of attacks, frequently with the support of the Christian Democrats?

Outlawing the MSI, the solution advocated by the three main far-left groups (PDUP, *Lotta Continua*, *Avanguardia Operaia*³) is no answer either. It is illusory to believe that the bourgeoisie will outlaw the MSI. And even if it does outlaw them, it would be no more than a formal measure. Only a united response by the workers movement will assure that the fascists are rendered harmless. Militant self-defense is the only effective answer.

2. Partito d'Unità Proletaria—Party of Proletarian Unity.

3. Workers Vanguard.

1. Movimento Sociale Italiano—Italian Social Movement.

In this respect, the demonstrations that took place April 17 and 18 showed both the extent of the mobilization and its militant character. In a number of cities thousands of workers and young people sacked the fascists' offices. On April 22 a general strike protesting the government's austerity program was conducted throughout the coun-

try.⁴ It was an excellent opportunity to combine the mobilizations against inflation with an effective response to the fascists. □

4. An accompanying article reported that demonstrations were held throughout Italy the day of the general strike. In two of the larger actions, 160,000 persons marched in Milan and 80,000 in Turin.

An Interview With Sally N'Dongo

The New Slave Trade—African Workers in France

[Sally N'Dongo is the general secretary of the Union Générale des Travailleurs Sénégalais en France (UGTSF—General Union of Senegalese Workers in France). He granted the following interview to Tony Thomas in Paris last February. The interview was conducted in French, and Thomas has provided the translation for *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Question. How have the relations of Senegal and other African countries with France led to the immigration of thousands of workers?

Answer. Senegal has been colonized by France for centuries. French exploitation through the slave trade and other forms of plunder dates from around the 1670s. After the resistance of the Senegalese to colonial penetration was crushed, the colonizers began to plunder the natural resources and to impose forced labor.

Forced labor—which I was a victim of—included the construction of roads, public buildings, military bases, hospitals, and other things needed to support the colonial regime. There was also forced labor in the form of military service, either in combat or doing things like cutting wood.

The colonialists imposed peanut cultivation to change our farming from growing things for Senegalese to eat and wear to a commercial agriculture oriented to the imperialist economy. Before this, people didn't grow peanuts very much, but grew their own food and manufactured their own iron, weapons, cotton for clothing, and so forth. Everything was made by Africans for Africans, without modern techniques. But the Africans lived much better than now.

So by these two ways—forced labor and the imposition of commercial agricultural production—colonialism brought poverty and misery into Senegal.

After "independence," which was only another form of dependence, de Gaulle made sure that reliable people were in

power in Senegal. They, in turn, signed accords with the French government on the relationship between the two countries.

What are these accords? They say, for example, that a Frenchman working in Senegal has the right to repatriate all his money to France with no interference and that a Senegalese in France has the same right. They have the "equal" right to set up corporations without interference.

This is meaningless for us. A Frenchman in Senegal is a manager or owner of a company, while a Senegalese here is a street cleaner. You see who gets the best of this.

In Senegal, Africans are unable to get higher-paying posts. All the education there is controlled by the French. If an African wants to study to be an engineer, a technician, and so on, he is told that this is not good for him or useful for the country.

Senegal is completely in the hands of French imperialism. From the level of the president of Senegal on down, the country is controlled by technical, military, and political "consultants" or "assistants" from France. This includes the police, who have French instructors who show them how to torture.

The same relations apply to the accords on immigration. A Senegalese who wants to come to France needs a passport, a job contract approved by the French embassy, and a round-trip ticket. He must also deposit 35,000 francs CFA¹ in the Senegal state bank. This is equal to 700 French francs.²

Theoretically, a Frenchman coming to Senegal to work must do the same thing. In practice, any French person with an identification card or a passport can come to Senegal and do what he wants.

This encourages illegal African emigra-

1. The monetary unit of the Communauté Financière Africaine (African Financial Community), which is composed of many of the former French African colonies.—IP

2. One French franc is equivalent to US\$0.24.—IP

tion to France. The bosses force this because they never send job contracts to Africans. At least not to any I ever saw.

Forced by misery, unemployment, famine, and drought, Senegalese and other African workers have to come to France illegally without a job contract.

The bosses then force them to take any type of wages and working conditions, because they know the workers don't have the proper papers.

Q. How do these accords affect the situation of Senegalese workers in France?

A. They are used to further exploit the African workers. Workers who have just arrived are supposed to have a medical examination, paid for by the boss, to see if they are well enough to work. But the bosses take this money out of the workers' wages anyway.

Housing and social welfare for the workers is taken care of by the National Fund for Social Action. It is supposed to provide job training and teach the workers to read.

The money for this fund comes out of the social security payments of the immigrant workers. This is unfair. African workers in France are supposed to have equal benefits with French workers. These benefits, which cover not only the workers but also their families, include such things as medical care and supplemental payments for families with children.

However, since hardly any Senegalese workers bring their families, and since these payments can't be used for families back in Africa, the Senegalese and other immigrant workers are cheated through this scheme.

Moreover, an African worker who stays in France for a long time, say even ten years, making payments to the fund, loses all his benefits if he returns to Africa for six months.

All this money goes to the fund, yet the budget the government announces for immigrant workers never equals what the workers have put into the fund. They don't give us one-tenth of what we pay in.

In addition, there are all kinds of phony government-funded "humanitarian" organizations that drain off money that is supposed to go to the immigrant workers.

At the beginning of the emigration to France, people were housed in cellars, attics, and places like that. You could find forty people living in small rooms, piled one upon another. They cooked meals and did their laundry there, with no windows or ventilation. Added to the rotten working conditions, this environment has caused tuberculosis, a disease we never knew in Africa.

When the National Fund for Social Action was set up, the former colonialists—

ex-civil servants, soldiers, merchants in the colonies—set up phony “housing associations” for immigrants. They get money from the immigrants’ social security payments to subsidize their housing operations, which only institutionalize what went on previously in cellars and attics.

Now they take old, abandoned factories or stores, repaint them a little, pile up bunk beds, and set up immigrant housing. The conditions are just the same, and the immigrants must pay rent as well as have their social security payments going to finance this racket.

Q. What about working conditions and jobs?

A. The work African workers do here is basically the kind that French workers won’t do, such as cleaning the streets and sweeping up in factories.

Even those workers with technical training are not hired for skilled jobs but must take any kind of job they can get. Africans who were trained for such technical positions as electricians and mechanics for French companies in Africa are told by the same companies that their training in Africa was not good enough to be used for the same jobs in France.

The wages of the average French worker are between 1,200 and 1,500 francs a month, but African workers average between 800 and 1,200 francs. There is supposed to be equal pay for equal work, but the jobs are not equal so the pay isn’t either.

The gap between the living standards of African workers and French workers is even wider because the French workers get various social security payments for medical care and child allotments for their families, while most Africans don’t.

Moreover, it’s the French workers who get to be the foremen and team leaders responsible for work, not us.

Q. What types of organizations do the African workers have?

A. There are two types of groups: organizations controlled by the government—either the French or African governments—and organizations independent of them.

The main purpose of the government organizations is to weaken the independent organizations. When the independent groups make demands, the government will often say, “That’s not a recognized group, so we don’t recognize that demand.”

These government-controlled organizations have no real base in the mass of African workers here. They don’t support the workers in their day-to-day struggles, so they don’t have any chance of gaining their confidence.

Q. What kind of activities does the UGTSTF carry out?

A. The UGTSTF is an organization that helps African workers take care of their everyday problems here in France. At the same time, it links this action with political struggles not only in France but in Senegal itself.

Our work begins with teaching the workers how to read and write. By doing that we are able to raise their consciousness. We use this to expose the administration of the companies, the government, and the leaders in Africa. We try to help them deal with the problems of social security, family allotments, immigration, housing, and the unions. We have, for example, organized rent strikes in the lodging houses for foreign workers. At the same time, we explain how the mechanisms of capitalism are used to keep them in their place.

Q. In the United States, the AFL-CIO trade-union federation has largely ignored the problems of immigrant workers. Is the same thing true in France?

A. The two big union federations here, the CGT³ and the CFDT,⁴ have been forced to deal with the problems of immigrant workers, although they have not made any effective efforts to educate the ranks about this question.

Many French workers think that we have come here to take the bread out of their mouths, as the saying goes. They think that the money they pay into the social security goes to us and that we take their jobs.

However, we point out what is going on with the social security money. We also point out that France has gotten rich through the continuing pillage of our countries. That is why we are forced to leave our homelands to come to France to get jobs.

The constant propaganda of the capitalists has its effect on French workers. The leaders of the working class have to fight this if the struggle of all workers is to be effective.

The leaders of the CGT and the CFDT probably don’t know how to carry on this type of struggle because they don’t know how to fight against the capitalist class in a really independent way. However, these groups have been forced to take action in our defense because of the role that African

3. Confédération Générale du Travail—General Confederation of Labor, dominated by the Communist party.—IP

4. Confédération Française et Démocratique du Travail—French Democratic Confederation of Labor, led by Social Democrats.—IP

workers are playing in the unions and the plants.

Several years ago the government issued the Fontanet-Marcellin Memorandum, requiring European and North African workers to obtain job contracts before working in France. Previously they were able to get a permit to come to France and look for a job.

At first the union leaders supported these decrees, seeing it as a way to stop the competition of the immigrants who they thought were wrecking their strikes.

Through educating and agitating around this issue we forced them to recognize that these decrees were directed not only against immigrant workers but against the unions as well. In factories where the majority of workers are immigrants, the unions would be paralyzed if the immigrants weren’t struggling. So we were able to force the unions to take a good stand and fight for the repeal of this memorandum.

As I say, the rank and file still need lots of education. In part there still exists a colonial mentality toward Africans among the masses in France. This mentality has to be destroyed, not only through working to support the immigrant workers, but also through solidarity with the struggles going on in Africa. □



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AROUND THE WORLD



All Political Dissent Banned in South Korea

Virtually all political activity has been banned in South Korea on threat of prison terms of up to fifteen years. In the ninth emergency decree issued in the last year and a half, President Park Chung Hee outlawed May 13 the following activities:

- Advocating the revision or repeal of the martial-law constitution under which he assumed dictatorial power.
- Broadcasting or publishing any news of any opposition to the constitution.
- Holding any unauthorized student demonstrations or assemblies.
- Publicly opposing the new declaration or passing on any information about opposition to it.

In a statement accompanying the decree Park indicated that his effort to "consolidate national unity" was prompted by recent events in Indochina.

Palestinians Encouraged by Vietnamese Triumph

"Events in Indo-China have encouraged the Palestinian guerrillas in their political and military plans against Israel," a dispatch from Beirut in the May 14 *Christian Science Monitor* reported.

"Palestinian statements praise the success of the Indo-Chinese guerrilla movements and compare their victories against 'imperialism' with Palestinian efforts against Israel and its main ally, the United States."

A recent issue of the official Palestine Liberation Organization newspaper captioned a photograph of Ho Chi Minh, "Today Vietnam, tomorrow Palestine."

Underdeveloped Countries Hit Hardest by Inflation

Inflation continues to hit the colonial and semicolonial countries far harder than the industrialized ones. The prices of the kinds of goods they are forced to import—such as machinery—have risen sharply. At the same time the prices of the raw materials these countries export have remained stable or fallen in the past year.

Oil-producing countries estimate, for example, that they have been robbed of 35 percent of their purchasing power by

inflation in the major capitalist countries.

Some of the countries hardest hit by inflation, according to recent twelve-month figures released by the International Monetary Fund, are the following:

Chile, 375.9%; Argentina, 40.3%; Taiwan, 34.4%; Brazil, 34.1%; Zaïre, 29.5%; India, 25%.

Madrid Says Morocco Is Preparing to Take Over Spanish Sahara

The Spanish ambassador to Morocco has been recalled to Madrid for consultations amid talk of a threat of armed conflict with Morocco. At issue is Morocco's challenge to Spain's continued control of the African colony it calls Spanish Sahara. The strip of desert between Morocco and Mauritania contains the world's largest known phosphate reserves.

According to the Spanish governor of the colony, the Moroccan army has stationed 25,000 men along the border, and the possibility of a "sudden attack" has existed "for some time."

The dispute with Morocco was reported to have been one of the main topics at a cabinet meeting in Madrid May 16.

Control over the colony is also contested

by guerrillas fighting for independence. Two hundred local recruits have been discharged from the Spanish army after incidents in which the Saharan patrols rebelled against their Spanish officers and joined the guerrillas.

Death Toll in Ezeiza Massacre Set at 400 by Argentine Senator

Condemning the reign of terror carried on for the last two years by rightist Peronist goon squads, a spokesman of the main parliamentary opposition party in Argentina has given the first official estimate of the casualties in the June 20, 1973, Ezeiza massacre.

Carlos H. Perette, Senate floor leader of the Unión Cívica Radical (Radical Civic Union), told the national convention of his organization April 26 that "there were 400 persons killed and 800 wounded, but only one person was tried in connection with this incident."

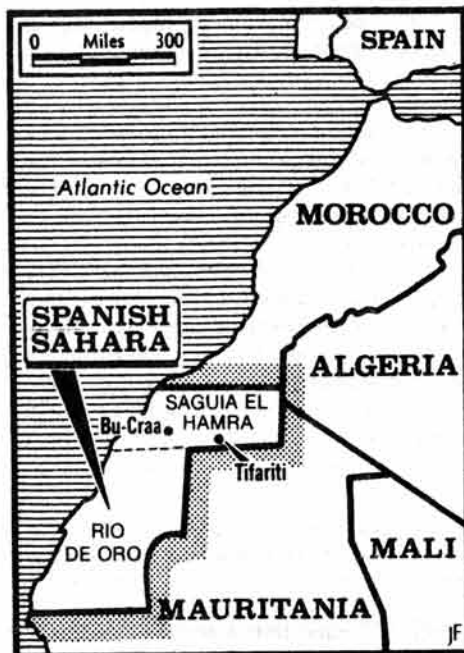
The slaughter occurred when right-wing Peronist armed groups opened fire on the left-wing contingents of the Peronist movement that were participating in the mass rally to welcome the exiled demagogue back to Argentina.

It was this incident that inaugurated the purge of the left in the heterogeneous nationalist, populist movement identified with Perón and opened up a general shift of the Peronist government away from democratic concessions to the masses and toward a repressive clampdown on the left and the militant sections of the workers movement.

French Committee Urges Kremlin to Free Leonid Plyushch

As part of the protest activities publicizing April 23, the day of international solidarity with Ukrainian dissident Leonid Plyushch, members of the French Committee for the Defense of Plyushch issued an appeal to the Soviet government demanding that he be freed. They also urged François Mitterrand, leader of the French Socialist party, to intervene on Plyushch's behalf during his scheduled trip to Moscow.

Plyushch is a founding member of the Initiative Group for the Defense of Human Rights. He was arrested in January 1972 on charges of circulating dissident material.



Christian Science Monitor

Soviet specialists in diagnosing the mental ills of political dissidents found that he was suffering from "creeping schizophrenia with messianic and reformist ideas," requiring an extended stay at the notorious Dnipropetrovsk prison-hospital.

According to his wife, his treatment there has been so harsh that he has lost his memory, his ability to read, and his faculty to think.

Pentagon Asks for \$1 Million to Hire Servants for Generals

The Pentagon has asked Congress to provide a special \$1 million fund to hire servants for generals and admirals. Under the proposal, 560 high-ranking military officials living in rent-free quarters on military posts would qualify for domestic servants.

In justifying its request, the Pentagon said that generals and admirals are required, as part of their assignment, to live in "large, old houses," which are "more than the officer and his family can properly maintain without assistance."

Big Drop in Immigration to Israel

In recognition of the fact that fewer and fewer persons are willing to consider emigration to Israel, Zionist officials have announced that they are cutting back by nearly 20 percent on their worldwide staff of recruiters—from 142 to 117.

Two years ago, 55,000 persons emigrated to Israel. Last year, the figure was 32,000. In the months of March and April this year, immigration has been less than half the 1974 rate.

Israeli officials blame the decline in immigration on uncertainty about Israel's security and economy. They say they will compensate for the cut in recruiters by increasing efforts abroad to "fight the overwhelming tendency in the mass media to distort the position of Israel."

Cannon Published in French

La Lutte Pour Un Parti Proletarien has been published in French by Editions d'Avant-Garde in Québec. This translation of the first five chapters of Socialist Workers party founder James P. Cannon's classic *The Struggle for a Proletarian Party* marks the first publication in French of a major portion of Cannon's writings.

The pamphlet sells for \$0.95. A catalog of the works published by Editions d'Avant-Garde can be ordered by writing to 226 est rue ste-Catherine, Montréal, Québec.

Peru Takes Over Gulf Oil Holdings

President Juan Velasco Alvarado ordered the expropriation of Gulf Oil Corporation's holdings in Peru May 13. The action

followed disclosure in the United States that Gulf paid \$4 million in bribes to officials in an unnamed Latin American country to prevent seizure of the company's assets.

In his communiqué, Velasco said that Gulf had been guilty of "notorious immoral conduct" in paying such bribes.

Gulf's holdings in Peru consist of thirteen gasoline stations. According to a Peruvian embassy official in La Paz, the Finance Ministry will pay Gulf compensation for the stations.

McGovern Calls for End to U.S. Blockade of Cuba

Senator George McGovern has called for an end to the U.S. economic blockade against Cuba. The former Democratic presidential nominee, who arrived in Havana May 5 on a three-day visit, told an airport press conference: "I have no powers to lift the embargo, but open trade is in the interest of both countries."

In Washington May 13, McGovern called on the Ford administration to start at once sending medicine and food as a first step toward ending the embargo. He said Cuban Premier Castro told him that such a step could facilitate discussions toward settling remaining diplomatic issues.

Thirty-Three Political Prisoners Go On Hunger Strike in Brazil

Thirty-three political prisoners in Brazil's Ilha Grande jail began a hunger strike May 5 to protest prison conditions. The jail, which holds more than 1,000 prisoners, is known as Devil's Island among the inmates.

In a document smuggled out of the jail, the hunger strikers protested the lack of water, blocked sewers, overcrowding, unsanitary conditions, and foul-tasting food.

Despite these abysmal health conditions, medical care is virtually nonexistent. There is only one dentist, who makes irregular visits. The prisoners charge that the one doctor assigned to the prison "does not have the necessary medical equipment to take care of us."

Didn't Want to Give the Wrong Impression

(AP)—Sen. Gale McGee (D-Wyo.) says he got on a crowded elevator in the Capitol and when he got off, his wallet was gone.

McGee was presiding over a Senate committee hearing Wednesday [May 7] when he had to excuse himself to make a statement to police.

He said he didn't know how much money was in the wallet, which also contained all his credit cards.

But he added that the theft occurred in the public elevator, not the one reserved for senators.



Special Treatment

A select group of Saigon officials has been whisked through immigration procedures in a special arrangement ordered by Washington. Among them are former Saigon police chief Trang Si Tan; the deputy commander of security for the Saigon National Police; the chief of staff of the National Police; and the head of the National Police "special branch." Each had special letters of passage from the American embassy in Saigon.

All four were elevated to the rank of general a few months before the fall of Saigon. According to other Vietnamese refugees at Camp Pendleton, California, the promotions were a reward for their harsh treatment of dissidents.

Crash Course in Western Civilization

Tent City, Guam, the new home of 38,608 Vietnamese refugees, is rapidly being Americanized. Only three weeks old, it already has its own police force, fire company, and daily church services.

Each night five movie projectors provide entertainment. Standard fare is John Wayne films and Walt Disney cartoons, with the latter said to be drawing larger crowds.

The main streets, which used to be airport runways, are frequently clogged as cars, jeeps, and trucks vie for space with hotdog vendors and beggars.

A bank, staffed by representatives of Deak and Company currency traders, stays open from dawn to dusk seven days a week, buying up any extra gold refugees happen to have.

The U.S. Postal Service, which appears to have concluded that the refugees will be there for some time, has given the camp its own zip code (FPO San Francisco 96630).

America's Permanent War Economy

Reviewed by Dick Fidler

Since the Great Depression of the 1930s, influential capitalist economists have contended that the monetary and fiscal mechanism worked out by Keynes and his disciples now enable governments to ameliorate if not eliminate depressions and keep unemployment down to "socially acceptable" levels. Years of almost continuous growth, interrupted only by short-lived, shallow "recessions," appeared to prove the validity of these arguments.

Marxists have contended that the Keynesian "solutions" only postponed the day of reckoning, at the cost of long-range inflation and eventual deep depressions. They could protest that official statistics understated unemployment and ignored underemployment. They could point to the unused manufacturing capacity and the rape of vital natural resources. In the United States, they might call attention to the growing power of the military, whose war machine consumed a tenth of the national product, deforming the whole economy.

The Keynesians were undeterred. Whatever their private thoughts about the arms race, most of them agreed that government spending, regardless of its purpose, assured satisfactory economic performance.

In the world's strongest capitalist power, however, it became clear toward the end of the 1960s that all was not well with the economy. A huge public debt, which began to grow rapidly with the large military budget at the outset of the Korean War, had fueled an unprecedented expansion of capital at home and abroad. But this growth entailed increasing deficits in the balance of payments, largely to cover the cost of hundreds of bases in dozens of countries and the support of client dictators. Increasing competition from foreign goods coincided with a slowing of the rate of growth of industry.

The turning point came in August 1971, when Nixon slammed down the foreign-exchange window, halting the redemption of dollars for gold. European bankers abandoned the dollar as the world reserve currency. The postwar monetary system established at Bretton Woods collapsed. Inflation soared throughout the capitalist world. And in 1974 the major capitalist

countries entered the first simultaneous depression since the 1930s.

The Keynesians claimed to have discovered a formula for maintaining an acceptable ratio between unemployment and inflation. In fact, they have presided over the production of high levels of both.

Seymour Melman does not address himself primarily to the problem of "stagflation" in his latest book, but his description

The Permanent War Economy—American Capitalism in Decline, by Seymour Melman. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1974. 384 pp. \$9.95.

of the permanent war economy offers an excellent starting point for understanding what happened. Melman, a professor of industrial engineering at Columbia University, and one of the leaders of SANE, a liberal peace organization, pinpoints war expenditures as the prime source of the inflationary drive and industrial stagnation that has come to plague the American economy.

Wall Street's war machine is feared and hated around the world. Its nuclear arsenal has the capacity to wipe out all human life on the face of the earth—not just once, but many times over. The millions of casualties, the massive destruction of homes, crops, and ecology that resulted from Washington's intervention in Indochina, were only a small demonstration of the devastation American imperialism is prepared to inflict in pursuit of its interests.

But some of the most wasteful and destructive results of "Pentagon capitalism" are to be felt within the United States itself. This is the subject of *The Permanent War Economy*.

The war economy, as Melman sees it, developed as a military-industrial complex during the cold war, emerging during the Kennedy-McNamara regime into a full-fledged, centrally managed, state-capitalist sector.

Some idea of the size of this military sector can be gained from the following statistics, cited in his book:



- By 1974, the real annual Pentagon budget, which includes payments for past, current, and future military operations, amounted to \$123 billion, or 62 percent of the total "federal funds" budget of the government. This is more than 10 percent of the U.S. gross national product (GNP), and a sum greater than the GNP of all but a handful of countries.

- In 1971, the military accounted for 73 percent of the \$97 billion of all federal purchases.

- By 1970 the value of military installations and matériel amounted to 38 percent of the total money value of all the assets of industry in the United States—\$214 billion out of a total of \$554 billion for all manufacturing corporations.

- Of the \$200 billion spent on industrial research and development in the United States since World War II, 80 percent has been spent on military and military-related projects.

- By 1971 at least 6 million Americans were directly employed either by the Pentagon itself (3.8 million) or in military-serving private employment (2.2 million). These figures did not include thousands of persons employed in foreign military aid projects, nor did they include the private armies of the CIA in Indochina and elsewhere.

A Logic of Its Own

This huge military sector operates like a separate economy, comprising the biggest industrial corporations in the country as well as thousands of subcontractors. It is characterized by remarkable inefficiency. As a result of their symbiotic relationship with the state bureaucracy, the war contractors operate under a special set of rules that seem to conflict with normal business principles. They maximize costs, and maximize subsidies from the state.

Administrative overhead ratios are more than twice the average for private manufacturing. Complexity in product design is pursued for its own sake. Work projects are invented to fill in time, because employers want to stockpile engineers in anticipation of future contract awards. Many projects are junked before completion. Cost is only a

How Many Houses Will a Warship Buy?

The following is a list of military items matched against civilian goods or services of equivalent cost. It is excerpted from *The Permanent War Economy*, pp. 200-202.

For Peace	Cost	For War
Washington, D.C., subway system	\$2.98 billion	Nuclear aircraft carrier and support ships
66 low-cost houses	\$1 million	1 Huey helicopter
257 apartments in New York City	\$9 million	1 Navy A6-E Intruder plane
National water-pollution abatement 1970-75	\$38 billion	cost excesses for 45 weapons systems
National solid-waste treatment program	\$43.5 billion	B-1 bomber program
Total environment clean-up	\$105.2 billion	new weapons systems in development or procurement
Unfunded program to upgrade rural American life	\$300 million	5 C-5A aircraft
Child-nutrition-programs funding cut	\$69 million	2 DE-1052 destroyer escorts
To bring all poor Americans above poverty line, 1971	\$11.4 billion	B-1 bomber program, low estimate
To eliminate hunger in America	\$4-5 billion	C-5A aircraft program
1973 cities' needs to rebuild blighted areas	\$3 billion	1 nuclear aircraft carrier, equipped, and escorts
Federal heart-disease prevention program	\$425 million over 5 years	1973 funding for MIRVing Polaris submarines (\$404 million)
1972 federal health budget deficiency	\$2.3 billion	overruns on C-5A and Main Battle Tank
1973 unfunded medical-school construction	\$250 million	cost excess on M60 Sheridan tank



Mark Podwal/New York Times

minor consideration, since subsidies can always be obtained.

Melman cites "cost overruns" that until the 1960s averaged 3.2 times the initial estimates. Full data for the subsequent period are not yet available, but as of June 1971 the cost overruns on some 45 major weapons systems amounted to \$35.2 billion. (Even the term "cost overrun" is misleading, Melman points out, for in fact this tremendous escalation in final prices is built into the system as "the normal, approved, built-in operating characteristics of the military-industry enterprise system.")

For example, the final price of the F-111, the famous swing-wing multipurpose plane, was about four times initial estimates. The C-5 transport, supposed to cost \$29 million, ended up with a price tag of \$62 million per plane. The C-5 has been plagued with technical deficiencies; one of the planes picked at random by the General Accounting Office auditors for inspection had 47 major and 149 minor deficiencies. (It was one of these planes, incidentally, that crashed recently on takeoff from South Vietnam, killing more than 100 Vietnamese war orphans.)

A common practice is the "golden hand-

shake," a private Pentagon commitment to subsidize the financial losses generated by cost-maximizing. From 1958 to 1973 Washington bailed out projects and firms at a charge of almost \$86 million to the public treasury. And that does not include the recent \$250 million underwriting of bank loans to Lockheed Corporation, manufacturer of the C-5.

But despite this waste, many will argue, is it not true that spending billions of dollars on missiles, planes, and ammunition keeps the economy afloat, gives Americans jobs, and increases the national product?

Here is where Melman makes his most telling points. The war economy, he says, has been the main factor in undermining the foundations of prosperity and generating social decay in the United States.

A sharp distinction must be drawn, he says, between the "parasitic growth" represented by war production, and "productive growth" of "goods and services that either are part of the level of living or can be used for further production of whatever kind." This distinction is overlooked in most economics textbooks. And it is blurred by the measure of "gross national product"

itself, which treats all money-valued output of goods and services—including "defense" spending and upkeep of police forces, for example—as a contribution to wealth.

Melman points to some aspects of the war economy that indicate its parasitic nature.

First, there is the fact that every dollar spent on the military is a dollar not spent on socially useful goods or services. The combined budgets of the Pentagon from 1946 to 1975 amounted to \$1,500 billion—more than the value of all commercial and residential structures in the United States.

In practice, successive governments have been quick to dump civilian projects, many of which affect the quality of life of masses of Americans, in order to meet the demands of the military machine. Melman compares some equivalent "civilian-economy cuts" with "military-economy increases" taken from Nixon's 1974 federal budget. Here are a few examples:

- A \$200 million cut in child nutrition for elementary and secondary education against a \$194.2 million request for a SAM-D missile project.
- A \$519.7 million cut in emergency employment assistance against a \$546.3

Vietnam—The \$676 Billion Quagmire

What was the real bill for the U.S. war in Vietnam?

According to Pentagon figures, the cost of forces, equipment, and matériel used in the war from the fiscal year 1965 through the fiscal year 1974 adds up to \$141.3 billion. Another Pentagon estimate, based on what it calls "incremental costs" or the added costs of fighting the war in addition to the normal costs of operating U.S. military forces, is \$112.3 billion for the same period.

The real cost, however, was much higher. It is virtually impossible to compute to the last dollar the Pentagon's actual investment in Vietnam. But Tom Riddell, former education director of SANE, made a detailed breakdown of official statistics. According to his analysis, published in the October 1973 issue of the *Progressive*, the ultimate cost of Washington's war will amount to about \$676 billion. That is about one-half the total annual output of the American economy.

Riddell's estimate includes:

- U.S. aid to the French war effort between May 1950 and the fall of Dien Bien Phu in May 1954—more than \$4.4 billion.
- Cost of military advisers and economic aid to Saigon, from the signing of the Geneva Accords to the U.S. entry into the war—\$6 billion.
- Military and economic assistance to Laos, Thailand, and Cambodia up to 1974, and economic assistance to South Vietnam from 1965 to 1974—more than \$9.6 billion.
- Payments to South Korea, the Philippines, Thailand, New Zealand, and Australia, for sending troops to fight in Vietnam—\$1 billion.
- Transfer of U.S. military facilities and equipment to the governments of South Vietnam and Thailand—\$5.9 billion.

Adding these amounts to the Pentagon's \$141.3 billion figure, the bill for the U.S. war against the Indochinese liberation forces comes to \$168.2 billion since the end of World War II.

To these past and current costs must be added future budgetary costs:

- Payments to U.S. veterans—estimated to total \$282.6 billion.
- Interest payments on the national debt—an estimated \$28.2 billion.
- Riddell added an anticipated \$40 billion for continuing military aid to Indochina governments until the 1990s, and the \$7.5 billion promised by the Nixon administration for postwar reconstruction.

Then there are the "human resource costs" of the war.

Riddell included here the "opportunity cost" involved in:

- Loss in output and wages of those



drafted for Vietnam—about \$65 billion between 1966 and 1972.

- Loss in future production from Indochina war deaths, injuries, and men missing in action—approximately \$35.3 billion.
- Lost production potential of 70,000 draft evaders and deserters who may never return to the United States—about \$16.3 billion.
- The estimated cost of crimes committed by 100,000 drug-addicted Vietnam veterans to maintain their habit—\$27 billion.
- Finally, Riddell added an estimated \$5.8 billion in additional economic effects of the war. The largest component of this sum was \$5 billion loss to the economy from the creation of two million unemployed as a result of Nixon's "efforts to control inflation stimulated by the war."

Adding up all these amounts produces a total money cost of about \$676 billion for Washington's war—or the equivalent of \$12,000 for each of the fifty-five million families in the United States.

(Of course, we can now subtract most of the \$47.5 billion scheduled in payments to Indochina after the war, which was predicated on Washington's hope that the liberation forces would not win.)

The waste involved in these expenditures is stupendous. For example, the \$141.3 billion spent on direct costs of the war alone could have paid for 5,652,000 single-family homes at \$25,000 each.

But in Washington's priorities, butter was distinctly secondary to guns. In *The Permanent War Economy*, Seymour Melman notes that between 1965 and 1970 the federal government budgeted \$115 billion for the real war in Vietnam and the paper "war" on poverty. "Vietnam took 91.7 percent and the 'war' on poverty 8.3 percent."

million request for S-3A Viking anti-submarine-warfare aircraft.

- A \$1.5 billion cut in elementary and secondary education against a \$1.2 billion request for one Trident submarine.

Such contrasts are not meant to imply that tax money not spent on the military would necessarily be applied to the indicated civilian uses, Melman says. "Rather, I wish to underscore that within a given level of public spending . . . such trade-offs are being made in effect, though rarely stated openly."

Costly Parasitic Growth

But war spending does not simply substitute for possible alternative items in the government budget. Melman's thesis, which he develops at length, is that "the full cost to a society of parasitic economic growth exceeds the money value of the materials, man-hours and machinery used up for military products." The cost of the military apparatus to the American economy must include an estimation of the economic use values and the capital productivity that is forgone by arms purchases.

Melman does not attempt such an assessment. But he cites a study by Professor Bruce Russett at Yale showing that the value of the production equipment and buildings that were forgone in the United States from 1946 to 1973 as a result of military spending was at least \$660 billion, or 45 percent as much as was actually invested.

"If one includes a further allowance for a compounding effect in such calculations—i.e., machines producing other machines in addition to final products—then the total capital outlays forgone in the United States from 1946 to 1973 because of the preemption of capital for the military exceeds \$1,900 billion, or 135 percent of actual investment."

The high proportion of research funds spent on the military, and the diversion of capital investment into war production, have contributed to the decline in the rate of expansion of productivity in industry, Melman holds. For eighty years, the rate exceeded Europe's by 60 percent. By 1950 the relationship was reversed, and since 1965, the rate in the United States has trailed Western Europe's by 60 percent and Japan's by 84 percent.

The resulting fall in the competitiveness of American industry was reflected in the decline of the trade surplus, and the appearance in 1971, for the first time since 1893, of a negative trade balance. Symptomatic of Wall Street's declining position was the loss in 1972 of world leadership in the machine-tool industry.

How did this situation come about?

According to Melman, the strong lead the United States developed in "high technolo-

gy" fields was largely in those of special interest to the military. Now European and Japanese capitalists are beginning to reap the benefit of their sustained concentration on civilian research. It is in these areas that the sharpest signs of American weakness in international competitiveness are to be observed.

The deterioration of technological standards has had severe effects on the domestic economy, too, reflected in such phenomena as the deterioration of railway roadbed and rolling stock, the overloading of the telephone system, and the critical shortage of engineers to service and expand the electric-power-generating system.

Another factor undermining the competitiveness of American industry on the world market has been the swift price inflation spurred by what Melman terms "Pax Americana"—the cost of maintaining Washington's huge network of military bases around the world.

I.F. Stone has calculated that in 1971 it cost the American taxpayers \$44 billion—59 percent of the total war department budget—to maintain this worldwide system, which includes 340 major foreign military bases in more than three dozen countries. This has been a major factor in the enormous accumulation of U.S. dollars in the hands of foreign governments and banks.

By 1971, dollar holdings abroad exceeded three times the U.S. Treasury's gold reserve. Foreign creditors began to doubt Washington's ability to redeem these dollars in gold. The monetary crisis culminated in the de facto devaluation of the dollar in August 1971.

The trade offensive opened by Washington had further inflationary effects. Large-scale exports of grains, wood, and meat, as part of Washington's attempts to soak up dollars held abroad, created sharp reductions in stockpiles, pushing up prices still further and lowering the living standards of millions of Americans.

The 36 percent rise in the cost of living between 1968 and 1974, Melman concludes, was a direct product of military spending. "... the U.S. state managers, with their arrogant military preoccupations, caused the debacle in the value of the dollar and the consequent undermining of their own economic thrust for world hegemony."

Washington's trade offensive also increased inter-imperialist rivalries. "The enlargement of armaments sales abroad is the largest single effort that the state management devised for restoring a favorable balance of trade to the United States," Melman writes. The Pentagon drew up a major plan for expanding world arms sales "increasing such exports from \$925 million in 1970 to \$3.8 billion per year in 1972"

War Is Big Business

The war machine is big business in the United States.

"The top one hundred military-serving firms are also a Who's Who of American industry," Melman says. "Virtually every major industrial firm is included."

Here is a list of the biggest war contractors in the fiscal year that ended last June 30, as reported in the November 1, 1974, *Wall Street Journal*. The value of each company's military contracts and its share of total Pentagon contracts of more than \$10,000 are indicated in the columns on the right.

Rank	Company	Value	%
1	General Dynamics	\$1.85 billion	5.4
2	Lockheed Corp.	\$1.46 billion	4.3
3	McDonnell Douglas	\$1.31 billion	3.8
4	United Aircraft	\$1.21 billion	3.5
5	General Electric	\$1.21 billion	3.5

Others in the top ten contractors were Boeing Co. (\$1.08 billion); Litton Industries, Inc. (\$925.8 million); Hughes Aircraft Co. (\$824.9 million); Rockwell International Corp. (\$819.2 million); and Raytheon Co. (\$739.6 million).

For many of the top 100 military suppliers, sales to the Pentagon account for only a minor part of total production. But for most, such sales are nevertheless an important, usually vital part of their operation, Melman notes.

"When the total sales of a firm amount to, say, \$1 billion, then 10 percent of that to the Pentagon is \$100 million, and probably the largest sales volume to any single purchaser. . . . their loss would make a real difference to the fortunes of the enterprise. The sales to the military also carry part of the burden of overhead costs in these firms."

Of course, the war profiteers do not like to publicize their involvement in military production more than is absolutely necessary (that is, to attract investors). Melman cites a General Motors official quoted in the London *Sunday Times*, April 21, 1968: "We want to be known as a car and appliance manufacturer, not a merchant of death. . . . But we also want to be ready to profit from the apparently endless series of brushfire wars in which the U.S. seems to involve itself."

And arms sales to client regimes have continued to escalate swiftly.

Melman's conclusions are confirmed by recent developments. "In the fiscal year ended last June 30," the *New York Times* reported April 14, "overseas customers ordered a record total of \$8.3-billion worth of American-made fighter planes, tanks, missiles and other military equipment and technical assistance. The Pentagon served as a middleman, adding 2 per cent to the price as an administrative charge. Direct sales by manufacturers plus aid provided by the United States Government brought the total of arms orders from foreigners to about \$10-billion."

The Payoff in Social Blight

Melman links the growing social decay in the United States to the twisted priorities imposed by the war economy. The spread of slums, the cutbacks in social services, the deterioration of public transit, are all forms of decay that are part and parcel of an economy based on war production.

This social decay, it is important to note, accompanied economic growth, in fact, the period of greatest growth in American history. From 1950 to 1970, the yearly economic product per person in the United

States rose from \$2,342 to \$3,516 (measured in 1958 dollars of "constant" value). But much of this additional income was siphoned off in taxes to pay for the military machine, which was growing at an even faster rate. In fact, much of the "growth" comprised in rising gross national product figures simply represented billions and billions of dollars being poured into the military machine.

Although Melman tends to attribute all the ills of American society to military spending, he is correct in stressing the central role played by the war economy in the development of the current crisis. Where he must be faulted, however, is in viewing the "permanent war economy" as an abnormal excrement rather than as an inevitable phase of capitalism.

He holds that "there is no specifically economic necessity that stems from any productive requirement of the U.S. economy as a whole or from capitalist economic relations *per se*, which makes a war economy an indispensable feature of American society."

But his factual description of the war economy accords with the Marxist view that armaments production and war are inevitable products of capitalism.

The concentration and centralization of

capital in the imperialist phase of development brings about a contraction of openings for profitable investment. Markets are saturated, monopolies restrict production to hold up prices, industrial development slows down, and a great mass of surplus capital accumulates in the major imperialist countries.

Armaments production is the capitalists' "solution" to this problem. By purchasing huge quantities of arms, the state in effect provides a highly profitable replacement market for the products of heavy industry. These state purchases are financed primarily through taxation, the issuing of bonds, and the printing of inflationary paper money—with a resulting lowering of the level of workers' real wages. In effect, the capitalist state carries out a massive redistribution of national income to the benefit of the big industrial trusts and at the expense of other layers of the population.

Armaments production is thus a vital means by which the state guarantees monopoly profits through increasing public expenditure at cost of expanding the public debt and undermining the stability of the currency. Arms production increases the amount of purchasing power in circulation, in the form of profits for war contractors and wages for war-industry workers, without creating a corresponding supply of use values.

At the same time, of course, it must be noted that the arms produced have an unfortunate tendency to be used, in order to protect and extend markets. In the nuclear age, this could result in the annihilation of the human race.

The war economy is not peculiar to capitalism in the United States, although it has received its highest expression there. It is rooted in the nature of the capitalist system.

A Specifically American Phenomenon?

Melman, however, insists on defining the "permanent war economy" as a "specifically American" phenomenon. He argues at length that the United States can drastically cut back arms spending, and "convert" to a peace economy, while remaining within the framework of capitalist property relations. As proof he points to other imperialist countries such as West Germany and Japan, which have concentrated less in military research and investment, and more on developing civilian-oriented production.

What Melman leaves out of account is that the enormous weight of the American war machine is one of the consequences of the outcome of the Second World War. Confronted with the economic and military might of the United States, and the perception that the Soviet Union and other workers states would be the ultimate victors in another inter-imperialist war, the weaker

capitalist countries had no choice but to concede to Washington the role of policing the world for imperialism. Which is what Washington proceeded to do. By the time of Dien Bien Phu in 1954, for example, the



Pierotti/New York Post

Pentagon was already funding 80 percent of the cost of the French aggression in Indochina.

The relatively swift economic growth of the Japanese and some West European economies was based on such factors as initial heavy injections of American capital for postwar reconstruction (the Marshall Plan); cheaper wage rates and newer industrial plant; and, not least, that they could reduce military spending by relying on the Pentagon for counterrevolutionary forces such as the occupation troops.

But in all these countries military expenditures have been absorbing an increasing share of national income, too. And the relatively smaller size of their war machines has not enabled them to escape the general slowing of growth visible in all capitalist countries—which itself has been spurred by war-induced inflation in the United States.

Melman's claims about the relative strength of the "civilian oriented" economies of Japan and West Germany are seen to be exaggerated today in light of the simultaneous downturn in the major capitalist economies, and the economic blows that the American colossus has been able to inflict on its competitors and clients.

Melman does not explore the political aspects of the "war economy," such as the roots of the cold war and the sources of Wall Street's war drive. Nor does he propose that the war machine be scrapped. Instead, he suggests limiting its annual cost to "not more than \$29 billion."

Melman, who apparently had a hand in drafting McGovern's program in the Democratic senator's 1972 presidential bid, directs his argument to businessmen and capitalist politicians. But they are not listening. Although the war in Vietnam is over, Washington is spending more on the war machine than ever before. Members of Congress, including many who were "doves" in the later stages of the war, have indicated their readiness to support Ford's request for \$104.7 billion in new appropriations for the Pentagon this year. High military budgets long ago became "institutionalized" in the United States.

Melman's proposal for action—essentially an educational campaign around the theme that capitalism can prosper without a war economy—is naïve and misdirected. Far better to take the facts and figures he has amassed in this book and apply them to the struggle against capitalism, the system that breeds war. For whatever its author's intentions, *The Permanent War Economy* makes a strong case for dismantling the war economy, not just partially, but root and branch. □

Why the White House Didn't Keep Those 'Commitments' to Thieu

Time magazine reported May 5 that former President Nixon planned to order renewed bombing of Vietnam in April 1973—in keeping with his secret pledge to Thieu—but was forced to cancel the attacks at the last minute because of the growing Watergate scandal.

Adm. Elmo Zumwalt, retired chief of naval operations, confirmed this account in testimony before a congressional subcommittee May 13.

Zumwalt said that in late 1972 and early 1973, Nixon probably believed he had enough support in Congress to "respond vigorously with force" in Vietnam.

However, the negotiations with Thieu took place at a time when "Watergate was changing from amber to red," Zumwalt said, "and the attitude of the Nixon Administration was quite apparently changing with regard to the support we would give to those commitments."

"What was said [to Thieu] about those commitments at the time was in the midst of a process during which a President was destroying himself and the Presidency was becoming unraveled."

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Una Discusión con Trotsky Sobre Problemas Latinoamericanos

[La siguiente es una traducción de la discusión con Trotsky sobre América Latina que apareció en inglés en *Intercontinental Press* el 19 de mayo.

[La traducción es de *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

[El 4 de noviembre de 1938 se llevó a cabo una discusión en la casa de Trotsky en Coyoacán, México, sobre temas latinoamericanos. Se tomaron notas taquigráficas que hasta la fecha no han sido publicadas. En los extractos que publicamos a continuación, todos los comentarios de Trotsky han sido incluidos. Las contribuciones de algunos de los otros participantes en ciertas ocasiones han sido abreviadas y en otras, suprimidas.

[Es importante señalar que se discutió en inglés, y que Trotsky no corrigió sus observaciones. Esa era una de las condiciones de su participación en estas pequeñas reuniones educativas que de cuando en cuando organizaban sus guardias y secretarios.

[Charles Curtiss, trotskista norteamericano que inició la sesión con un informe, había trabajado con la sección mexicana de la Cuarta Internacional en años anteriores. Sol Lankin era un guardia norteamericano en la casa de Trotsky. No hemos podido identificar a "Robinson." Es posible que haya sido uno de los guardias o un visitante.]

Trotsky. Algunos de nuestros camaradas han propuesto una discusión general sobre la situación en México y América Latina debido al regreso del camarada Charles. La discusión será de carácter general con la única intención de informar a nuestros camaradas sobre la situación.

Curtiss. He estado muy ocupado los últimos días tratando de darle cierta claridad y unidad a mis notas. . . . Conozco mejor la situación local de México que la de los demás países de América Latina.

Me parece que los camaradas de México, Puerto Rico, Cuba y de otras regiones, en la medida que he podido observar, abordan el problema de la revolución permanente de una manera extremadamente mecánica. Toman una idea y la sacan de contexto, y creo que esto en parte ocasiona algunas de las dificultades de que ustedes han oído hablar sobre la situación mexicana.

Se trata principalmente de una comprensión equivocada del problema de saltarse

May 26, 1975

etapas. La literatura del movimiento revolucionario se plantea principalmente desde el punto de vista de los países industriales avanzados y sólo se entiende a la luz de los países industrialmente avanzados. Por ejemplo, esta cuestión de saltar etapas, los camaradas mexicanos la plantean así: ¿Por qué no hemos de poder saltarnos en México las etapas intermedias y avanzar directamente a la etapa de la revolución proletaria?

No tratan de ver al movimiento desde el punto de vista de cumplir con las tareas democráticas. No están acostumbrados a pensar de esa manera, y esto, creo yo, da lugar a muchos malentendidos.

Una cuestión, por ejemplo, es la relación que hay en México entre la burguesía liberal y nuestro movimiento, la Cuarta Internacional. Cuando se intenta corregir a los camaradas mexicanos recurren a la abstracción de la revolución permanente y salen con el siguiente planteo: "El camarada Trotsky está renegando a sus principios con respecto a México por su deseo de salvaguardar su exilio." Esto no siempre se plantea abiertamente, pero está detrás de las mentes de los camaradas.

No es muy difícil contestar esto, utilizando el caso de China, ya que es algo similar. En el caso de los otros países con problemas semicoloniales nuestra posición es la misma, en general. Nuestros camaradas de esos países no han leído mucho sobre estos problemas, ni se interesan por ellos en particular. Lo que les interesa es lo que les parece más inmediato.

Es necesario plantear una explicación acerca de la relación que hay entre nuestro movimiento y el movimiento democrático en general. El énfasis debe ponerse sobre el estudio de cada caso concreto, no debe ser sobre abstracciones, sino sobre casos concretos. Por ejemplo, si se llegara al socialismo en los Estados Unidos, sería posible para todos los países saltarse estas etapas intermedias. Hay que considerar cada circunstancia específica y tratar de que se reduzcan las etapas al menor tiempo posible.

Trotsky. Sobre el problema de la revolución permanente en los países coloniales . . .

Curtiss. Un momento por favor . . . me gustaría poner énfasis en una cuestión más. La mala interpretación de este problema concreto por parte de camaradas dirigentes crea dificultades y obstáculos que de hecho

les hace imposible abordar el movimiento de masas en México, abordar el movimiento del pueblo en general.

Trotsky. Sí, creo que el camarada Curtiss tiene razón. La cuestión tiene una tremenda importancia; esquematizar la fórmula de la revolución permanente en ocasiones puede llegar a ser extremadamente peligrosa para nuestro movimiento en América Latina, como de hecho ha sucedido.

Que la historia puede saltarse etapas es totalmente cierto. Por ejemplo, si se construye una vía ferroviaria a través de las selvas de Yucatán, equivale a saltarse etapas. Está al nivel de la construcción de vías de comunicación en los Estados Unidos.

Y cuando Toledano¹ jura por Marx, es también saltarse etapas, ya que los Toledanos europeos contemporáneos de Marx juraban por otros profetas.

Rusia se saltó la etapa de la democracia, no del todo, pero acertó la etapa. Este hecho es bien conocido. El proletariado puede saltarse la etapa de la democracia, pero nosotros no podemos saltarnos las etapas del desarrollo del proletariado.

Creo que nuestros camaradas de México y otros países tratan de omitir etapas en abstracto con respecto al proletariado, e inclusive con respecto a la historia en general. No tratan de saltar por encima de ciertas etapas, sino por encima de la historia en general y, sobre todo, por encima del desarrollo del proletariado.

La clase obrera en México participa, no puede hacer otra cosa sino participar, en el movimiento, en la lucha por la independencia del país, por la democratización de las relaciones agrarias, etc. De esta manera el proletariado puede tomar el poder antes de que se garantice la independencia de México y se reorganicen las relaciones agrarias. Entonces el gobierno obrero puede convertirse en instrumento para resolver estos problemas.

Puede ocurrir; posiblemente ocurrirá. Pero es necesario dirigir, guiar a los trabajadores, empezando con las tareas democráticas hasta la toma del poder. No planteando una dictadura socialista abstracta a las necesidades y deseos reales de las masas, sino

1. Vicente Lombardo Toledano, colaboracionista de clase y secretario general de la Confederación de Trabajadores de México (CTM). Desempeñó un papel central en la campaña de calumnias en contra de Trotsky que llevaron a cabo los stalinistas mexicanos para preparar el asesinato del dirigente soviético en el exilio.

empezando de estas luchas cotidianas para enfrentar a la burguesía nacional en base a las necesidades de los trabajadores, ganando la dirección de los trabajadores y tomando el poder.

La sociedad latinoamericana, como todas las sociedades—desarrolladas o atrasadas—está compuesta de tres clases: la burguesía, la pequeña burguesía y el proletariado. Mientras las tareas sean democráticas en un sentido histórico amplio, son tareas democrático-burguesas; pero la burguesía ahí es incapaz de resolver estas tareas democráticas, de la misma manera que la burguesía fue incapaz de hacerlo en Rusia o en China.

En ese sentido, durante la lucha por las tareas democráticas, oponemos el proletariado a la burguesía. La independencia del proletariado es absolutamente necesaria, inclusive al inicio de este movimiento, y principalmente oponemos el proletariado a la burguesía en la cuestión agraria, ya que esa clase gobernará México al igual que todas las naciones latinoamericanas que tienen campesinos. Si los campesinos continuaban apoyando a la clase burguesa, como actualmente es el caso, entonces será un estado semidemocrático, semibonapartista como los que existen ahora en todos los países de América Latina, con inclinaciones hacia las masas.

Este es el período en que la burguesía nacional busca un poco más de independencia del imperialismo extranjero. La burguesía nacional se ve obligada a coquetear con los trabajadores, con los campesinos, y así tenemos al hombre fuerte del país orientado hacia la izquierda, como es el caso actualmente en México.

Si la burguesía nacional se ve obligada a abandonar la lucha contra los capitalistas extranjeros, entonces tendremos un régimen semifascista como el de Brasil, por ejemplo. Pero la burguesía de ese país es totalmente incapaz de crear un gobierno democrático porque por un lado está el capital imperialista, y por el otro teme al proletariado porque la historia ahí saltó una etapa y el proletariado se convirtió en un factor importante antes de que se organizara democráticamente toda la sociedad.

Aún en estos gobiernos semibonapartistas democráticos el Estado necesita el apoyo de los campesinos y disciplina a los obreros por medio del peso de los campesinos. Más o menos ésa es la situación en México.

Ahora bien, la Cuarta Internacional reconoce todas las tareas democráticas del Estado en la lucha por la independencia nacional, pero la sección mexicana de la Cuarta Internacional compete con la burguesía nacional ante los trabajadoras, ante los campesinos. Estamos en constante competencia con la burguesía nacional como la única dirección que es capaz de

asegurar la victoria de las masas en la lucha contra el imperialismo extranjero.

En la cuestión agraria apoyamos las expropiaciones. Eso no significa, por supuesto, que apoyemos a la burguesía nacional. En todo caso donde se da una lucha frontal en contra del imperialismo extranjero o sus reaccionarios agentes fascistas, damos apoyo revolucionario, preservando la total independencia política de nuestra organización, nuestro programa, nuestro partido y una total libertad de crítica. El Kuomintang en China, el PRM² en México y el APRA³ en el Perú son organizaciones muy similares. Es el frente popular en forma de partido.

Por supuesto, el frente popular en América Latina no tiene un carácter tan reaccionario como en Francia y España. Tiene un carácter dual. Puede tener una actitud reaccionaria en tanto que está dirigido en contra de los trabajadores; puede tener una actitud agresiva en tanto que está dirigido en contra del imperialismo.

Pero desde nuestro punto de vista hacemos una diferenciación entre el frente popular en América Latina que toma la forma de partido político nacional, y el de Francia o España. Pero esta diferencia de apreciación histórica y esta diferente actitud sólo están permitidas bajo la condición de que nuestra organización no participe en el APRA, el Kuomintang o el PRM, que preserve una absoluta libertad de acción y de crítica.

Los problemas de la toma del poder y del socialismo también tienen que ser concretizados. La primera cuestión es la toma del poder por el partido obrero en México y otros países avanzados de América Latina. La otra cuestión es la construcción del socialismo. Por supuesto, sería más difícil para México construir el socialismo que para Rusia. Sin embargo, no puede excluirse desde ningún punto de vista que los trabajadores mexicanos conquisten el poder antes que los obreros de los Estados Unidos, si estos continúan siendo tan lentos como lo son ahora. Yo diría que esto es especialmen-

2. Partido gobernante fundado por el Gral. Plutarco Elías Calles en 1928 bajo el nombre de Partido Nacional Revolucionario (PNR). El General Cárdenas, miembro del ala izquierda del PNR, reorganizó al partido en 1938 bajo los lineamientos del frente popular, cambiándole el nombre a Partido de la Revolución Mexicana (PRM). Al finalizar la presidencia de Cárdenas, la política mexicana dio un giro hacia la derecha que se aceleró en los años subsiguientes bajo el Presidente Manuel Avila Camacho. En 1946 de nuevo fue cambiado el nombre del partido, esta vez se llamó Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI), nombre que hasta la fecha sostiene.

3. Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana, partido peruano organizado por Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre cuando éste residía en México en 1924. En un tiempo Haya de la Torre expresó simpatía por la revolución rusa y visitó la Unión Soviética, donde junto con otros habló con Trotsky.

te posible si el movimiento imperialista en los Estados Unidos [en su intento por controlar a América Latina] empuja a la burguesía. América Latina es para los Estados Unidos lo que Austria y los Sudetes eran para Hitler.

Como primer paso de la nueva etapa del imperialismo norteamericano, Roosevelt o su sucesor mostrará el puño a América Latina, para poder asegurar su tutela económica militar sobre Latinoamérica, y eso provocará un movimiento revolucionario más decisivo, como en China . . . creemos que con más éxito. Bajo estas condiciones los trabajadores en México pueden llegar al poder antes que los trabajadores en los Estados Unidos. Debemos alentarlos en esa dirección.

Pero esto no quiere decir que ellos construirán su propio socialismo. Decidirán luchar contra el imperialismo norteamericano y, por supuesto, reorganizarán las condiciones agrarias del país y abolirán la sociedad pérfida y parasitaria que juega un tremendo papel en esos países, dándoles el poder a los soviets de obreros y campesinos y luchando contra el imperialismo. El futuro dependerá de lo que suceda en los Estados Unidos y en el mundo entero.

Curtiss. Mientras el camarada Trotsky hablaba, surgieron en mi mente muchas de las preguntas que se hacen los camaradas entre sí en toda América Latina y en muchas partes del mundo.

Discutamos el caso de México. Hay dos problemas que están conectados. Cuando el movimiento obrero empezó aquí, creo que cuando Morones⁴ era la personalidad más importante, su argumento era que era posible tomar el poder en México pero que los trabajadores no podían atreverse a hacer eso por la inevitabilidad de una intervención militar de los Estados Unidos.

Haciendo a un lado la opinión de Morones sobre la necesidad del socialismo, lo que a él le preocupaba eran sus propias necesidades.

Ahora vemos teóricamente planteado en *El Popular*, el periódico de Lombardo Toledano, el lado opuesto del mismo problema. También hubo un artículo en *El Machete*, el órgano stalinista, que no he estudiado con mucho cuidado, que planteaba de manera similar el problema de si es posible o no llegar al socialismo en México o llegar a la toma del poder pacíficamente. Estoy consciente de que los obreros piensan bastante en este problema. Ha sido planteado en muchos artículos. A todos los socialistas nuevos les intriga esta idea.

Parece que el verdadero camino para la toma del poder está tomando la forma del control sindical. La lucha de los sindicatos

4. Luis N. Morones, secretario general de la Confederación Regional Obrera Mexicana, federación sindical conservadora construida a semejanza de la American Federation of Labor.

por el control. Los carniceros, por ejemplo, han amenazado con irse a la huelga para obtener el control de los rastros. Los ferrocarriles están bajo administración obrera.

No sé exactamente cuál es la situación en la industria petrolera, pero he aquí algunos de los informes: que la mansión que anteriormente pertenecía a uno de los representantes de las compañías petroleras éste ya no vive ahí. Ahora un burócrata sindical ocupa su lugar.

La cuestión de la democracia, yo creo, no sólo es un problema de qué forma adopta el Estado, sino que es un problema apremiante dentro del movimiento obrero. Un problema concreto que los camaradas enfrentan en México es cómo confrontar a la burocracia. Yo creía que los burócratas sindicales en los Estados Unidos eran bastante malos, pero creo que sólo están aprendiendo de la burocracia mexicana. Gobiernan con puño de acero. Si los miembros no obedecen, son expulsados. El avance de nuestro movimiento depende de esta cuestión en específico.

Hay una burocracia del Estado y también otra burocracia en los sindicatos, y en muchos aspectos no están muy distantes. Ese es un problema en ambas esferas que se está agudizando.

Creo que la aplicación concreta del programa de transición en México tendrá que tomar en cuenta estas leyes y antecedentes. Los intentos de control obrero son intentos por democratizar el movimiento sindical. Creo que es necesario levantar la consigna de la milicia obrera armada, no sólo en contra de la burguesía, sino también para defender las conquistas que ellos mismos han obtenido en contra de los burócratas sindicales.

Sobre el problema de ganarse a los campesinos. Aquí vemos que los maestros juegan un papel clave. . . . Los maestros, junto con los ferrocarrileros, son el vínculo entre el campesinado y los trabajadores urbanos.

Me gustaría que el camarada Trotsky comentara sobre dos cuestiones: la primera es sobre nuestra posición sobre la expropiación de petróleo y el crecimiento de la burocracia y el intento de los burócratas de hacer que parte de la carga la sobrelleven los obreros; la segunda es sobre la razón exacta del giro a la izquierda por parte de Cárdenas. Por qué el giro es tan decisivo, por qué es tan profundo, ya que de todos los presidentes, Cárdenas parece ser el que ha ido más lejos al enfrentar el problema de la tierra.

Un señalamiento sobre el APRA. Es una organización importante, pero en estos momentos está subvencionada por el gobierno mexicano. Uno de los principales argumentos del APRA y de sus dirigentes—yo creo que éste es no sólo un problema para

los camaradas de América Latina, sino también para nosotros en los Estados Unidos—es el siguiente: ellos afirman que no hay posibilidades—y que ni siquiera vale la pena intentarlo—de tener algo que ver con los obreros de los países industrialmente avanzados, puesto que a ellos no les interesan los problemas coloniales.

Creo que el esfuerzo de los camaradas de la Cuarta Internacional de los países industrialmente avanzados por enfrentar los problemas de los países coloniales y semicoloniales sería un duro golpe contra los argumentos del APRA.

Lankin: Me gustaría tener un poco más de información sobre la organización mexicana. Cuántos miembros tiene y cuál es la composición del partido. Qué publicaciones tiene, etc.

Curtiss: Es difícil determinar el número exacto. Está en una etapa de reorganización.

Sobre la composición social: hay dos niveles, maestros y trabajadores. Los trabajadores están en su mayoría en los sindicatos de la construcción, no son obreros industriales sino trabajadores de la construcción.

Su publicación oficial es el periódico *Cuarta Internacional*. Tiene una circulación bastante buena. El grupo ha hecho bastante en el renglón de las publicaciones pero poco se vende, la mayoría lo distribuye.

Por supuesto, *Clave*, una nueva revista teórica, simpatiza bastante con nuestro punto de vista.

Desde el punto de vista de la teoría hay un gran desnivel en la organización. Los maestros han leído bastante marxismo. La mayoría de los demás camaradas saben muy poco de marxismo desde el punto de vista teórico. En las ciudades se han hecho algunos intentos, con algo de éxito, por educar a los miembros, pero no se han llevado a cabo a nivel nacional.

Lankin: Cuando hablaste sobre los sindicatos dijiste que si estás en desacuerdo con los dirigentes sindicales puedes perder el empleo. ¿Tiene un dirigente de los sindicatos mexicanos poder total sobre un grupo específico de obreros de la misma manera que un funcionario del gobierno, o existe la misma democracia sindical que se supone hay en los Estados Unidos?

Curtiss: En todos los países de América Latina los estatutos de los sindicatos son perfectos modelos de democracia; pero los dirigentes aplican prácticas dictatoriales. Todos los sindicatos tienen todo tipo de garantías; pero estas garantías no significan nada.

Un dirigente puede expulsar a cualquiera de un sindicato, y el miembro expulsado se encuentra en una posición muy, muy

desagradable. No se puede hacer ningún intento de apelar contra la expulsión. La única apelación posible sería la de los puños.

John L. Lewis, Green y otros de nuestros dirigentes sindicales norteamericanos de su calaña, no le llegan a la burocracia sindical mexicana.

Robinson: Me gustaría preguntar cómo ha tomado la sección mexicana de la Cuarta Internacional la decisión de la conferencia que fue publicada en el *Appeal*.⁵ ¿Cuánto ha crecido el Partido Comunista últimamente? ¿Está teniendo éxito? ¿Se está fortaleciendo? ¿Cómo estamos en relación al PC?

Curtiss: El Partido Comunista es una organización poderosa en México. Controla muchas oficinas públicas. Cuando nuestros camaradas envían literatura por correo, si cae en manos del PC, nunca llega a su destino.

Los stalinistas están en una campaña por los 75,000 miembros. En los Estados Unidos lanzaron una campaña por los 100,000 miembros. De esto puedes darte una idea de la fuerza organizativa del PC. Desde el punto de vista de miembros, es una organización poderosa. Sin embargo, es equivocado verlos como una masa indestructible. . . .

La decisión del Congreso Internacional ha sido tomada muy, pero muy mal por los camaradas de la ciudad de México, sobre todo por el grupo de Galicia. Ha originado el surgimiento de muchas tendencias, y es posible que terminemos con una organización mucho más pequeña de lo que pensamos ahora. La decisión fue tomada de muy mala gana por los camaradas. Estuvieron de acuerdo de someterse a la decisión pero sólo bajo protesta. La moción de aceptar bajo protesta fue adoptada con sólo unos cuantos camaradas votando en contra.

* * *

Trotsky: Con respecto al número de miembros que se calcula del Partido Comunista en conexión con su campaña por 75,000 miembros, tengo grandes dudas. Las estadísticas políticas en México no son las

5. La referencia es a una lucha que surgió en la sección mexicana de la Cuarta Internacional entre dos grupos, uno encabezado por Octavio Fernández, y el otro por Luciano Galicia. Las diferencias permanecieron obscuras, ningún bando fue capaz de formularlas a nivel político. Este problema, dominado aparentemente por antagonismos personales, fue tratado en el congreso de fundación del la Cuarta Internacional en 1938. El congreso adoptó una resolución que criticaba a ambos grupos y les hacía una sugerencia para que salieran del callejón sin salida. La resolución fue publicada en el *Socialist Appeal*, nombre usado por el *Militant* durante algún tiempo.

más exactas del mundo. Por ejemplo, la CTM dice tener un millón de miembros. Cuando le pregunté a un ex funcionario de la CTM si esto era verdad, me dijo:

"No, es una exageración."

"¿Cuántos miembros tiene, medio millón?"

"No, creo que cuarenta o cincuenta mil, sobre todo en lo que concierne a obreros."

Sin embargo, hay mucha, pero mucha confusión en los datos del Partido Comunista.

Diego Rivera cree, y él conoce la situación, que el partido es fuerte en la ciudad de México. Creo que dijo que tenía, 12,000, no más de 14,000 miembros, alrededor de 11,600 o 11,700 burócratas y 2,000 o 3,000 obreros.

Con respecto a los burócratas; no pueden ser reconocidos políticamente como miembros genuinos del partido. Si el dirigente oficial del sindicato es comunista, él obliga a todo él que está bajo su mando a ser comunista. Si no van a una reunión, se les quitan cinco días de salario.

Los sindicatos en México constitucionalmente están estatizados.⁶ Uno no puede obtener un empleo si no es miembro del sindicato, y los sindicatos burocráticos reciben cuotas por medio del estado. Con un maestro, por ejemplo, el dirigente decide que cada maestro pague el 1.5 por ciento de su salario. El secretario de finanzas ordena que de los salarios se deduzca el 1.5 por ciento para el sindicato.

En el contexto general de la política mexicana, los sindicatos están ahora en una etapa muy interesante. Vemos una tendencia general a estatizar los sindicatos. En los países fascistas vemos la expresión extrema de esta tendencia.

En los países democráticos, transforman los sindicatos que antes eran independientes en instrumentos del estado. Los sindicatos en Francia están siendo transformados en una burocracia oficial del estado. Jouhaux⁷ vino a México como representante de su gobierno para salvaguardar los intereses de Francia sobre el petróleo mexicano, y así por el estilo.

La razón por la cual existe esta tendencia a la estatización es que el capitalismo en decadencia no puede tolerar sindicatos independientes. Si los sindicatos son muy independientes, entonces los capitalistas impulsan a los fascistas para destruirlos o para asustar a sus dirigentes con una

alternativa fascista para disciplinarlos.

Jouhaux fue disciplinado de esta manera. El está seguro de que si es mejor republicano los franceses no implantarán un régimen fascista. Vimos en España como los dirigentes de los sindicatos más anarquistas se convirtieron en ministros burgueses durante la guerra.

En Alemania e Italia esto se ha asegurado de una manera totalitaria, los sindicatos han sido incorporados directamente al estado, junto con los dueños capitalistas. Es sólo una diferencia de grado, no una diferencia de esencia.

Vemos en México y en otros países latinoamericanos que se han saltado la mayoría de las etapas del desarrollo. En México empezó directamente con la incorporación de los sindicatos al estado. En México tenemos una dominación doble. Es decir, el capital extranjero y el capital nacional, o como lo ha formulado Diego Rivera, una "sub-burguesía"; esto es, un estrato que está controlado por el capital extranjero y que al mismo tiempo se opone a los obreros. En México hay un régimen semibonapartista entre el capital extranjero y el capital nacional, el capital extranjero y los obreros.

Todo gobierno, en un caso como éste, puede adoptar una posición oscilante, de inclinarse unas veces hacia la burguesía nacional o los trabajadores, y otras veces hacia el capital extranjero. Para poder tener a los trabajadores en sus manos, han incorporado los sindicatos al estado.

También se han saltado relaciones económicas, etapas de desarrollo en el sentido de que expropiaron el petróleo al capital extranjero, por ejemplo, y sin embargo no se lo dieron a los capitalistas nacionales. No lo distribuyeron ni lo vendieron a la burguesía mexicana, sobre todo porque temen a la lucha de clases de los trabajadores y por eso le dieron los pozos petroleros al estado.

Crearon un capitalismo de estado que no tiene nada que ver con el socialismo. Es la forma más pura de capitalismo de estado.

Al mismo tiempo incorporaron a los trabajadores, a los sindicatos, que ya están estatizados. Los incorporaron a la administración de los ferrocarriles, la industria petrolera, etc., para poder transformar la dirección sindical en representante del gobierno. El capataz es al mismo tiempo el representante de los trabajadores, nominalmente de sus intereses, y en realidad es el representante del estado sobre los obreros. Y tiene el derecho—más bien dicho la posibilidad—de quitar a los obreros su oportunidad de trabajar, porque en nombre de la disciplina sindical, puede hacerlo en beneficio de la producción.

En ese sentido, por supuesto, cuando decimos control obrero de la producción no quiere decir control de la producción por los burócratas estatizados de los sindicatos, sino el control de los trabajadores sobre su

propia burocracia y la lucha por la independencia de los sindicatos hacia el Estado.

En México ésa es la tarea más importante, la liberación de los sindicatos de la tutela del estado burgués y la liberación de los trabajadores de la dictadura de los burócratas en los sindicatos. Es decir, democracia obrera.

Tenemos que poner énfasis en el hecho de que actualmente los sindicatos no pueden ser sindicatos democráticos en el viejo sentido del término. Los imperialistas no pueden tolerarlos. En los países viejos, igual que en México, pueden ser instrumentos de la burguesía imperialista u organizaciones revolucionarias contra la burguesía imperialista.

Es por eso que en México empezamos, por supuesto, con consignas como independencia del estado, democracia obrera, libre discusión, etc. Pero son sólo consignas de transición, que llevan a consignas más importantes del estado obrero. Es sólo una etapa que nos puede dar la posibilidad de remplazar a la actual dirección de los sindicatos por una dirección revolucionaria.

No pueden ser independientes como en los buenos viejos tiempos, tolerados por la burguesía porque le era posible permitir tal libertad a los sindicatos. Ya no es posible establecer la vieja democracia en los sindicatos, como ya tampoco es posible establecer la democracia en el Estado. Es un desarrollo absolutamente paralelo.

En México Toledano utiliza esta situación para asegurar su dominio sobre los trabajadores de la misma manera que todos los estados latinoamericanos la usan para asegurar su propia dominación. Es un gobierno semibonapartista, que a veces se inclina a la izquierda y a veces a la derecha. Esto depende de la etapa histórica concreta de cada país. Pero aquí no podemos saltar etapas. No podemos decir a los obreros, dénos la dirección y les enseñaremos qué hacer.

Es absolutamente seguro que la Cuarta Internacional es capaz de garantizar una dirección revolucionaria a los sindicatos durante las etapas de transición en México. La Cuarta Internacional defenderá esta etapa mexicana en contra de la intervención imperialista. No es como en Francia, como en los Estados Unidos. Luchamos para evitar que se transforme en una colonia, en esclavismo.

Pero para nosotros, como sección mexicana de la Cuarta Internacional, no es nuestro Estado y debemos ser independientes de él. En este sentido no nos oponemos al capitalismo de estado en México; pero lo primero que exigimos es nuestra propia representación obrera ante este Estado. No podemos permitir que los dirigentes de los sindicatos se conviertan en funcionarios del Estado. Tratar de conquistar el Estado de esta manera es una absoluta idiotéz. No es

6. Para más información sobre este tema lea *Leon Trotsky on the Trade Unions*, sobre todo el artículo "Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay." Este folleto puede ser conseguido en Pathfinder Press, Inc., 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014; o en Pathfinder Press, 47 The Cut, London SE1 8LL.

7. Léon Jouhaux, secretario general de la Confédération Générale du Travail (CGT).

posible de esta manera, pacíficamente, conquistar el poder. Es un sueño pequeño burgués.

Ese era el plan de Stalin con el Kuomintang, y debido a esta idiotez de Stalin el Kuomintang gobierna ahora China. Entraremos al Kuomintang, dijo Stalin, luego cortésmente eliminaremos al ala derecha, luego al centro y luego a la izquierda. Y así tomaremos el poder sin problemas.

Nosotros, la Oposición de Izquierda,⁸ señalamos que el ala derecha del Kuomintang era imperialista. Tienen en sus manos el ejército. No podemos tomar el poder sin oponernos a esta maquinaria. Mientras estemos en manos del Kuomintang, estamos en manos de los verdaderos amos del país. Sin lugar a dudas.

El APRA actualmente afirma que es el partido más revolucionario del Perú. Eso es sólo porque es la oposición; pero aún en la oposición es más cauto que el gobierno de Cárdenas. Por lo que puedo juzgar a partir de la última carta programática⁹ del dirigente de los apistas, el partido está controlado por dirigentes que tienen contrato con capital extranjero. A ellos les interesa, como a todos los generales reaccionarios en México, construir una camarilla dominante como un instrumento del capital extranjero, tratando si es posible de incrementar el capital nacional.

Por supuesto, los intereses del capital extranjero y del capital nacional no siempre son idénticos, y de vez en cuando tienen enfrentamientos profundos. De esta manera es posible, en condiciones favorables, que el capital nacional se oponga a las exigencias del capital extranjero.

Durante la época de la "política del buen vecino" de Roosevelt, Cárdenas puso a prueba la posibilidad de una intervención militar, y hasta cierto grado logró ganar

ciertas posiciones, empezando con el capital inglés, luego el norteamericano, etc. Ahora parece que empieza a hacer concesiones de nuevo. Puso a prueba el límite de las posibilidades.

La burguesía nacional necesita un mercado interno, y el mercado interno está formado más o menos por un campesinado satisfecho. Es por eso que la revolución agraria, especialmente a costa de los propietarios extranjeros, es un triunfo directo de la burguesía nacional. Los campesinos comprarán más mercancías, etc. Este lineamiento es de carácter político. No es claro desde el principio que alcance pueda tener. El gobierno no puede saber hasta dónde va a tolerar la burguesía, o hasta dónde va a tolerar la burguesía norteamericana, o hasta dónde puede llegar sin una intervención por parte de la Gran Bretaña, y así sucesivamente. Es por eso que tiene un carácter aventurero. Por un lado experimenta y por el otro brinca, y luego retrocede.

Creo que debemos luchar con todas nuestras energías contra la idea que el Estado puede ser tomado robándose poco a poco el poder. Esa es la historia del Kuomintang. En México el poder está en manos de la burguesía nacional, y sólo podemos tomar el poder ganándonos a la mayoría de los trabajadores y a una gran parte del campesinado, y después derrocando a la burguesía. No hay otra posibilidad.

El APRA dice que no tiene caso marchar hombro con hombro con los trabajadores de los Estados Unidos porque a éstos no les interesa la cuestión colonial, lo mismo se aplica al proletariado europeo y así sucesivamente. La verdadera razón que hay atrás de esta actitud es la necesidad de tener la protección política de la Casa Blanca. No es un error ideológico ni una equivocación. Es el cálculo político de la burguesía nacional del Perú.

Ellos saben que necesitan la confianza de la Casa Blanca, especialmente la de Wall Street. Si triunfan en el Perú, van a necesitar la protección de Wall Street de la misma manera que la necesitan actualmente todos los gobiernos en la América Latina; y si entran en contacto con los trabajadores, para ganarlos a su lucha, eso significa que tienen que romper relaciones con la Casa Blanca.

Por un tiempo se me dificultó tener una imagen clara del programa del APRA. Pero la última carta del principal dirigente del partido es absolutamente clara. El dice que los Estados Unidos son los guardianes de la libertad de América Latina; y que si una potencia extranjera amenaza esta libertad, el APRA acudirá inmediatamente a los Estados Unidos, y así sucesivamente. No dice ni una sola palabra acerca de los obreros.

Es un partido de frente popular. Un frente

popular está metido dentro del partido, igual que cualquier combinación de esa naturaleza. La dirección está en manos de la burguesía, y la burguesía teme a sus propios obreros. Es por eso que este partido, aunque es tan fuerte que pudiera tomar el poder por medio de la revolución, tiene miedo de tomar ese camino. No tienen ni el valor ni el interés de clase para movilizar a los campesinos y a los obreros, y los reemplazará por medio de maniobras militares o por medio de una intervención directa de los Estados Unidos.

Por supuesto, no podemos entrar en un partido así; pero podemos crear un núcleo dentro de él para poder ganarnos a los trabajadores y separarlos de la burguesía. Pero bajo ninguna circunstancia podemos repetir la idiotez que cometieron los stalinistas con el Kuomintang en China.

Curtiss. Sobre la cuestión de la estatización de los sindicatos, creo que un aspecto importante de eso es el Labor Relations Board [Consejo de Relaciones Laborales] establecido en los Estados Unidos, que ha causado estragos en el espíritu de lucha de los trabajadores.

Creo que si fuéramos a caracterizar la tendencia que hay en México—el esfuerzo por alcanzar una paz teórica, una transición pacífica al socialismo—se le llamaría un sueño burocrático de los dirigentes sindicales, que llegan a un puesto fácil y cómodo por medio de este proceso. Para ellos eso sería el apogeo del desarrollo hacia el socialismo.

Trotsky. Sería bueno pedirles a nuestros camaradas de México que verifiquen las estadísticas del Partido Comunista. Diego Rivera calcula que 12,000 estaban en la campaña central por los 75,000. El no exagera. El mismo Partido Comunista dice tener no más de un total de 24,000 miembros. □

8. La fracción del Partido Comunista organizada por Trotsky en 1923 contra la tendencia burocrática en ascenso que encontró a su dirigente en Stalin. La Oposición de Izquierda se extendió internacionalmente, convirtiéndose en 1930 en la Oposición de Izquierda Internacional, fracción cuyo objetivo era el de hacer regresar a la Internacional Comunista a los principios revolucionarios. El intento fracasó, como fue demostrado por la derrota colosal del Partido Comunista Alemán ante el ascenso del fascismo. La fracción internacional entonces se encaminó hacia la organización de un nuevo movimiento mundial para llevar a cabo el programa del marxismo revolucionario, un paso en esa dirección fue la fundación de la Cuarta Internacional en 1938.

9. Para una evaluación más profunda de esta carta vea "Haya de la Torre and Democracy—a Program of Militant Struggle or of Adaptation to American Imperialism?" y "Ignorance Is Not a Revolutionary Instrument" publicados en *Writings of Leon Trotsky (1938-39)*, segunda edición. El artículo de Haya de la Torre está fechado el 9 de noviembre de 1938, cinco días después de esta discusión.

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Cómo Fracasaron los Stalinistas Australianos en la Defensa de la Revolución Vietnamita

Por Jim Percy

[La siguiente es una traducción del artículo "How Australian Stalinists Failed the Test of Defending the Vietnamese Revolution" que aparece en este mismo número de *Intercontinental Press*.

[La traducción es de *Intercontinental Press*.]

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En el último número de *Tribune* (abril 29), órgano del Partido Comunista de Australia, Denis Freney, bajo el seudónimo de "D.F." acusó al movimiento trotskista de ser únicamente comentaristas de la guerra de Indochina.

En un artículo titulado "Políticos de Café sobre Indochina," Freney critica al Socialist Workers League (Liga Socialista de los Trabajadores) y al Socialist Youth Alliance (Alianza de Jóvenes Socialistas) por criticar al Partido Comunista en su llamado a que se implementaran los acuerdos de paz de París de 1973.

En caso de que alguien pudiera considerar a Freney o al PCA de "políticos de café," Freney adorna el papel que jugó el PCA en el movimiento antibélico:

"Los comunistas australianos pueden estar orgullosos del papel que jugaron en la defensa del pueblo vietnamita durante tres décadas. El PCA y *Tribune* fueron los primeros en hacer una campaña en contra de la intervención y por el retiro de las tropas australianas de Vietnam; jugaron un papel dirigente junto con otras fuerzas antibélicas en el desarrollo del gran movimiento 'Vietnam Moratorium'. . . ."

Es verdad que Freney se golpea el pecho por los errores del PCA por no haber contribuido más, pero lo significativo del balance de Freney es que no menciona el magnífico papel que jugó el PCA en el movimiento antibélico desde principios de 1967 hasta fines de 1969.

Analicemos la experiencia en Sydney. Freney estuvo aquí parte de esa época y el autor de este artículo estuvo aquí durante toda esa época. En el proceso veamos el papel que jugaron los "políticos de café" del movimiento trotskista, tal como nos llama Freney.

La primera acción que causó impacto nacional en la prensa fue después de que Menzies anunció en abril de 1965 que enviaba tropas a Vietnam. Esta acción se efectuó en Canberra y fue organizada por

los delegados a la conferencia de mayo de la Australian Student Labor Federation (Federación Estudiantil Obrera Australiana). El bloqueo de un paso de peatones trajo como consecuencia el arresto de varias personas entre ellos Bob Gould, en aquel entonces dirigente del movimiento trotskista, y de John Percy, dirigente actual de la SWL. Como resultado del impacto de esa acción se tomó la decisión de formar el Vietnam Action Campaign (VAC), la primera organización antibélica que tenía el propósito de hacer una campaña sobre Vietnam. Los "políticos de café" del movimiento trotskista fueron responsables de esta iniciativa.

En los meses siguientes el VAC organizó una serie de manifestaciones, pequeñas al principio, pero fueron creciendo por centenas hasta que llegaron a ser el sello de la actividad antibélica: manifestaciones masivas callejeras que exigían que los Estados Unidos y Australia se retiraran inmediatamente de Vietnam. Esas manifestaciones establecieron el derecho del pueblo a manifestar. Aún más, dejaron bien claro que lo que estaba en juego era el derecho de los vietnamitas a la autodeterminación. No podíamos apoyar nada que cuestionara este derecho.

Los miembros del Partido Comunista, primero a nivel de base, luego como partido, empezaron a organizar y participar en las acciones. Se establecieron otras organizaciones pero siempre hubo una actividad unificada alrededor de la demanda de que los Estados Unidos y Australia deberían retirarse de Vietnam.

El punto culminante de este período fue la manifestación de octubre de 1966 que le dio la bienvenida al presidente norteamericano Johnson en Sydney. Esta acción tuvo un dramático impacto en todo el mundo. Johnson no podía ni tan siquiera ir a Australia sin ser atacado por su agresión a Vietnam.

En 1966 el Partido Laborista se opuso al papel de Australia en Vietnam. Debido a un accidente histórico más que a otra cosa, A.A. Caldwell, cuyos puntos de vista en el pasado en el mejor de los casos pueden ser descritos como derechistas, hizo una campaña contra la guerra. Este fue un factor muy importante para obtener apoyo a las fuerzas antibélicas. Pero en noviembre de 1966 el Partido Laborista Australiano (PLA) sufrió

un desastre electoral, quizá debido a su posición sobre Vietnam.

El Partido Laborista Retrocede

Whitlam dirigió en 1967 el ataque conservador contra la política del Partido Laborista y logró tanto la dirección del partido como la reversión de la política combativa de "Fuera Ya." "Retirada a áreas ocupadas" se convirtió en la posición del PLA. Nadie se comprometió con la retirada inmediata de las tropas australianas. Esta política se adoptó unánimemente, con Jim Cairns votando también a favor de este retroceso.

El PCA cediendo a esta presión también cambió su línea. De ahí en adelante argumentó que era necesario hacer una campaña a favor de "¡Alto al bombardeo! ¡Negociaciones!" Nosotros los "políticos de café" por el contrario argumentamos, siendo casi los únicos con esta posición, que tal situación no reconocía el derecho de autodeterminación del pueblo vietnamita. Sólo el retiro de todas las tropas de los Estados Unidos y sus aliados podría permitir esto. El Vietnam Action Campaign continuó participando en todas las acciones a las que llamaron los diferentes comités dominados por la línea del PCA pero el VAC propagandizó nuestros propios puntos de vista.

Las marchas de 1967 llegaron a tener un tamaño considerable, hasta 7,000 personas. Para entonces, la Association for International Cooperation and Disarmament (AICD—Asociación Pro la Colaboración Internacional y el Desarme) jugó un papel dirigente a llamarlas con el apoyo de sindicatos donde el PCA o la izquierda del PLA tenían influencia.

Más tarde, hace siete años, en 1968 el PCA ganó su demanda. Johnson anunció que estaba dispuesto a negociar y parar el bombardeo. Como éstas habían sido las demandas del movimiento antibélico organizado por el Partido Comunista, ése se desplomó. Desde entonces el PCA se concentró exclusivamente en la cuestión de la conscripción.

La Reconstrucción del Movimiento

En Sydney, las pequeñas fuerzas trotskistas se quedaron con la tarea de reconstruir el movimiento antibélico. Hubo toda una serie de manifestaciones que marcharon desde la Universidad de Sydney hasta el centro de la ciudad donde se dejaron oír de nuevo las demandas antibélicas que voceaban Resistance, Labor Club, y High School Students Against the War in Vietnam, organizaciones dirigidas por los "políticos de café" del movimiento trotskista.

Este período culminó con una marcha de 2,500 en diciembre de 1969. De hecho el PCA boicoteó ésta: la línea de Freney en aquel entonces era de que la marcha debería ser organizada en base a la demanda



Direct Action

Los trotskistas jugaron un papel clave en la organización de la manifestación de diciembre de 1969 en Sydney.

"Apoyo al FLN." Nunca había sido tan evidente el oportunismo del PCA y en particular el de Freney. Ellos sabían que tal línea hubiera significado eliminar la posibilidad de organizar una manifestación y un mitin grandes. Es por eso que la propusieron. En su sectarismo y faccionalismo ciego no toleraban ver una acción exitosa dirigida por los "políticos de café," estando ellos en la posición de no jugar ningún papel. Y no jugaron ningún papel debido a su craso error político y su abstencionismo.

Pero al final de 1969 la situación cambió. Las manifestaciones masivas en los Estados Unidos hicieron que las fuerzas aquí llegaran a la conclusión, después de dos años de estar calmadas, de que era posible organizar acciones grandes de nuevo. Los "políticos de café" lo demostraron en la práctica.

De esta manera AICD llamó a la reunión de un nuevo comité grande. En las carreras a alguien se le olvidó invitar al Vietnam Mobilization Committee que había organizado la manifestación de diciembre, pero de todas maneras fuimos.

Fue grande la sorpresa del PCA y sus amigos cuando supieron que el movimiento antibélico, de ahora en adelante, iba a funcionar democráticamente. Ya no era posible tratar de excluir a los trotskistas, ya no éramos un puñado como en 1965 y 1966. Después de que el PCA y AICD se recuperaron de la aflicción de tener que hacer proposiciones para la acción ante reuniones masivas de activistas en vez de hacerlas ante los comités que ellos escogían, se echó a andar el "Moratorium" siendo el autor de éste uno de los cinco secretarios iniciales.

La demanda fue, por supuesto, "¡Fuera Ya!" Esta vez inclusive el PCA se había dado cuenta de las maniobras de paz de Washington. No recuerdo que Freney haya propuesto que la demanda fuera "Apoyo al FLN." Aparentemente la urgencia desapareció después de unos cuantos meses.

¿Cuál fue el papel que jugó el Socialist Workers Party en los Estados Unidos durante este período? Sí, Denis sabe que los trotskistas "de café" de los Estados Unidos jugaron un papel clave en la organización del movimiento antibélico, evitaron que éste fuera canalizado hacia las trampas en que el PCA cayó. Denis sabe que esto es verdad. No fue hasta que se integró al PCA y empezó a falsificar la historia, que ya no puede reconocer esto.

¿Revolucionario de Café?

Ahora la pregunta que se tiene que hacer es la siguiente: todo este trabajo de organizar el movimiento antibélico, tanto aquí como en los Estados Unidos y en todo el mundo, ¿ha sido obra de "políticos de café"? ¿Tuvo esta obra algún impacto en el resultado de la guerra? ¿Fue un factor importante que evitó que la maquinaria guerrera de los Estados Unidos continuara su genocidio en Vietnam? ¿Fue un factor real o fueron meras fantasías de los "políticos de café"?

Los miles que marcharon y marcharon en contra de la guerra ahora saben que sí fue un gran factor. Y también sabemos que los "políticos de café" detrás de esas acciones hicieron planes, discutieron la política y trataron de organizar un movimiento que

tuviera el máximo impacto. Ellos saben que su trabajo les da el derecho de comentar el camino a seguir del movimiento antibélico y la revolución vietnamita.

Por supuesto, hubiera sido mejor que los trotskistas vietnamitas hubieran podido también comentar. Pero fueron asesinados y reprimidos por las fuerzas de Ho Chi Minh en la década de los cuarenta porque se resistieron a la política de que los británicos debieran ser recibidos después de la derrota de los japoneses. Los eventos les dan la razón, aún póstumamente. ¿O no, Freney?

Por supuesto el Partido Comunista sabe que el movimiento trotskista, empezando con Trotsky, no son revolucionarios de café. No se preocuparían de nosotros si pensaran que lo somos. Lo que temen es el debate político y la crítica. Las calumnias baratas de Freney tienen la intención de oscurecer el debate.

El Debate Sobre los Acuerdos de Paz

¿Cuáles eran y cuáles son los puntos en el debate sobre los acuerdos de paz de París, y qué fue lo que dijimos?

El debate surgió sobre la demanda que hizo el PCA en el movimiento antibélico de que Nixon debería "firmar ahora" los acuerdos que habían sido preparados en 1972.

Nosotros dijimos que el movimiento antibélico debería continuar insistiendo en la demanda "¡Fuera Ya!" No dijimos que los vietnamitas no deberían firmar. Tenían el derecho a firmar cuando lo consideraran conveniente. Sin embargo, sí objetamos la evidente y obvia presión que estaban

ejerciéndolo sobre ellos Moscú y Pekín quienes estaban bebiendo y cenando con Nixon mientras éste bombardeaba Vietnam. Nunca respondieron al bombardeo masivo asesino de fines de 1972.

Hicimos una analogía con el tratado de Brest Litovsk que los bolcheviques fueron forzados por Alemania a firmar en 1918. Los bolcheviques, por supuesto, tenían el derecho a firmar, pero los social demócratas de Alemania que apoyaron el tratado fueron condenados justamente por Lenin. Ellos no tenían el revolver en la cabeza, debieron haber llamado a "Fuera Ya," sin condiciones. Argumentamos que solamente la retirada incondicional de las tropas norteamericanas y su material de guerra les daría a los vietnamitas el derecho de autodeterminación. No aceptaríamos nada menos que eso.

He aquí lo que *Direct Acción* dijo el 9 de noviembre de 1972 en el artículo de Gordon Adler titulado:

"Porqué los socialistas australianos no pueden apoyar las concesiones que tuvieron que hacer los vietnamitas bajo el ataque norteamericano."

"El plan de los nueve puntos es un acuerdo injusto. No resuelve el problema político de la guerra, y sólo puede sentar las bases para una nueva fase prolongada y sangrienta de la lucha.

"El Partido Comunista de Australia, Workers Student Alliance, Communist League y otros sectores del movimiento antibélico, han criticado esta posición, y han declarado que nosotros estamos tratando de decirles a los vietnamitas como conducir su lucha. Tal afirmación sólo puede ser hecha por gente que ha perdido toda capacidad de análisis objetivo de los eventos políticos. Nosotros no criticamos a Hanoi por haber llegado a un acuerdo con los Estados Unidos bajo todas las presiones a la cuales se ha visto sometido el régimen de Hanoi. Lo que decimos es que independientemente de lo que han sido forzados a aceptar, es nuestra obligación movilizar las fuerzas antibélicas para presionar a los Estados Unidos a que salga de Indochina. Los bolcheviques fueron forzados a aceptar el tratado de Brest Litovsk bajo la amenaza de los cañones alemanes, Lenin criticó agudamente a los socialistas que aclamaron el acuerdo como una victoria para la paz."

De esta manera nos opusimos a que el movimiento llamara a "¡Que se Firme Ya!" ¿Qué pasó después de que escribimos estas líneas? ¡Las pláticas se rompieron! Aquellos que habían llamado a "¡Que se Firme Ya!" se quedaron desorientados. He aquí lo que escribió Gordon Adler el 21 de diciembre de 1972 en *Direct Action*:

"Las tinieblas que obscurecen el futuro de las pláticas de paz han tenido su reflexión el la discusión dentro del movimiento antibélico. Las opiniones varían desde la euforia de los que creen que la guerra

terminó y que ha llegado la hora de reconstruir el campo desbastado de Vietnam, hasta los que creen que porque la guerra ha sido olvidada por muchos, el movimiento antibélico debe buscar otra lucha en la cual centrar su atención. En la última reunión general de la coalición antibélica en Sydney, los que defendieron los objetivos y tácticas de la acción del 18 de noviembre fueron acusados de seguir ciegamente una consigna anticuada, y de plantear la demanda de 'Fuera Ya' como un talismán místico que debía de haber sido enterrado hace tiempo.

"Los que han mantenido la demanda de la retirada incondicional de todas las fuerzas militares norteamericanas no tienen ningún resquemor porque se han rehusado a desviarse del punto más importante de la guerra por todo un período de varios años. A diferencia de aquéllos que se han desilusionado fácilmente por las dificultades y que buscan constantemente una solución mágica, los que apoyan la demanda de la retirada reconocen que la causa de la guerra es la agresión imperialista, y que la guerra no va a finalizar hasta que la agresión imperialista termine. No podrá haber paz hasta que haya una retirada incondicional de todas las fuerzas norteamericanas.

"Si el Partido Comunista de Australia, Workers Student Alliance, Communist League y demás grupos que tan vehementemente atacaron la consigna 'Fuera Ya' hace tan sólo un mes, fueran serios, si realmente creyeran que el acuerdo de los nueve puntos fuera la clave de la paz en Vietnam, ¿por qué han abandonado tan pronto su campaña de 'solidaridad' con los combatientes vietnamitas? Por lo visto es 'solidaridad' durante un mes y 'firmen ya' durante otro y reconocimiento de la RDV y el GPR el próximo."

Fue necesario un bombardeo terrorista para que el PCA se convenciera de que era menester reiniciar la actividad, aunque actuaron en violación de las normas democráticas establecidas por el movimiento antibélico.

Cuando se firmaron los acuerdos, aclamamos el reconocimiento positivo de la victoria que se ganó en el campo de batalla. El ejército de los Estados Unidos había sido parado en el combate. En un editorial dijimos:

"El acuerdo por parte de los Estados Unidos de parar el bombardeo y retirar el resto de sus tropas en Vietnam del Sur es una victoria que por mucho tiempo ha buscado el pueblo vietnamita. También es una victoria para el movimiento antibélico aquí y en todo el mundo. Pero la intervención imperialista en Vietnam está lejos de haber terminado. . . ."

"Los vietnamitas, por supuesto, tienen todo el derecho de negociar y firmar un acuerdo con los Estados Unidos y Saigón.

Pero no les damos el más mínimo apoyo a las condiciones que los Estados Unidos les han impuesto. Cualquier intento de hacer pasar esas condiciones como una 'victoria' sólo desarma y desorienta al movimiento antibélico internacional y a los que defienden la lucha por el derecho de autodeterminación de los vietnamitas. Nuestra tarea es decir la verdad sobre las condiciones que Washington, Moscú y Pekín han impuesto en el pueblo vietnamita. Debemos prepararnos para continuar la movilización en contra de los objetivos guerreros de los Estados Unidos en el Sudeste Asiático."

El Papel de Moscú y Pekín

Es verdad, por supuesto, que fuimos extremadamente críticos del papel que jugaron las burocracias de Moscú y Pekín. Ellos no estaban bajo el fusil. En el artículo titulado "Cuál es el significado de los acuerdos de Vietnam" de Nita Keig en *Direct Action* de febrero 22 de 1973 escribimos:

"Se abren nuevas posibilidades para relajar las tensiones y consolidar la seguridad y la paz mundiales. Puede esperarse que el acuerdo político en Vietnam tenga un efecto positivo de una manera u otra en las relaciones entre los estados involucrados en los eventos de Indochina. Más aún esto muestra que es posible encontrar una solución a otros conflictos para liquidar el peligro de guerra en otros lugares conflictivos, sobre todo el Medio Oriente. . . ."

"Se abre para Vietnam del Sur el camino del desarrollo pacífico y democrático que sostiene una verdadera independencia y que conduce a una política de concordia nacional y unificación. . . ."

"Estas palabras no son de Nixon o de Kissinger o de ningún otro vocero del imperialismo, sino de Leonid Brezhnev, secretario general del Partido Comunista de la Unión Soviética, pronunciadas en el banquete en honor del negociador norvietnamita Le Duc Tho el 30 de enero. En un acto similar en honor de Le Duc Tho en Pekín dos días después, el primer ministro chino Chou En Lai aclamó los acuerdos como una 'gran victoria' para la lucha que se había llevado bajo 'condiciones difíciles.'

"Hablando con obvio orgullo al ver el fruto de su política, los dirigentes de los dos más poderosos estados obreros describían así los acuerdos de París y el cese al fuego. Es claro para aquéllos que han observado el curso de la guerra de Vietnam, sobre todo en los últimos años cuando la agresión norteamericana no ha tenido paralelo en crueldad, que China y la Unión Soviética tuvieron bastante culpa en hacer estas condiciones difíciles. Lo anticuado y lo limitado en número del material bélico proporcionado por la Unión Soviética, resalta como una pequeñísima parte en comparación a los recursos que los Estados

Unidos vertieron a favor de la reacción en el conflicto.”

Desafortunadamente, la línea de que la “paz” había triunfado hizo eco en los vietnamitas. El sindicalista norvietnamita Vu Dinh que visitaba a Australia poco después de esto, *Tribune* informó que había dicho:

“Ahora que la paz ha sido recuperada en nuestro país . . .” y una semana más tarde “Estamos seguros que podremos alcanzar la reunificación de nuestro país por medios pacíficos.”

La línea de que la “paz” había sido alcanzada en Vietnam impulsada por Moscú y Pekín y repetida por los vietnamitas socavó toda posibilidad en todo el mundo de organizar cualquier apoyo significativo. Desde entonces, los vietnamitas han luchado sin ningún apoyo significativo del movimiento antibélico. El error de haber caracterizado los acuerdos como la “paz” ha permitido que los reaccionarios pinten al FLN como los “agresores” ahora que no ha habido una fuerza masiva capaz de restringir y contrarrestar la histeria de los reaccionarios.

Nuestros Puntos de Vista

Nosotros, al contrario, argumentamos en un artículo de Barry Sheppard en *Direct Action* el 22 de febrero de 1973:

“La próxima etapa en Vietnam está marcada por la inestabilidad. Los acuerdos reflejan el hecho de que las fuerzas de liberación no han podido alcanzar la liberación nacional y la reunificación. También reflejan que no han sido aplastadas. Existen todavía dos poderes en Vietnam del Sur, el régimen de Saigón de los terratenientes y los capitalistas, y las fuerzas de liberación que se basan en los campesinos y los trabajadores. Tal situación es inherentemente inestable. Eventualmente una u otra fuerza tendrá que prevalecer. El resultado lo decidirá la lucha.

“En este sentido, la situación en Vietnam del Sur es mucho más explosiva que después de los acuerdos de 1954. En aquel entonces, las fuerzas del Vietminh se retiraron al norte. Ahora, las tropas de Vietnam del Norte y el FLN permanecen en control de áreas en el sur. En 1954, el régimen proimperialista era casi inexistente y tuvo que ser organizado. Hoy en día, el régimen de Thieu está armado hasta los dientes. Dos fuerzas armadas masivas están cara a cara.

“Suceda lo que suceda, estos acuerdos no van a traer más paz a Vietnam que la que trajeron los acuerdos de Ginebra de 1954. Después de los acuerdos de Ginebra, las masas vietnamitas de nuevo empezaron, lentamente al principio, a resistir el intento de imponerles un régimen proimperialista terrateniente y capitalista. Eso lo harán de nuevo.”

Lo que pasó después fue que murieron

150,000 vietnamitas en los dos años de guerra civil que siguieron. Es solamente con la eliminación total de la intervención y la ayuda imperialistas que ahora por fin podemos hablar de paz. Pero veamos como lo vio *Tribune* en aquel entonces cuando Nita Keig escribió:

“De ninguna manera los Estados Unidos han renunciado a sus intereses en la situación política del futuro en Vietnam, tampoco se consideran derrotados. En el ejemplar del 30 de febrero de *Tribune*, periódico semanal del Partido Comunista de Australia, desplegó el siguiente titular desorientador ‘Caen los E.U., Thieu se Va.’ De nuevo, en el ejemplar de la semana del 6 al 12 de febrero de *Tribune* una declaración del ejecutivo nacional del PCA habló de ‘la gran victoria que forzó a los Estados Unidos a la retirada incondicional de Vietnam’ (énfasis nuestro.) Luego, para mantener la otra posición, explica que el movimiento de masas tendría que ser mantenido para contribuir a contrarrestar los intentos del gobierno de Nixon de evitar la victoria total de las fuerzas de liberación indochinas.

“Lo que es aún más aparente que estas contradicciones en los reportajes y declaraciones de *Tribune* sobre la guerra, es la total omisión de cualquier referencia sobre la Unión Soviética o China, o del papel traidor que obviamente jugaron en la ‘paz’ que se impuso.”

Por supuesto, también fuimos y somos críticos del llamado del GPR, del FLN y del Partido Obrero Vietnamita [PC] a un gobierno de coalición con parte de la burguesía nacional en Vietnam del Sur. Este es el punto de vista trotskista de la revolución permanente con el cual estaba de acuerdo Freney, hasta que ingresó al Partido Comunista y se convirtió en un apologista del stalinismo.

Trotskyismo o Stalinismo

Esto es lo que en realidad está en juego. No quienes son los “políticos de café” sino las diferentes posiciones políticas del stalinismo y del trotskismo. Freney ahora escribe:

“Cualquiera que conozca al pueblo vietnamita y a sus dirigentes rechazará cualquier insinuación de que puedan ser forzados a traicionar aún bajo la presión ‘de Moscú y Pekín.’”

Pero el movimiento trotskista del cual Freney era parte conoce los antecedentes de los dirigentes vietnamitas. Los trotskistas vietnamitas fueron aniquilados por ellos en 1945, cuando Ho Chi Minh cometió el error de dejar entrar a los franceses de nuevo. (Traición, si así te parece mejor.) Sabemos que en 1954 en la conferencia de Ginebra no se reconocieron las victorias del Viet Minh en el campo de batalla y argumentamos que los acuerdos de 1973 no resolvieron nada. Sabemos que el programa del GPR no llama

al socialismo y decimos que eso es necesario en Vietnam.

Por lo tanto no podemos confiar ciegamente en los dirigentes vietnamitas bajo la presión “de Moscú y Pekín” tal como Freney lo hace. Y cuál es la razón para entrecomillar Moscú y Pekín. ¿Quiere Freney decir que ya no le ponen presión a los vietnamitas? ¿Que la distinción no significa nada? etc., etc. En realidad si Freney mantiene el mismo ritmo de descenso, no creemos que tarde mucho antes de que nos cuente sobre las virtudes que previamente no había descubierto del Camarada Brezhnev y del Presidente Mao, que después de todo están involucrados, y no les gusta oír críticas capciosas de “políticos de café.”

El PCA no puede escapar estas cuestiones políticas ante la celebración de las grandiosas victorias militares. Para ganarnos a la mayoría de la clase obrera al socialismo, vamos a tener que explicarle qué es el stalinismo, sin importar cual de sus variantes, y explicar cuál es su línea. Ellos no considerarán “políticos de café” a los que traten de explicar esto. Ellos podrán tener un punto de vista diferente al de los apologistas que quieren que el brillo de la victoria de los combatientes vietnamitas se refleje en ellos sin tener que explicar los puntos políticos y sin tener que ser honestos con respecto a la historia. Y lo que dijimos en 1973 sobre los acuerdos de París ha sido correcto ahora.

Dijimos que la lucha lo decidiría. Y así fue. Sin el apoyo adecuado de los Estados Unidos, Thieu se desplomó. Con los Estados Unidos debilitados por Watergate y la oposición masiva a la intervención en Indochina, el FLN pudo llegar a Saigón en dos meses y obtener el control total de Vietnam del Sur. *Nosotros* no queremos que vuelvan a los compromisos impuestos por los acuerdos. ¿Es eso lo que tú quieres Freney?

Nosotros queremos un Vietnam unido y socialista con consejos de obreros y campesinos y democracia socialista. Queremos que los “dirigentes vietnamitas” apoyen las revoluciones en otros lados tales como el movimiento de liberación de Checoslovaquia contra la dominación soviética. (Ellos apoyan la invasión rusa.) Queremos que los “dirigentes vietnamitas” apoyen la liberación femenina y que se deshagan de todo vestigio de ideología burguesa en esta esfera. (Cosa que no hacen.) Estas son unas cuantas proposiciones modestas Denis, que son las que realmente nos dividen y son las que te motivan para que nos acuses de revolucionarios de café.

Por nuestro lado, tal como siempre lo hemos hecho en el pasado, seguiremos defendiendo la revolución vietnamita, apoyaremos sus victorias y estaremos siempre dispuestos a cooperar en la movilización contra cualquier ataque que se dé en el futuro. □

Leon Trotsky's Advice to Canadian Socialists

[As a May Day feature, the April 21 issue of *Labor Challenge*, the Canadian Trotskyist fortnightly, reprinted a condensation of views expressed by Trotsky in a discussion held during his exile in Norway. *Labor Challenge* added an explanatory introduction by Ian Angus, which we have included along with the document below.]

* * *

Introduction

The article printed below first appeared in the Feb. 1, 1936, issue of *The Vanguard*, newspaper of the Workers Party of Canada. This is its first publication since then.

Leon Trotsky stands, with Lenin, as one of the greatest revolutionary leaders of our century. At only 25 he was chairman of the workers' councils (soviets) in St. Petersburg, in the Russian Revolution of 1905. Twelve years later, as chairman of the Military Revolutionary Committee set up by the Petrograd Soviet, he was the primary organizer of the insurrection which initiated the world's first proletarian revolution. When Tsarist armies, backed by the troops of a dozen foreign countries (including Canada), threatened the young workers' state, Trotsky played the main role in organizing the Red Army which stopped and reversed the counter-revolution.

From 1917 until Lenin's death in 1924, Trotsky played a central role in the Soviet government and in the Communist International (C.I. or Comintern). He was Lenin's closest collaborator. Lenin's final political fight, against the developing bureaucratic caste represented by Stalin, was carried on in alliance with Trotsky.

After Lenin's death Stalin triumphed. Trotsky was driven into exile, and the cadre of the Bolshevik party was smashed, replaced by a hierarchy of conservative bureaucrats who thrived under Stalin's totalitarian rule. The Communist International was converted into an instrument of Stalin's foreign policy. (Later, in 1943, Stalin arbitrarily dissolved the CI to please his capitalist wartime allies.)

In exile Trotsky organized an international campaign to win the CI back to revolutionary policies. When the International, on a suicidal ultraleft binge, led the German workers into a catastrophic defeat in 1933, allowing Hitler to come to power without a fight, Trotsky concluded that it was dead as a revolutionary force. He called for the

creation of a new International.

Canadian anti-Stalinists were among the first to respond to this call. *The Vanguard* of November 1933 carried Trotsky's call. In 1935 Jack MacDonald and Maurice Spector, respectively the former National Secretary and the former Chairman of the Canadian Communist party, joined with representatives of other organizations in North America and Europe in signing a call for the organization of the Fourth International. The FI was actually founded in September 1938.

Early in the article, when Trotsky mentions the "Narodniks," his meaning may not be clear to some of our readers today. The reference is to a populist, peasant-based movement which existed in Russia prior to the revolution.

When the article below originally appeared in *The Vanguard*, it carried the following introduction:

"Two Canadian comrades, at present abroad, recently had the good fortune to visit Comrade Trotsky. They send the following condensation of some of Trotsky's views as they bear on the problems of the Canadian and world revolution.

"Com. T. informed our comrades that he reads with the greatest attention and sympathy their courageous paper, *The Vanguard*, and the excellent paper of our Ukrainian friends, *Robotnitschi Visti*. The signatures which comrades MacDonald and Spector attached on behalf of the Canadian organization to the Open Letter for the Fourth International represents a great historical obligation undertaken by the Workers Party of Canada on behalf of the world proletariat. 'I am sure we will go forward together to the final victory.'"

The political and organizational successor to the Workers Party of Canada today is the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, Canadian section of the Fourth International. For socialists working to build a mass revolutionary party today, Trotsky's comments remain as relevant as they were 39 years ago. The subheads, and all emphasis, are as in the original.

We are republishing this article to mark the 85th annual celebration of May Day, International Workers' Day. May Day was proclaimed an international day of labor action by the Second International, in solidarity with the fight of American workers for the eight-hour day. In 1890, and

every year since, internationalists in every country have marked May Day as a day of world-wide solidarity, of struggle against war and for the emancipation of the working class. *Labor Challenge* is proud to continue this tradition in 1975.

Condensation of Trotsky's Views

1. How to Reach the Farmer?

Although the economic position of the European peasant is very different from that of the Canadian farmer, certain important features remain the same. For instance, although I have made no special study of Canadian politics, I am willing to assert that the so-called Farmer Parties of the prairies—now in retreat before Social Credit—have this in common with peasant parties everywhere; they do not and cannot represent the farmer if they are not connected with genuine revolutionary proletarian organizations. Examine their leadership and the caucuses and tell me if they are not dominated by the petit-bourgeois, the wealthier farmers, the lawyers, teachers and storekeepers. Examine their financial connections and see if they do not lead directly to merchant capital.

Farmers a Composite Class

It is always this way, so-called "independent farmer-parties" are or become *anti-farmer*. Farmers cannot maintain an independent party, because they are not a homogeneous class. Like capitalism as a whole, they are a composite of different classes; they are the protoplasm from which all classes derive. If the exploited poor farmers are not connected with the workers' parties they become inevitably connected with the bourgeois parties, by a hierarchy at whose top sits finance capital. It was this basic truth which the Narodniks could not see and which necessitated the long struggle of the Bolsheviks against them. It was and is the essence of Bolshevism to introduce the class-struggle into the peasantry. The crime of Stalinism was to reintroduce the Narodnik illusion that the peasantry was a homogeneous mass which could be politically unified. That illusion is especially dangerous in the more advanced countries where there are more wealthy farmers directly connected with town finance.

Reach the Farmer Through the Workers

How can we win the farmhand and poor farmer to the support of the industrial worker? At the start, do not look for an auditorium full of peasants. One must begin by explaining the problems of the farmer to the *workers*. The revolutionary party must

first itself analyze the existing farmer parties and expose the connections between their directive strata and their exploiters. It must not only understand and sympathize with the farmers' troubles; it must point out to the lower layers the centrifugal forces which forever shattered all efforts at a united and independent (i.e. *independent* from the working-class, but therefore dependent on the bourgeoisie) farmers' organization.

It is through its work in the mass proletarian organizations that the revolutionary reaches the farmer. In Canada especially, I am told, much of the population is in small towns where workers and farmers live side by side. Here the contact actually takes place; here is the opportunity to carry the Bolshevik ideas which can unite the exploited lower strata of the farms with the main historic fight of the proletariat. *Through the workers we find the way to the farmer.*

2. Work With the Youth and the Women

"Revolutionary" organizations which have no special place for the youth and the women are not revolutionary. In life the main burden falls on women. Both women and youth are the most exploited by the capitalists and the most misprized by reformists. There is a tendency to regard the youth as less important—perhaps because they do not vote! It is this attitude to them as well as the colonial workers which is the test of the Bolshevik. It should be remembered that the youth are asked to do most of the fighting in the capitalists' wars. Especially we must educate our best youth comrades side by side with ourselves, in Bolshevik theory.

Above all, the women! As the social-democrats are the aristocracy of the working class, the working women, whether in home or factory, are the least paid, the most driven, the most exploited—they are the pariahs. And we—we are the party of the most exploited. So we are therefore the party of the women and the youth.

3. Illegal and Mass Work

The centrist comes to the revolution with the idea that mass work is prosaic but "underground" work romantic. The two tasks must be synthesized—in fact, they are the same. Illegal work is the work of remaining in the masses, not of retiring into a cellar. The passing over from

fractional work in revolutionary trade unions to illegal work under war conditions is imperceptible. The trade union bureaucracy becomes the police spy system—that is all.

4. Why After Germany Are There Still Honest Workers in the Comintern?

Great historical defeats do not have their full meaning made clear to the worker immediately. Only in revolutionary periods do our ideas find an immediate reflection in the broad masses. Thinking and analyzing is not taught to the masses by capitalism. Not having that capacity they must learn from events, by slogans adequate to them and hammered in. It is the fault of the sectarian that he does not understand this. He becomes disgusted with the workers' movement given by history and wants his

own little workers' movement. Great defeats, especially when they are caused by the bankruptcy of their own leadership, do not make the workers more revolutionary but demoralize their organization for a long time. That is why, although the Left Opposition in Russia predicted the Chinese defeat that Stalinism caused, yet the defeat hurt the Left Opposition and strengthened Stalin's bureaucracy in the SU. That is why there are still honest workers in the CI. That is why we must explain the German defeat, patiently explain. How can we expect that we, the left wing of the world proletariat, who have suffered one defeat after another can have become in such a period stronger and more powerful? We can and we will grow with the new awakening of the world proletariat and the Fourth International will provide the leadership. □

Demand Freedom for Women in Soviet Labor Camp

[The following appeal is being circulated by the Committee for the Defense of Soviet Political Prisoners.¹ Signed by seven prisoners in Mordovian labor camp No. 19, it is addressed to the International Democratic Federation of Women.

[The women the appeal speaks about are imprisoned in camp No. 3 in the same Mordovian camp system. Most of the women were sentenced on charges of "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" or for religious activities, such as alleged membership in the True Orthodox Church.

[The translation is by the Committee for the Defense of Soviet Political Prisoners.]

* * *

Among the Mordovian labor camps for political prisoners there is one special camp for women.

The women there must fully bear all the burdens of camp life. Miserable food, forced labor, arbitrary rule on the part of the administration, moral degradation—such is their fate. There is no need to write of the details today: he who has ears can hear, and besides, much has already been said and written about the conditions of political prisoners in Soviet camps.

There are only twenty to thirty of these women,² but it is the very fact of their small number that further burdens them with additional limitations. A small plot of land

and two barracks. One barrack to live in and one to work in. In reality, this is not a camp, but a small prison.

We, male political prisoners, cannot be indifferent to their fate. They are not only our spiritual comrades, they are also our mothers and wives, our sisters and daughters. Their suffering is also ours.

At the moment we do not want to discuss the justice and legality of their sentences. Political disagreements take too much time, while these women are suffering now. All we want to say is this: would the power of a mighty state be undermined, would a regime which has an enormous apparatus at its disposal be weakened if twenty women were set free?

Fighting against women is not a sign of strength. They must be released! Can there be a better opportunity for a government which proclaims itself to be the most humane on earth, to prove the sincerity of its declarations?

We appeal to you, democratic women: demand of the Soviet government the release of women political prisoners. Demand the open publication and examination of the transcripts of their cases. Demand the opportunity to familiarize yourselves with their conditions.

They are your sisters. Help them. Yours will not be a political act, but a humanitarian one.

October 1974

K. Lyubarsky, S. Babych, I. Zalmanson, Z. Popadyuk, A. Petrov-Agatov, B.P. Azernikov, B. Penson

Irina Kireeva, Anna Kogan, Glafira Kuldysheva, Galina Selivonchik, Maria Semenova, Tatiana Sokolova, Anastasia Volkova, Klavdia Volkova, Nadezhda Usoeva.

Documents discussed at 1974 Tenth World Congress of Fourth International. 128 pages, 8½ x 11, \$2.50

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

1. P.O. Box 142, Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.

2. The known women prisoners in camp No. 3 are Vira Bozhar, Iryna Senyk, Stefaniya Shabatura, Iryna Stasiv-Kalynets, Nina Strokata, Nadia Svitlychna, Ekaterina Aleshina, Natalia Grunwald, Aleksandra Khvotkova, Vera Kiaudieno,

Luxembourg Trotskyists Hold Third Congress

[The following statement was issued April 16 by the Political Bureau of the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR—Revolutionary Communist League), Luxembourg section of the Fourth International. The translation from the French is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

The third national congress of the LCR, Luxembourg section of the Fourth International, was held during four days in April. In the five years it has existed, the LCR has registered substantial growth. The organization has grown steadily. It has developed cadres on a national scale. Through its intervention it has significantly increased its proletarian composition, so that today 40 percent of its members are workers, including 13 percent employed in industry.

This growth results from the growing radicalization of the working class and the appearance of a militant political vanguard among the youth. It is also the product of the consistent work and initiatives of revolutionary Marxists who have been able to benefit from national and international events, although not without making occasional errors. During the last two years we emerged as a credible pole of attraction for the most advanced layers of the youth and the proletariat.

In the Chile solidarity campaign we were able to initiate local committees in various cities throughout the country, and to federate them on a national level around a common platform.

The LCR's election campaign, while centered very much on propaganda, presented the organization as a leading force in the far left. Today the results in terms of our national impact, and hence our standing in relation to the reformists, is beginning to be felt.

Our emphasis on activity in the workers movement has had its first repercussions in the radicalization of the class. This is especially true in the south of the country, where the traditional proletariat of the steel industry is concentrated.

The third congress had as its aim to centralize these experiences and integrate them into the general perspectives of the political situation and the development of class consciousness in Luxembourg. The discussions, which were very concrete, were based on a lengthy document entitled "Balance Sheet and Perspectives," a political and organizational resolution.

The key topics of debate were the analysis of the social and political situation in Luxembourg in the framework of the general perspectives for Europe as a whole;

perspectives and priorities in our intervention in the workers movement, particularly in work among immigrants; clarification on the modified balance sheet and perspectives of work among student youth; mass work and the question of alliances; and consolidation of the press and the central apparatus of the organization.

The presentations and the tone of the discussion were remarkably good. The LCR is going through a transformation, emerging from a "youthful" phase in which a good many problems could not be resolved. A second phase of growth is beginning. In this new phase, the integration of its

members and leadership in mass work will enable the LCR to play a role in revolutionary Marxist propaganda and agitation among increasingly significant layers of the population, going beyond indispensable centralized initiatives to transform the political situation.

A small organization in a small country at the crossroads of uneven developments in capitalist Europe (France, Germany, and Belgium), the Luxembourg section must seek to combine its tasks with the rise of the class struggle on the European level. That is the essential reason to build and reinforce a strong section in Luxembourg, with the aid and support of the entire Fourth International. □

Special Offer



James P. Cannon

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

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

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

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